

Linguistic Society of India.



THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
1933.

Linguistic Society of India.

RULES RELATING TO MEMBERSHIP AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

4. The membership will be open to those who are interested in Linguistic Studies and Research specially with reference to India.

5. There will be two classes of members: active and ordinary. Active members will pay Rs. 24 and ordinary members Rs. 12 as yearly subscription payable in advance on the 1st day of January of each year. Members who join after the 1st June will pay half-yearly subscription only for the year they join (*i.e.* Rs. 12 or Rs. 6, respectively.)

Libraries and other institutions will have to pay Rs. 12 as yearly subscription.

Student-members will be admitted on a subscription of Rs. 6 per annum. Any member can have his subscription compounded for life by becoming a life member, if he pays Rs. 100 at a time or Rs. 75 if he is already a Founder or a Donor.

6. The ordinary members will receive the Bulletin of the Society free of charge and other publications at concession rates. The active members will get free of charge all publications of the society.

9. Any member, whose subscription remains unpaid by the 1st of February of the year in which it is due, shall be reminded of his default twice within the first quarter of the year. If no notice is taken of these reminders the matter will be referred to the Executive Committee by the Honorary Treasurer.

11. Members who pay an initial subscription of Rs. 50 upto the end of 1930 will be designated as Founders of the Society. They will not have to pay the annual subscription for the year in which they enroll themselves as Founders.

12. Members who after the 1st of January 1931 pay a Donation of Rs. 50 or more will be designated as Donors of the Society. They will not have to pay the annual Subscription for the year in which they enroll themselves as Donors.

Message from Sir George Grierson.

May I offer my congratulations to the Linguistic Society of India on the appearance of the first number of "Indian Linguistics," and add the hope that it may have a long and prosperous career. Its immediate predecessors, the circulars of the Society, have been full of valuable contributions to the Science of philology, and in its new form it will supply a want that has long been felt by students of Indian languages.

It was the authors of the Indian *Prātiśākhya*s that laid the foundation of this science, and that inspired scholars of the West. The best that I can wish for the Society is that their mantle may descend with a full measure of inspiration on their successors in the new venture.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

OURSELVES.

While offering our greetings to all lovers of Linguistics, we may indicate the circumstances which have justified the existence of the present journal. The linguistic phenomena in India—the land of 723 different languages and dialects, which are the records of vast and varied cultures, past and present—have rightly absorbed the attention of observers from Śākalya to Grierson, and the results already achieved in this direction are tremendous indeed. But in this scientific age, no study can be conducted on thoroughly progressive lines without specialized organization. It is therefore desirable that an organized band of trained workers should take up the rich heritage from Pāṇini and his modern successors, and further enrich it with up-to-date material.

In view of this object the Linguistic Society of India was organized in 1928, and its first inaugural meeting was held at Principal A. C. Woolner's on the first of April 1928 which was attended by enthusiastic Linguists of the Panjab. The idea was to discuss the preliminary and formal requirements and constitution of the Society. It was proposed that the Society should issue Bulletins typed and cyclo-styled. About nine of them were issued, which contained discussions and observations on several Linguistic phenomena.

At the first general meeting held in November 1928, it was decided to replace the Bulletin by a printed journal called "Indian Linguistics" appearing at convenient intervals during the year. Our members have been very eagerly waiting for its appearance which for one reason or the other has had to be withheld uptil now. The symbols used by the International Phonetic Association have been prepared and are available for the use of the Society.

We are grateful for the active co-operation given by several members of the Society. We express our thanks to all who have

been kind enough to send their contributions for the "Grierson Commemoration Volume."

Our Society is unique of its kind in India and the contributions that it is likely to make to Linguistic studies in India depend upon the diligence and enthusiasm of its members.

The good wishes of Sir George Grierson expressed in his letter are a great encouragement to the workers in the field.

We need not dilate upon the articles appearing in this issue. Dr. Taraporewala's address presents a new view-point for dealing with the Grammars of modern Indian Vernaculars, which suggestion we hope will be taken up by some scholars. Dr. Chatterji's article discusses an important Linguistic Phenomenon occurring in New Indo-Aryan Speech. Southern Languages of India are being dealt with by Mr. Aiyar and we hope to publish further articles on the subject.

In our correspondence we noticed that some people apprehended that the abbreviation L. S. I. of our Society may not be confused with that of the Linguistic Survey of India. But we want to inform them that we have adopted L. Soc. I. as the abbreviated form of the name of our Society. We request the contributors and members to use the same if needed.

The success of the Journal will depend upon how far it stimulates interest for Linguistics. We, therefore, invite correspondence from our readers regarding any points in connection with the articles published.

A NEW VIEW-POINT FOR VERNACULAR GRAMMAR.

*Inaugural Address by Dr. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph. D.,
First President of the L. Soc. I.*

It is indeed a very great pleasure and honour to me to be standing here to-day as the chosen President of the Linguistic Society of India. The honour I feel is all the greater because this is the first public meeting of our Society and I have been chosen as your first President. While fully appreciating your great kindness in doing me this honour, I cannot but feel that there may have been another better fitted than myself to stand in this place to-day. I thank you very much for this unique mark of your good thought for myself and for your appreciation of the little work I have been able to do in this line. I also feel that this honour is as much done to me personally as to the Chair I have been proud to occupy in the finest University in India. It is my proud boast that I am holding the only Chair of Comparative Philology in India, perhaps in the whole of the British Empire at present.

I welcome here all our members gathered together here in the city of Lahore. In the beginning of 1922 I had, in my Presidential Address in the "Philology Section" of the Second All-India Oriental Conference at Calcutta, expressed the hope that before the next sitting of the Conference, to be held at Madras two years later, the Linguistic Society of India would be born. We had then had high hopes in Calcutta that we would be able to attain this end, especially as our great leader, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, was in full sympathy with our wishes. Indeed, I more than once hinted at these hopes we had from him towards the close of my address. And in fact, though I had not mentioned it then, we had already held a preliminary "Committee meeting" to consider the ways and means. Unfortunately before the Madras Conference was held our great Leader, one of the greatest men I have had the honour of knowing, had passed out

of our world and since then we of the Philology Department in the Calcutta University have lost our most powerful supporter. Without his support and guidance we let the idea drop for a time. Then quite as a pleasant surprise we got notices early this year from Lahore that our long-cherished dream had taken shape and had realised, and you can well imagine our gratification when we heard that you had chosen one of the Professors from Calcutta to be your first President. As I said before, I feel this both as a personal honour as well as an honour done to the University, which I am proud to represent here.

It was by some miraculous chance that the inauguration of the Linguistic Society of India coincided with the bestowal of the Order of Merit on the one man of all who had done the highest service to Indian Linguistics—the greatest living authority on the languages of India., Sir George Abraham Grierson. When it is remembered that the Order of Merit is the highest possible distinction the British Empire can bestow, and that it is bestowed not for any political, nor for any military, nor for any party service but for *sheer merit*, our pleasure and gratification are all the greater. Quite apart from the honour done to a great scholar who unites to great learning a modesty equally great, I look upon this Order of Merit as a recognition of Indian Languages and of their importance in the life and progress of the British Empire. This very gratifying coincidence I would look upon as a most happy augury for our future. We could not have begun any better.

A few words may now be added as to our work done so far. We are just at the beginning of our career and have been able to produce but few papers as yet. Still, I venture to assert, that our "Bulletins" have been worthy of notice and in fact I have had a letter from Sir George Grierson himself complimenting the Society on the output of very valuable work. Let us, however, not be inordinately stuck up at receiving these praises, but rather think how much yet remains to be done and how little has been

achieved so far. But there is one quality which is pre-eminently noticeable in the writings in the Bulletin thus far, it is the care taken by the writers to be accurate and critical. It is greatly to be wished that this same devotion to accuracy and to the critical spirit would continue.

Most of our members in the Linguistic Society of India have had Western training and our teachers in the West have been in the van of linguistic studies of Europe. And surely we ought to be worthy of our teachers and we ought to be able to do for our languages what they have been doing for theirs. Even for our own languages we have had first rate work done in Europe. Let us not be ashamed to learn the modern methods of Europe. Let us strive to emulate our teachers and be worthy of their teaching.

One important part of our work should be what may be termed "popularising" our work. One great reason why this subject is not taken up at our Universities is that the students think of it as something dark and strange. I think a regular set of lectures by some of our members, each in his own province, to explain what the principles of modern Linguistics are, would be a very useful and necessary propaganda. Better still, such articles may be contributed to the various papers and magazines. Even our Bulletin might contain some such articles, as for example, discussing the general principles of grammar, of phonetics etc. One aspect of originality is a newer and fresher view-point. In our subject specially there is one grave danger, *viz.*, that a serious student goes in for great detail in his particular branch and often tends to neglect the broad view of the subject as a whole. He looks at an individual tree and even its branches and twigs and misses the beauty of the forest. We want work such as Max Muller did or such as Meillet and Jespersen are doing today. Such work would be especially useful in India. In these days when political sensibilities are strung so extremely high, even linguistic science tends to become political. We have many

Hindus trying to prove that Sanskrit is “the mother of all languages”, and many Musalmans who are offended if Urdu is mentioned as a “Sanskritic language”. As every one, who has studied the subject seriously, knows linguistics is a subject of absorbing interest and is intensely human. Therefore it ought to appeal to every human being. The Science of Linguistics has taught me the essential unity of humanity, it has taught me that human beings think and feel alike and a proper scientific study of a language would enable human beings to understand and appreciate one another better. Even in political circles we hear today the talk of “linguistic provinces” for India and I believe that the surest way of tackling the Hindu-Moslem problem is through a clear understanding of Hindi and Urdu idiom. Nothing, moreover, tends to show so forcibly the essential unity of India as a study of the different languages spoken here. Languages badly learnt (like “a little learning”) are dangerous things, scientifically studied they “make us sober again”.

There is, of course, need of specialists for each language and dialect of India. The Linguistic Survey of India, has been completed as far as Grierson, the great pioneer, is concerned. But for us it has but begun. Think of the great handicap he had to labour under. As far as Bihar was concerned he was thoroughly at home there. But in other parts of India he had to entrust the work to local people, missionaries or village school-masters, many of whom were utterly unable to grasp the underlying idea. I do not mean to belittle in any way this great work, which will be a land-mark—a beacon light—to us in all our future work. But what we should try to do now is to expand it. Grierson has blazed a trail for us through what appeared before as a pathless forest. He has also showed us *how* to make our way through this forest. It is for us to make *pakkā* roads through it and pleasant paths for future generations of students.

The greatest and most striking characteristic of Grierson’s work is not the enormous amount of detail contained in the stout

volumes of the Linguistic Survey wonderful though it is. I am far more struck with the comprehensive grasp of the whole as evidenced in the first volume. Genius has been defined as "an infinite capacity for taking pains;" but I would like to call it also "a capacity of taking a full, all-comprehensive view of the details". It is the latter which I admire most in Grierson and it is this which stamps him as a Master-mind. Specialisation is certainly needed but we must never lose sight of the whole in contemplating the part. This is all the more necessary in India at the present moment, for we must bear in mind that though we may speak Hindi, or Urdu, or Bengali, or Gujarati or Panjabi or any other language, we are all parts of the one great entity India and also that India to-day stands not for Indian (*i.e.*, Hindu) culture alone but for Aryan or Indo-Iranian (*i. e.*, Hindu-Moslem) culture.

There is another reason why the whole should never be lost sight of. If Linguistic studies in India are to be of any value at all for the future, they ought all to be coordinated. There should be a definite plan of work laid down, so that all work done may have some sort of unity or rather uniformity. The necessity of adopting the International Phonetic Script is, of course, obvious. I am not a specially trained phonetician, but I do think that some care is needed in adopting this phonetic script to Sanskrit and other languages of India. It is well known how many different styles of phonetic symbols were used for Sanskrit in the early days by European scholars. These were mainly coloured by the province from which they learnt the language. I would like to propose that the older *Prātisākhya*s may be carefully studied with regard to the ancient pronunciation of Sanskrit, and that should be the standard, at any rate, as regards Sanskrit Phonology. Take for instance the question of the pronunciation of ऋ. As now pronounced in all parts except Bengal (where it is ॠ), the pronunciation is that of a "mixed" vowel like the *u* in *but*, usually represented by the

phonetic symbol Λ . But our Sanskrit phoneticians have always regarded it as of the same quality as—in fact the short of आ —the open fundamental vowel. The अ was originally apparently a विवृत sound and has later become संवृत . And it would be of considerable value to investigate the history of this sound. So also the original pronunciations of the two sonants र and ल would be quite an interesting investigation. It would be after these investigations have been carried out that we could be sure of what symbols to adopt. For most of the sounds there would not be much change needed. But I would like to suggest that we should adopt one sign for one sound. Especially I think we should drop the h in the aspirates and use the *spiritus asper*, e.g., k' , t' etc.

Thus in phonetics if we adopt completely the International script (and if need be suggest some other signs that may be needed) we would certainly get a very desirable uniformity in our work.

When the Sanskrit language was investigated and analysed by Pāṇini, he gave a set of terms to describe the various linguistic phenomena he observed. So great has been the reputation of this great grammarian that even to-day his nomenclature holds good. Not merely that, but the nomenclature used for Sanskrit since those early days is still thought good enough for our Vernaculars to-day. That is a fundamental mistake. Unfortunately the proverb “old is gold” has such a sway on human mind everywhere, especially in India, that we have still clung to the terminology of ancient days. Again when Sanskrit was introduced to Europe the language was described through those grammatical terms which were adopted for Latin and Greek by Laurentius Valla nearly eight hundred years ago. This European terminology was taken mainly from Aristotle’s logic. Aristotle was the greatest authority in mediaeval Europe and his exposition was accepted as the last word in all intellectual and scientific matters. But unfortunately his investigation of

linguistic phenomena was more of language as a vehicle of thought, not of *language as language*. Hence there has been considerable confusion of thought in grammatical terminology in Europe ever since the grammar of Laurentius Valla appeared. And the same confused terminology was applied by the earlier European scholars to Oriental languages. Pāṇini's system was certainly better, inasmuch as *he investigated language as such* and he has shown a very deep insight into the fundamentals of linguistic phenomena. For instance he has clearly grasped the fundamental idea of modern linguistics that "the sentence is the unit of language".

But whatever was good enough for Sanskrit and for Pāṇini can surely not be sufficient, nor even accurate, to describe the modern languages of India. So great has been the difference between the intellectual height of Pāṇini and of the modern grammarians that the latter have been content to repeat slavishly what the great Master had said without even taking the trouble of thinking whether Pāṇini's analysis would be applied to languages today. In Europe, too, a similar slavish following of Aristotle and of the grammatical terminology has been going on for centuries with similar confusions as a consequence. But Europe has begun to see the error of this way from about the beginning of the present century, and scholars there are trying more and more to adapt the grammar to the language they are analysing rather than twist the language to suit the grammar of an ancient type.

In order to have what might be called "correct" grammar for any language we have to consider certain fundamental notions of grammar. And the phenomena of "grammar" in any language should be explained in terms of these fundamental notions. In India our languages have their grammars arranged after either the Sanskrit model or the English (*i.e.* the European) model. In either case we are trying to clothe our languages in misfitting garments.

The modern notions of grammar and grammatical terminology are in many respects fundamentally different from those that prevailed even so late as a generation back. I remember how in my own school days we were led to suppose that a word belonged to a particular "part of speech" owing to some inherent quality (शक्ति) in the word itself. We were never taught to look upon a word as being a part of a sentence and that the "part of speech" merely defined its function in the sentence. The modern notions of grammar are based on a recognition of the fundamental idea in linguistics that *the sentence* (and not the word) *is the unit of language*. I have tried to show in one of my essays ('Pāṇini's Parts of Speech' in the *Calcutta Review*) that Pāṇini and the Sanskrit grammarians had realised this essential fact of language and they made a clear distinction between śabda (word) and pada (a term in a sentence.) In other words they clearly distinguished between the label attached to a concept and the function of a word in the sentence.

It is from this fundamental idea of language that all grammar is to be built up. Pāṇini has tried to do so with eminent success but we cannot go back to his work in the sense of adopting his terminology wholesale.

And this for two reasons. In the first place, his treatment of the language (Sanskrit) is not "comparative" and consequently in many places he is prolix where he might have been concise. In the second place, he has utilised the extra terse sūtra style in formulating his rules and has, therefore, employed an almost algebraical terminology which though good for memorising is not of much use in *explaining* the phenomena of Sanskrit Grammar. Of course, Pāṇini and, in a greater degree perhaps, Patañjali would be good guides to point out the way; but the latter also has the drawback of not being "comparative" in his methods. The later grammarians, especially those of the Prākṛts and Pāli, have gone upon the models set up by Pāṇini even though they may have differed from him in the terminology adopted. And, as

far as I am aware, there is no great work comparable to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* with reference to the Prākṛts. Finally when we come to the Vernacular period we find all our grammars mere slavish imitations of the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini.

So, it seems to me, we have to begin at the beginning with regard to our Vernacular grammars if we wish them to be in a line with modern ideas of Linguistic Science. We must bear in mind the following important points:

1. We must take the sentence as the unit of language and the words and clauses composing it as parts functioning in it. In other words the chief value of our new style of grammar should lie in the fact that it is a *grammar of function*.

2. For this purpose it is necessary to have a body of scholars to give in general outline the main ideas and the basic terms. We have got some very substantial foundations in the Reports of the Committee of Grammatical Terminology and of the Oriental Section thereof. Also there have been many fine books on the subject written since these reports were published and grammars of various languages, living and dead, prepared along the lines suggested.

3. In our ancient indigenous grammar we find that the fundamental facts of language have been recognised and hence they should certainly serve as guide-posts.

With these facts in mind we could first of all settle the basic terminology, taking half-a-dozen of the important Aryan languages of India—Hindi (including Urdu), Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Panjabi, and Maithili. This basic terminology should be such as would be as nearly as possible international. Along these lines the detailed grammars should be prepared and some latitude should be left for individual differences in detail. There might also be a Central Committee to co-ordinate the results and to see that uniformity is observed. It is a task

which would require several years but we might be able if we set about it earnestly to present a comparative grammar of the six languages mentioned incorporating the basic terminology by the time the next Oriental Conference meets.

I may also suggest similar grammars be prepared for Sanskrit and Persian. The Dravidian and other Non-Aryan languages would have also to be considered; and in their case I would suggest separate committees for each separate group. And all these different committees should work in full cognisance of each other's labours.

In the Report of the Linguistic Society you will find other activities suggested to us. I have here ventured to suggest a work which appears to me very essential for our Society. We are just at the beginning and it is quite essential that from now we should be strictly scientific and accurate.

RECURSIVES IN NEW INDO-ARYAN

*Professor Sunil Kumar Chatterji, M. A., D. Lit.,
Calcutta University.*

§ 1. Dr. Jules Bloch remarked in his *Formation de la Langue Marathe* (1919, § 88) that "to judge from the hesitation in writing, not in Marathi alone but also in the related languages, and from one language to another, deaspiration must be more common than what is revealed by orthography." The question of deaspiration and other treatment of the New Indo-Aryan aspirates as inherited from Middle Indo-Aryan is an important and a noteworthy one, and deserves careful enquiry in the various languages and dialects.

§ 2. There is as a matter of fact different treatment of the aspirates in most NIA. speeches according as they are initial or intervocal (and final), and voiced or unvoiced. When it is a question of deaspiration simply, as a general rule it may be said that at an initial position the unvoiced aspirates remain undisturbed, in almost all the languages, excluding Sinhalese which has no aspirates at all. It is the voiced aspirates, initial or intervocal, and the intervocal unvoiced aspirates, that show a modification in the various languages. The speeches of the Upper Ganges Valley, and a few outlying ones, however, appear to be most conservative in this respect. Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi dialects, and the dialects of Bihari, despite an occasional loss of internal *-h-*, retain the aspirated consonants in all positions with a tenacity not met with in the other speeches. Sindhi also seems to have preserved the aspirates well internally, as well as Oriya. But a rigid phonetic survey is necessary in this connexion for the entire Indo-Aryan area.

§ 3. The case of Marathi which has been discussed by Bloch is paralleled by the Standard Colloquial form of Bengali (*i.e.* the dialect of South Bengal along the Bhāgīrathī or Hugli river), and

here probably we find far greater consistency than in Marathi. This form of Bengali is a deaspirating dialect. Initially, the aspirates remain, excepting **ph**, **bh** which generally become the bilabial aspirants [F, ʋ], their proper aspirate values of [p+h], [b+h] being quite uncommon. Medially and finally, these aspirates are deaspirated simply (*cf. Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* §§ 240, 241). In fact, for the Standard Colloquial dialect of the extreme type, free from the restraints of literary culture, it may be definitely laid down that it has aspirates only initially.

§ 4. But this kind of simple deaspiration of the aspirates we do not find in many NIA. speeches, where the aspirates have been modified in various other ways. Some of these modifications may present a sort of half-way house between the full aspiration which characterised the speech at an earlier stage and the complete deaspiration obtaining at the present day. A most noteworthy kind of modification which occurs in a number of NIA dialects consists in their alteration to "recursives" from aspirates, *i.e.* in pronouncing them as stops with accompanying glottal closure, which takes the place of the aspiration or **h** sound coming after the stops and making them aspirates. Where we have this treatment of the aspirates, recursives also originate in other ways, by transference of aspiration, either intervocal, post-consonantal or pre-consonantal. A tentative study of this kind of alteration is attempted in the present paper. Other treatments of the aspirates (and of **h**) which occur elsewhere in NIA. are the dissociation of the two elements forming the aspirate, of the **h** from the stop, the **h** coming after the vowel of the syllable; the substitution of the dissociated **h** by the glottal stop; and the substitution of the aspiration by pitch or stress accent. Here again, the question of voiced or unvoiced, initial or non-initial, is an important factor. These kinds of alterations will be merely touched upon,

§ 5. The term "recursive" has been used by Dr. R. L. Turner in connexion with his discussion of the origin of the Sindhi sounds described by it in his valuable paper *the Sindhi Recursives or Voiced Stops Preceded by Glottal Closure* (in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol. III, pp. 301—315). These sounds are also described as "implosives", as one of their characteristics is that in articulating them "the breath is drawn in instead of being expelled." Dr. Turner has described fully the formation of these sounds, and following Prince Troubetzkoy's use of the term "recoursive" while describing (in the **Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris**, No. 72, p. 204) the sounds of Caucasian languages, he has anglicised it as "recursive", which as a convenient expression I also employ (pp. 304—305, Turner's article referred to). In the *Linguistic Survey of India* volume on Sindhi, following earlier accounts, Sir George Grierson regards them merely as doubled (*i. e.* long) stops, and writes them as **gg, jj, dd, bb**. But their nature has been clearly established. In a short phonetic transcription from Sindhi in a series of tentative *Phonetic Transcriptions from Indian Languages* (prepared before 1918, and published in the BSOS., London, II, 1922, pp. 177—195), the present writer had noticed these sounds as "stops with glottal closure", although, having missed this sound in a few cases, his transcription was not entirely correct in this matter. There he had used the *International Phonetic Association* symbols [g' d' b'] (he had missed the [j']). In this paper, the IPA. symbols [g' j' d' d' b'] will be used, NIA. words discussed being given in the IPA. script: I do not follow Trumpp's transliteration as in his *Sindhi Grammar* (\bar{g} , \bar{j} , \bar{d} , \bar{b} , with a bar on the top), or Turner's (\underline{g} , \underline{j} , \underline{d} , \underline{b} —with a bar below), or Prince Troubetzkoy's (italic letters with a dot above or below— \dot{g} , \dot{k} , \dot{t} , \dot{c} , \dot{s} , $\dot{\lambda}$).

§ 6. Dr. Turner has fully discussed the origin of these sounds in Sindhi. So long, these recursives appeared to be

peculiar to Sindhi alone among NIA. speeches. Now they are found to occur in other forms of NIA.,—in East Bengali, in Gujarati, in the dialects of Rajasthani, and in dialectal forms of Western Hindi, and possibly in other dialect groups not yet investigated. Only, in Sindhi they originate from stops (single initial, and double internal); whereas in the other languages and dialects their source is the aspirate, as well as stops + the anticipated glottal stop derived from earlier internal **h**.

From their fairly wide prevalence, these recursives have a right to be regarded among the characteristic sounds of NIA., although they cannot be described as Common NIA. sounds [k', g'; c', j'; tʃ', dʒ', cʃ', ʒʒ'; tʂ', ɖʂ'; t', d'; t', d'; p', b'];—thus these occur among the NIA. modifications of the older stops and aspirates.

Recursive spirants, sibilants, liquids and nasals also occur; [s', ʃ', l', r', m', n', F']. Recursive aspirates also figure—[kh', tʃh'] etc.

§ 7. In the present paper, I give the findings of an initial (and by no means a thorough or systematic) inquiry into the formation of these sounds in East Bengali and in Gujarati, with notes on their occurrence in other speeches. For kindly helping me by quoting and articulating relevant dialect words, I am indebted to the following gentlemen: for East Bengali—Mr. Gopal Halder, M. A. (Dacca, Noakhali), Mr. Surendra Nath Sen (Noakhali), Mr. Nirad Chandra Chaudhuri M. A. (East Maimansing), Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti (Dacca), Dr. Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri (Barisal), and Dr. Surendra Nath Sen (Barisal); and for Gujarati, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala.

East Bengali.*

§ 8. The existence of recursives in East Bengali was not noticed by me before 1926, and my transcriptions from East Bengali dialects made before 1918 (as published in the BSOS. article mentioned above) are consequently imperfect in this respect. A development of recursive sounds from the earlier aspirates and from simple consonants modified by a contiguous aspirate (or *h* altered into the glottal stop) seems to characterise all East Bengali dialects. This change went hand in hand with the alteration of the sibilant (*ś*) to *h*, initially, and of *h* to the glottal stop—both these changes being in all likelihood connected. From very early times there has been a very great amount of dialectal miscegenation in the plains of India, and Bengal was no exception to the rule. The West Bengali dialects in this case have largely overshadowed the East Bengali ones, since the centres of Bengali intellectual and spiritual activity have been in West Bengal from early times. The result of it has been that West Bengali speech habits and West Bengali forms have a great prestige in the east, and in the speech of the upper classes, there has always been a strong feeling against giving free rein to the peculiar East Bengali tendencies. Education and culture have thus interfered to some extent in the speech of the upper classes in the East Bengali area, and this force has never been stronger than at the present day. Consequently, the expected uniformity or regularity along one line of development is frequently broken by West Bengali forms in the speech of the upper classes of East-Bengal; and the question of the recursives, owing also to the same reason, becomes at times complicated and irregular. But

* By 'East' or 'Eastern Bengali' is meant the groups of dialects classed as "Vanga Dialects" in my ODBL., p. 140. I consider "South-eastern Bengali" of the LSI. to be a connected group. Jessore and Khulna are on the borderland between East Bengali and West Bengali, and the dialects of these districts do not show many East Bengali characteristics, although there is an agreement with East Bengali in some important points.

in spite of these drawbacks, which are unavoidable in any *patois*, the nett tendencies and results are plain, and they are quite remarkable in the phonology of NIA.

§ 9. Closely connected with the aspirates and their behaviour in East Bengali is the **h** sound in that dialect-group. This was changed to the glottal stop, and the resultant glottal stop altered to recursives connected original stops and other consonants. The behaviour of **h** should also be noted while considering the aspirates.

§ 10. Common Bengali in the oldest period agreed with Common Indo-Aryan: its consonants sounds as evolved out of MIA. (Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa) are as follows:

MIA.	Common Bengali (Old Bengali)
k- c- ṭ- t- p-	} These remained.
g- j- ḍ- d- b-	
kh- ch- ṭh- th- ph-	} These also remained
gh- jh- ḍh- dh- bh-	
-kk- -cc- -ṭṭ- -tt- -pp-	-k- -c- -ṭ- -t- -p-
-gg- -jj- -ḍḍ- -dd- -pp-	-g- -j- -ḍ- -d- -b-
-kkh- -cch- -ṭṭh- -tth- -pph-	-kh- -ch- -ṭh- -th- -ph-
-ggh- -jjh- -ḍḍh- -ddh- -bbh-	-gh- -jh- -ḍh- -dh- -bh-
-ṅk(h)- -ñc(h)- -ṇṭ(h)- -nt(h)-	-ṅk(h)- -ñc(h)- -ṇṭ(h)-
-mp(h)-	-nt(h)- -mp(h)-
-ṅg(h)- -ñj(h)- -ṇḍ(h)- -ṇḍ(h)-	-ṅg(h)- -ñj(h)- -ṇḍ(h)-
-mb(h)-	-nd(h)- -mb(h)-
h- -h-	These remained.

The aspirates in Common Bengali were thus as follows:

kh- ch- ṭh- th- ph-	gh- jh- ḍh- dh- bh-
-kh- -ch- -ṭh- -th- -ph-	-gh- -jh- -ḍh- -dh- -bh-
h- , -h- ;	

besides, there were -mh- -nh- -rh- -lh- ; and the -ḍh- was pronounced as [ṛh], [-ḍ-] having evolved the sound of [ṛ].

§11. The internal 'reduced nasal' (*cf. Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pp. 360—361) became a mere nasalisation in West Bengali, but in East Bengali it has either remained (in an interval group of reduced nasal + consonant) or has been assimilated or dropped, or has itself assimilated the following consonant. In the case of Common Bengali reduced nasal + aspirates, special changes took place with regard to some of the aspirates in the Middle and New Bengali periods (*cf. ODBL.*, pp. 362 ff.)

§ 12. With regard to certain modifications of Common Indian consonants in East Bengali, it may be noted that:—

- (i) [p] whether initial or medial (and final) becomes the bilabial spirant [F] in Eastern Bengali (East Vaṅga dialects) as in Cachar, Sylhet, part of Maimansing, Comilla, Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong. In the extreme south-east, this [F] is articulated with just a suggestion of lip rounding, so that acoustically it is reduced to something very like an unvoiced [h]. In W. Mainmansing, Dacca, and other parts of Vaṅga, [p] is not modified in this way, but I have heard a suggestion of the spirant pronunciation from speakers of the Barisal dialect.
[ph] falls together with [p] where it becomes [F].
- (ii) [k] intervocally becomes spirantised to [x], and then usually this [x] is voiced to [g]; and the voiced [ḡ] is at times substituted for it. This is true of most East Bengali dialects. In addition, the eastern and south-eastern dialects of East Bengali spirantise [k] to [x] in initial and final positions also.
- (iii) [t] becomes [th] in the eastern and south-eastern dialects.
- (iv) [ṭ] intervocal becomes [ḍ], and this [ḍ] is not reduced to [ṛ] or [r]. (MIA. -ḍ-, -ḍḍ- give -ṛ- or -r- in Bengali)

(v) [c] becomes [ts], [ch] becomes [s], and j (*i.e.* OIA [j]) is changed to [ɟ].

(vi) Initial and intervocal [ɸ] becomes the glottal [ʔ], and final [ɸ] is dropped.

(vii) Initial sibilant, [ʃ], becomes [ɸ].

§ 13. The present situation in East Bengali in the matter of the aspirates and the [ɸ] is as follows:—

I. (i) Initial unvoiced aspirates [th th kh] remain: [thage, thae] ‘stays, remains’ = thāke; [thoe] ‘keeps, puts’; [thikana, thiana] ‘address’; [thele] ‘pushes’; [khae] ‘eats’; [khoirdar, khoiddar] ‘buyer’; [khura] ‘uncle’; etc. [ch] becomes [s]: [sœ] ‘six’ = chayā; [sagol, saol] ‘goat’ = chāgala; [suri] ‘knife’ = churi. Initial [p] becomes [F], which is very laxly uttered in many parts of the country: [Fude] ‘blooms (flower), pierces (thorn)’ = phute; [Faug] ‘red powder’ = phāgu, Standarded Coll. phāgā; [Fena] ‘froth’ = phenā; etc.

(ii) Unvoiced aspirates in an internal position. The proper change seems to have been alteration of the aspiration, h, to the glottal stop, and this glottal stop was transferred to the preceding (generally initial) syllable, either remaining as a glottal stop (when the word began with a vowel) or otherwise combining with the initial consonant to form a recursive, or, in some cases, giving rise to high stress on the syllable to which this [ɸ > ʔ] is transferred. Examples: [p’aka] ‘fan’ = pākhā; Maiman. [d’ukko] ‘sorrow, pain’ = dukkha, *i.e.* dukkha; Maiman. [p’aklaia] ‘having rinsed’ = pākhā-liyā, pākhāliyā; Maiman. [ʃ’uk] ‘happiness’ = sukha, but [ʃ’uker] ‘of happiness’, and Maiman. [m’uk] ‘face’ = mukha, but [muxo] locative, [muxer] genitive; [p’uti, F’uti] ‘MS. book in palm-leaf style’ = puthi (<pothī, pustikā); [k’ota] ‘word, statement’ = kathā;

[k'odbei] 'wood apple' = **kathā-belā** (<kapittha-bilva); Maiman. [m'etor] also [m'etor] 'sweeper' = **metharā** (<Persian *mihtar*, out of politeness or mock respect; cf. *jamādār* in the same sense); [ts'idi] 'letter' = **cithi** ([cʃiθi > tʃiθi > ts'iθi > ts'idi]); Barisal [k'aḍal] 'jack-fruit' = **kūṇṭhālā**; [p'ada, F'ada] 'he-goat' = **pāṭhā**; Maiman. [ɹuḍon] 'a getting up' = **uṭhanā**, [ɹuiṭṭā] 'having got up' = **uṭhiyā**; [l'aḍi] 'stick' = **lāṭhi**; [l'atti] 'kick' = **lāṭhi**; etc.

But the above type of change is not found to be maintained consistently. It seems clear that the interior unvoiced aspirates did not become voiced; the post-consonantal unvoiced breath (*prāṇa*) of these aspirates was simply altered to [ɹ], and this [ɹ] was then transferred to the head of the word; and afterwards, in some cases, the unvoiced stop element left within the word became voiced.

In Dacca, the interior aspirated unvoiced stops remain (intact or in a modified form) intervocally, and finally they are deaspirated: e.g., [ja:k, fa:k] 'conchshell' = **śākhā**, but [saxa] 'conch-shell bracelet'; [matha] 'head'; [aṭha] 'gum'; [kaṭhal] 'jack-fruit', [kotha] 'word'; [paṭha] 'he-goat', etc. In this form of East Bengali, there is a slight stress on the syllable having the aspirate.

Some kind of stress, with or without accompanying high pitch, is in general connected with an aspirate (when it is maintained) or with its alteration to a recursive. This is discussed below (§§ 33, 34).

Where a word has a learned flavour, the aspiration of the unvoiced stop is sought to be retained internally in consonant groups: e.g., Maiman. [nokkhottro] 'star' = **nakṣatra**; [**dzoikkho**, **dzoikkho**, **dzokkho**] = **yakṣa**; [ɔrtho] beside [ɔrtō] 'wealth, meaning' = **artha**; [ɔʃṭho] sixth = **ṣaṣṭha**; etc.

Preconsonantal aspirates do not seem to have been merely deaspirated in East Bengali—there was transference of the aspiration and change of it to glottal stop: *e.g.*, Barisal and Maiman. [t'okta] 'plank' < takhtā (< Pers. taxtah).

§ 14. II. (i) Initial voiced aspirates of Common Indo-Aryan become voiced recursives: *e.g.*

[g'a:] 'wound, sore' = ghā; [g'ori] 'watch, clock' = gharī; [d'ale] 'pours' = dhāle; [d'aka, d'axa] = 'Dacca city or district' = Dhākā; [d'a:n] 'paddy' = dhānā; [d'ore] 'holds, catches' = dhare; [b'a:t] 'boiled rice' = bhātā; [b'alo] 'good' = bhāla; etc. [ɟh = ɟʒh] becomes [ɟʒ]: [ɟʒ'o:r] 'storm', hurricane = jhara; [ɟʒ'ogra] 'quarrel' = jhagarā; etc.

Syllables with these sounds have stress.

(ii) Internal and final voiced aspirates seem equally to have become voiced recursives, but a further change occurred—the glottal closure was anticipated, and we have a transference of this glottal accompaniment to a preceding syllable: either as a pure glottal stop when there was no initial consonant in that syllable, or in the formation of new recursives. There is a certain amount of raising of the voice in the syllable having the glottal stop or the newly formed recursive. *E.g.*, [ɔndo] 'blind' = andha; [ɔiddɔkkhɔ] 'manager, chief' = adhyakṣa; [pa:b] 'mica, cloud' = ābhā (< abhra); [pada] 'half portion' = ādhā; [k'a"d] 'shoulder' = kādhā; [b'anda] 'bound' = bādhā; [b'a:g] 'tiger' = bāghā; [g'ada] 'ass' = gādhā; [g'ura, g'ora] 'horse' = ghorā; [b'ai b'uine bir'od (b'irod) b'alo n'ɔē] 'quarrel between brothers and sisters is not good' = bhāi bahine birodhā bhāla nahe; [b'uddi] 'intelligence' = buddhi; [d'igi] 'large tank' = dighi; Maiman. [ɟʒ'ibba], Bar. [ɟʒ'ebba] 'tongue' = jibbhā for jihvā; [d'u:d] 'milk' = dudhā; [m'ε:g] 'cloud'

= *meghā*; [l'a:b; l'a:v] 'gain' = *lābhā*; [ʃ'oba] 'meeting' = *sabhā*; [ʃ'a'dz, fa'dz] 'evening' = *sājhā* etc.

Earlier aspiration, not preserved either in the Standard Colloquial or in the spelling of the Standard Language of Prose (*sādhu bhāṣā*, which is common for the whole of Bengal), at times betrays its original occurrence through the East Bengali recursive or glottal stop or through the stress substitute: *e.g.*, Barisal [d'ed̪da] Maiman. [d'ɛ:r] '1½' = *deṛā* (+*tā*) < *deṛhā* (< *diyad̪dha*, *dvyardha*); [ɔubur, ɔubur] Barisal = *uburā* (< **ubhuda*): [k'umra] 'gourd' = *kumārā*, but *cf.* Hindustani *kōhrā* = Skt. *kuṣmāṇḍa*; Maiman. ['pore, 'Fore] < [*p'ore] 'reads', from earlier *paṛhe*, and [pore, Fore] 'falls' < *paṛe*; Maiman. [kum'ar < *kum'ar] 'potter' earlier *kumbhāra*, beside [kumar] 'prince' = Skt. *kumāra*; *cf.* also treatment of intervocal [ɦ] below.

§ 15. III. [ɦ] as a rule becomes [ɔ]; in an internal situation, this is advanced to an initial position, forming a recursive with an existing consonant: *e.g.*, [pa:t] 'hand', [ɔati] 'elephant', [ɔail] 'rudder helm', [ɔoilo] 'was, became', [ɔœ] 'is', [ɔindu] 'Hindu' etc. = *hātā*, *hātī*, *hā(i)ā*, *haila*, *hayā*, *hindu*; [k'œ] (also [kœ], following the Standard Colloquial) 'speaks' = *kahe*; [ɔ'ain] 'right' = *dāhinā*; [ɔ'aũk, ɔ'aõk] 'an aquatic bird' = *dāhukā*; [t'obil] 'purse' = *tahabilā*; < Perso Arab. *tahwīl*; literary [t'ara] 'they' = *tāhārā*; [n'ɔ(ɔ)bɔt] '(Indian) music band' = *nahabat* < Pers. *naubat*; [b'uin, b'oin] 'sister' = *bahin*; [b'air] 'outside' = *bāhirā*; [b'æ] 'rows' = *bāhe*; Maiman. [b'iai] 'son's or daughter's father-in-law' = *behāi* (< *vaivāhika*); [m'okuma] 'subdivision of administrative district' = *mahakumā*, < Perso-Arab. *mahkamah*; [ʃ'ɔɔr] 'city' = *śaharā* < Pers. *šahr*; [m'ɔɔl] 'part of mansion' = *mahalā* < *mahall*; [ʃ'aɔʃ] 'courage' = *sāhasā*; Noakhali [b'auillo, b'aõillo] 'excess' (literary) = *bāhulya*, [ʃ'ondeɔ] 'doubt' = *sandeha*; etc., etc.

The above kind of treatment of interior [ɦ] has in a way preserved it in many words in East Bengali, although Standard

Literary Bengali orthography has either wholly ignored it or does not regularly write it: *e.g.*, Maiman. and Bar. [g'uil] < *gohila < *goh=Standard Bengali go-sāpṛ (<godhā); Noakhali [g'ae] 'sings'=Standard gāhe, gāyṛ (found also in E. B. as [gāe]); Maiman. [paḍar'o] 'eighteen' < MIA. atṭhāraha, [t'ero] 'thirteen' < MIA. terahā; Noakhali [g'eu] 'wheat', *e.g.*, [g'eur aḍae b'alo paḍa pce] 'good paste (bhālo āṭhā) is made (lit., is=hayṛ) with wheat flour' (gehur āṭā—gehu = Hindustani gehū : Standard Bengali has the word as gamṛ); Maiman. [n'aior] 'woman's father's home' (<jñāti-gr̥ha, nāihara); etc. But note that for √ lah 'take' of Standard Bengali, Maiman. has [lo] not [l'o].

§ 16. Common East Bengali thus is found to possess the following consonant system:

	Bilabial	Dental	Palatoalveolar	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p, b	t, d		ʈ, ɖ	k, g	
Do. with glottal closure	p', b'	t', d'		ʈ', ɖ'	k', g'	ʔ
Do. aspirated	ph	th		ʈh	kh	
Affricates		ʈs, ɖz	[ɟʃ, ʒʃ]			
Do. with glottal closure		ʈs', ɖz'	[ɟʃ', ʒʃ']			
Nasals	m		n		ŋ	
Do. with glottal closure	m'		n'			
Lateral			l			
Do. with glottal closure			l'			
Trilled			r			
Do. with glottal closure			r'			
Fricatives	f, v	s (z)	(ʃ)		x, ɣ	h (ɦ)
Do. with glottal closure	f'	(s')	(ʃ')			
Semivowels	ɔ̃		ẽ			

The voiced recursives [b', d', d', g', dz'] arise partly from [bɦ, dɦ, dɦ, gɦ, jɦ] and partly from union with a following [ɔ < ɦ] or [ɦ] of an interior aspirate; so also [m', n', l', p'] partly from earlier [mh, nɦ, lɦ, rɦ] and partly by transference of interior [ɦ]. The unvoiced recursives [p', t', t', k', F', j', ts'] are the result solely of the glottal stop alteration of interior [ɦ], and of the h- element of an interior aspirate, both affixed to an original [p, t, t, k, ph, j, c] respectively.

The above recursives are preferred initially. They never occur finally. The simple glottal stop comes from earlier [ɦ]. [j, j'] initially are not proper dialectal sounds—in the folk-speech, they become [ɦ].

§ 17. Articulation with accompanying closed glottis has a significant value in East Bengali: so also the presence or absence of the glottal stop. Thus—

[kaʔd] 'weep thou!' (√krand),
 [k'aʔd] 'shoulder' (kãdhā < *kandha, skandha);
 [ga:] 'body' (= gātra),
 [g'a:] 'sore, wound' (< ghāta);

Maimansing [gura] 'fair, European' (= gorā < gaura-),
 ['g'ura] 'horse' (= ghoṛā);
 [dʒo:r] 'fever' (= jvara),
 [dz'o:r] 'storm' (= jhaṛā, cf. Skt. jhatikā);
 [d̪ain] 'witch' (< dākinī),
 [d̪'ain] 'right side' (< dāhinā = dakṣiṇa);

Maimansing [tara] 'star' (= tārā),
 ['t'ara] 'they' (= tāhāra, literary form);
 [da:n] 'gift' (= dāna),
 [d'a:n] 'paddy' (< dhānya);

Maimansing [Faka, Faxa] 'ripe' (pākā < pakva);
 [F'aka, F'axa] 'fan' (pākhā < pakṣa-);
 [ba:t] 'rheumatism' (= vāta),
 [b'a:t] 'boiled rice' (< bhakta);

- [moiddo] 'wine' (= madya),
 [m'oiddo] 'inside' (= madhya);
 [ail] 'embankment of rice-fields' (= āilā, āli),
 [ɽail] 'rudder' (=hāilā); etc., etc.

§ 18. When did this kind of glottal stop modification of Common Indo-Aryan aspiration (whether post-consonantal or intervocal) first manifest itself in East Bengal? From biographies of Chaitanya as well as from a passage in the **Caṇḍikāvya** of Kavikankaṇa Mukundarāma Cakravartī (4th quarter of the 16th century) we know that some remarkable dialectal differences were already in existence between the East Bengali and the West Bengali dialect groups, differences which can be compared with those existing now. But details are lacking. Padre Assumpeam wrote his Bengali grammar in 1734 (published from Lisbon in 1743): he uses the Roman character, but does not seek to indicate any speciality in the matter of the aspirates and h in the pronunciation of the dialect of Dacca which is the form of Bengali he employs: he writes qh = kh, gh, tth = th, ddh = dh, th, dh, ph, bh; and uses s for ch, and z for both j and jh. From Kavikankaṇa we find that initial [j] had become [ɸ] in his day in the Bāṅgāl or East Bengal dialects; this evidently happened simultaneously with the change of original [ɸ] to [ɽ], otherwise there would be a phonetic dislocation in the language, which is not usual; and consequently we can expect that the aspirated stops—the voiced ones—had been changed to recursives side by side with the aspiration altering to the glottal stop. Thus the 15th—16th centuries would be a period when East Bengali was already marked off from West Bengali by these modifications of the aspirates.

§ 19. The modification can be older still—in fact, as old as the period of the spread of the Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa dialects of Magadha into East and North Bengal (in the early centuries of the Christian era) among people of Austric speeches (allied to

Kol, Mon-Khmer and Khasi) and of Dravidian dialects. The people of Tibet were in intimate contact with Bengal for some centuries after the conversion of their king to Buddhism in the 7th century, and teachers from Bengal used to go to Tibet and Tibetan scholars also would come to Bengal. The Tibetans may have received their alphabet for the first time from Turkistan (Khotan), but there is no doubt that the alphabet of Bihar and Bengal also modified it to some extent: and some eastern or Bengal habits of pronunciation certainly were adopted in Tibet in reading Sanskrit, from the 7th century onwards. A valuable document for medieval Sanskrit pronunciation has been found in a Sanskrit-Tibetan religious formulary of the 10th century, giving Sanskrit words, not in the usual spelling, but in a sort of phonetic transcript for the Tibetan reader, using Tibetan values of the letters and syllables (Joseph Hackin, *Formulaire Sanskrit-Tibetain du Xe. siècle, Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, Série Petit in Octavo, Tome II*, Paris, 1924). In this MS., equivalents have been given in Tibetan characters for Sanskrit letters; and although the system is not regular (the MS. gives 'g' for gh, 'j' for jh, 'd' [not 'ḍ] for ḍ, ḍ [not ḍ] for ḍh, 'd' for d, th for dh, 'b' for b, b for bh—see p. 87 of the edition of Hackin), it seems it would be allowable to think that the Sanskrit gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh were intended to be represented in the Tibetan by means of the stops g j ḍ ḍ b accompanied by the letter which is rendered in the Roman transcription by ['] and which is believed to stand for the glottal stop: the Tibetan transcription would thus appear to have rendered the voiced aspirates by 'g, 'j, 'd, 'ḍ, 'b (or possibly 'g', 'j', 'd', 'ḍ', 'b'). In any case, the device of subscribing an h below the voiced stops was not resorted to in this 10th century document. A recursive pronunciation can be reasonably assumed as the one which the Tibetan people heard, in the 10th century, along with r+i for ṛ, b for v, and khya for kṣa. Recursives for voiced aspirates could thus be impositions into the Aryan speech in the east of Bengal over a thousand years ago.

Gujarati.

§ 20. In the *Linguistic Survey of India* volume on Rajasthani and Gujarati (Vol. IX, Part II), Grierson notes that 'in a good many Gujarati words, a slight *h* is heard, although the latter is not represented in writing.' He gives a fairly long list of such words (pp. 347-352), and he has also discussed the nature of the *h* sound in Gujarati (p. 330). Some of the words from LSI. list were taken up at random, and their pronunciation was studied by me with Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala. Dr. Taraporewala speaks the Parsi dialect of Gujarati, but his Sanskrit scholarship has prevented it from being Parsi Gujarati of the extreme type, and in his opinion his Gujarati is practically the same as that of educated Hindu Gujaratis. In the matter of this 'slight' *h* sound, Dr. Taraporewala thinks there is no difference between Parsi Gujarati and Hindu Gujarati. I have not had the opportunity of investigating the matter with Hindu speakers of Gujarati, but I think in this articulation all or most Gujarati speakers would be one, irrespective of their religion or environment.

§ 21. Now, the 'slight' *h* sound, which has been noted, is nothing but the glottal stop, or accompanying glottal closure, as could be suspected; and Dr. Taraporewala's pronunciation of the words noted in the LSI. at once made the point clear—a matter in which Dr. Taraporewala was in perfect agreement with me. To transcribe in the IPA. alphabet Dr. Taraporewala's pronunciation of some of the words given in the LSI. :—

aḍāhr (for aḍhār or arāḍh) 'eighteen' [ʌḍ'ar]

ahmè, 'we' [ʌm'e]

āhph, 'panting' [ʌf]

āhwū, 'of this kind' [ʌvū, av'ū]

ehḍ, or heḍ, 'stocks, fetters; a drove of cattle' [ɔɐ, eɐ]

ūhnū, 'hot' [un'u]

kahnaiyo 'fop, a gallant' [kʌn'ʌio]

kahyū, 'said' [k'ʌiū]

- kâhñī, 'a story' [k'a'ñi]
 kâhr, 'a pâlî-bearer' [k'a:r], but kâr, 'a doer' [ka:r]
 kohđ, 'a byre, also white leprosy' [k'o:r]
 kohñī, 'the elbow' [k'oñi]
 grehewũ or grehwũ, 'to take' [gr'evũ]
 cāh, 'tea' [tʃ'a.]
 chāhj, 'a shelf, a thatch' [tʃh'a:ɟ]
 tēhl, 'prying, a certain beggar's cry' [t'eł]
 dāhđī or dādhī (dāhđī, dādhī) 'the beard' [d'a:ri, d'a:ri]
 dohđ, dohđ, 'one and a half' [d'o:r, d'o:r]
 tehwũ, 'such' [t'evũ]
 tōhter, 'seventy-three' [t'ōter]
 dāhđ, dādh, dāhđ 'a molar tooth' [d'a:r, d'a:r]
 dehlũ, dehlō, đelhũ, đehlō, 'the gate of a street' [d'elũ, d'elō,
 đ'elũ, đ'elō]
 nahñũ, 'the ceremony of bathing the bridegroom' [n'añũ], but
 nāñũ, 'a coin' [nañũ]
 neh, 'the pipe of a hubble-bubble' [n'e:]
 pāhđ, 'mountain' [p'a:r]
 pāhñ, pāhñō, 'a stone, a rock' [p'a:n, p'año]
 pāhđō, 'a custom' [p'a:ro], but pāđo 'a he-buffalo' [pa:ro]
 pīhđ or pīđh 'a grinder (tooth), a paint for the teeth' [p'i:r],
 but pīđ, 'pain' [pi:r]
 pehl 'beginning' [p'e:l]
 bahnevī, 'a sister's husband' [bañ'evi]
 bāhr, bahār, 'spring, outside' [b'ār]
 bīhawũ 'to fear' [b'ivũ]
 behu 'both' [b'eu]
 bēhtālis, forty-two [b'ēta:lis]
 behn 'sister' [b'e:n]
 bahut, boht 'much' [b'o:t]
 māhro, 'my' [m'aro]
 muhūrta, 'an instant' [m'u:rt], also [m'urət]
 mehetō, 'a teacher' [m'e'to]
 rāh 'a road' [r'a:]

lāht, lāt, 'a kick' [l'a:t]
 lēhghī, 'small trousers' [l'ēgi]
 lehr, lahar 'a wave' [l'ε:r]
 loh, lohḍū 'iron' [l'o:, l'oṛū]
 wahu 'daughter-in-law' [v'au]
 viwāh 'marriage' [v'iva], but more common [viv'a] or [vivah]
 sāhu, sāhu, 'honest' [f'au, s'au]
 sahī, 'a female friend' [s'Δi]
 sūhj, 'evening' [s'ā:ḍ]
 sūhjī 'a song sung in the evening' [s'āḍi]
 sūḍh 'a bull' [s'ā:r]
 sāth, 'sixty' [s'a:t]
 seh 'power of endurance' [s'e:]
 sēh 'hundred' [s'ē:]; etc., etc.

§ 22. From the above and similar examples, as well as from other ones, the behaviour of the aspirated stops and the independent h- sound in Gujarati can be laid down as being as follows:—

I. Initial aspirated stops, both voiced and unvoiced, remain; e.g. [khaḍū] 'to eat'; [ghār] 'house', [ghēr] 'in the house'; little'; [thara:v] 'decision, resolve'; [dhaḡlo] 'large heap'; [thoro] 'few', [dhaṛti] 'earth'; [bhaṛoso] 'hope'; [ch] and [jh] occur as [tjh] and [ḍjh]: [tjhokro] 'boy', [ḍjha:r] 'tree'; and [ph] generally becomes spirantised to [f].

§ 23. II. Aspirated stops and other consonants in a non-initial position.

The development in Gujarati parallels that in East Bengali as noted above (§§ 13, 14, 15), only the influence of Sanskrit does not seem to have allowed the inherent tendency of the language full scope, so that in careful pronunciation the aspirates are heard. The tendency was to turn the aspirate into a recursive, and then wherever suitable to advance the glottal closure towards the head of the word, so that an earlier consonant

in the word was made into a recursive and the original aspirate > recursive became a simple stop (or other consonant). The following examples are characteristic.

[**Ad'a:r**] 'eighteen' = **adhāra** (<**aṭṭhāraha**); [**un'ū**] 'hot' (<**uṇha**, **uṣṇa**); [**k'o:r**] 'white leprosy' = (Hindi **korh**, <**koḍḍha**, **kuṣṭha**); [**tʃ'Arəṇ**] 'ascent' (cf. Hindi **carṇā**); [**d'a:ri**] 'beard', [**d'a:r**] 'molar teeth' (<**dāḍha** < **damṣṭrā**); [**d'e:r**] 'one and a half' (<**dvyardha**); [**m'o:t**, **m'otū**, **m'oterū**] 'large' (cf. Marathi **moṭhā**, Rajasthani **moṭhā**, **moṭhī**); [**r'idzəvū**] 'to be pleased' = **rījhavū**; [**l'a:t**] = 'kick' = **lāthā**; [**l'utʃəvūl**] 'to wipe' = **luchavū**; [**l'utʃəvū**] 'to plunder' = **luṭhavū**; [**v'Arəv'ar**] 'dispute' = **vaḍhā-vāḍhā**; [**v'e:r**] 'finger-ring' = **vedhā**; [**s'ā:ɟ**] 'evening' = **sājha**; [**p'ano**] 'flowing of milk into udder' (<**panhava**, **prasnava**); [**s'a:t**] 'sixty' = **sāṭhi**; [**s'ara**] 'plus one-half' (<**sārdha**); [**l'a:b**] 'gain' = **lābha**; etc.

Original aspiration, not indicated in the orthography, is found to be preserved in this altered form in pronunciation; thus, [**Am'e**] 'we'; written **ame**, but derived from MIA **amha** = OIA. **asma**; [**un'u**] 'hot' written **ūnū**, from MIA **uṇha** = **uṣṇa**; [**kan'āio**, **k'anāio**] 'fop, gallant' = **kanaiyō** < **kaṇha**, **kṛṣṇa**; [**n'aṇū**] 'ceremony of bathing the bridegroom', written **nāṇū**, <**nhāṇa**, **snāna**; [**s'ā:ɟ**] 'evening', written **sāja**; etc., etc. This can be compared with East Bengali (*supra*), § 14 [ii].

§ 24. III. Initial **h** remains—at least in some forms of Gujarati. (It is very likely that further investigation in the northern dialects of Gujarati, as described in the LSI, Vol. IX., Part II, p. 330, and in the Surati dialect, LSI, *ibid.*, p. 382, which are said to drop **h** initially and in other positions, the regular alteration of **h** to the glottal stop will be found to be the rule). But *intervocal h* seems to have regularly become the glottal stop, which then attached itself to a preceding consonant and turned it to a recursive. This change is like the one noticed in East Bengali (*supra*, § 15).

In the orthography of Gujarati, the older and fuller form of the word is sometimes written, and sometimes the **h** is written under

the consonant which is altered to a recursive, or the *h* is dropped entirely. Thus [b'e:n] 'sister' is written either **बेहेन** or **ब्हेन** or simply **बेन** (*behenā*, *b-henā*, *benā*). The recursives which originate in this way form a very large group in Gujarati, and are quite characteristic of the language. It is to be noted that in connexion with internal *h*, Gujarati alters the quality of a contiguous [ʌ] to [e]: Pers. *šahr* 'town' = *šahr* becomes *šeher*—[ʃ'e:r]; Skt. *lahara* 'wave' changes to [l'e:r], Skt. *araghaṭṭa* > Pkt. *arahatṭa*, **arahaṇṭa* becomes [r'ē:t], etc. This may be compared with the common Hindustani (and Panjabi) treatment of a preceding *h* and consonant into an [æ] vowel: e.g., *kahnā* 'to speak' = [kæena], *bahnoī* 'sister's husband' = [bæenoi], *ahmad* 'the name Ahmad' = [æemʌd], *pahlwān* 'wrestler' = *pæelwan*, etc. Examples: [k'ʌiū] 'said' = *kahyū*; [kʌd'aɾe] 'on an unlucky day' = *ka-dahāde*; [k'a:n, k'e:n] 'message' < *kahānī*; [k'ʌo] 'coffee' < Ar. *qahwah*; [k'a:r] = *kahār* = 'pālki bearer': [k'oni] 'elbow' < *kahonī* *kaphonī*; [gr'evū] 'to take' = *grehevū*; [dʒ'e:r] 'poison' = *jeher*, *jher*, Pers. *zahr*; [d'eli] 'upper storey in front of a house' = *dehalī*; [d'erū] 'small temple' = *devahara*, *devagrha*; [d'oni] 'milk pan' = *dohani*; [pr'o:t] 'priest' = *purohita*; [p'a:r] 'mountain, hill' = *pahāda*; [p'eraɳ] 'a kind of shirt' = *peheraṇā*; [p'e:l] 'beginning' = *pehel*, *pahila*; [p'elwan] 'wrestler' = Pers. *pahlwān*; [b'ʌnevi] 'sister's husband' = *bahenevi*; [b'a:l] 'established, confirmed' = Pers. *bahāl*; [b'ivū, b'i:vū] 'to fear' = *bihavū* (√*bibhī*); [b'eu] 'both' = *behu* (< *dvi*+*ubha*); [b'etʌr] 'better' < Pers. *bihtar*; [b'o:t] 'much, many' = *bahut*; [m'a:t] 'mahout' = *mahātā* (< *mahāmātra*); [m'a:ɖʒ] 'inside' < *mājhī*; [m'a:l] 'revenue district' < Pers. = *mahāl*; [m'e:, me:fɪ] 'cloud' (*megha*); [m'o:] 'face' (< *muha*, *mukha*); [r'a:] 'road' < Pers. *rāh*; [r'ethan] 'place of abode' (√*rah*+*sthāna*); [l'ēgi] 'small trousers' = *lehengi*; [l'o:, l'oɾū] 'iron' < *lauha*; [l'oi] 'blood' < *lohita*; [v'ʌu] 'a daughter-in-law' (< *vahū*, *vadhū*); [v'a:n] 'ship' < *vāhana*; [v'e:] 'hole' < *vedha*; [v'ʌi] 'account book' < *wahī*; [s'ʌu] 'honest' < *sāhu*, *sādhū*; [s'aṇū] 'wise, discreet' cf. Marathi *śahāṇā* 'clever'; [s'e:ɖʒ] 'easily, a little' = *sahajā*; etc., etc. [s'a:mū] 'in

front of' < *sāhamāü* < *sāmahaü* < *sāmuhaü* < *sammuhaü* < *sammukhaka* (cf. Tessitori, *Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani*, *Indian Antiquary*, 1914-1916, § 51).

§ 25. IV. In addition to the above types where an existing aspiration (independent or consonantal) is the cause of the recursive, Gujarati shows other cases where the recursives originate even when there is no aspiration in the word. The reasons which bring about this change have not been enquired into, but it is seen that in a number of cases an earlier diphthong or vowel group in the word has been contracted, and recursive modification of a contiguous consonant has come in. Thus—[m'ɔ:t] 'death' < Perso-Arabic *maut*; [m'a:t] 'checkmate' < Arabic *māta* (< *maṣṭata*), Pers. *māt* (with possible occurrence of the glottal stop after ā); [tʃ'en] 'ease, repose', cf. Hind *cain*; [m'osəm] 'season' < Perso-Arabic *mausim*; [l'avəni] 'ballad' < **lāvaṇī*; [s'e:] 'hundred' < *saī*, *sayam* = *śatam*; [n'e:] 'pipe of a hookah' < Pers. *nai*, [n'etʃo] 'ibidem' < Pers. *nai-cah*; [m'ɔ:lai] 'pertaining to maternal grandfather's house' < **maulāi* < *mātulā*; etc., etc. Here it may be assumed that the second or off-glide element of the diphthong came to be accompanied by glottal closure, it became a glottal stop, and then was transposed: *maut* < [**moot*] < [**mɔpt*] < [m'ɔ:t], *saī* < [sæē] > [**sēɔ*] > [s'ē:]; etc. A similar transference of an off-glide vowel to a glottal stop and the final assimilation of the glottal stop to a following consonant subsequently, is noticed in Bengali (see ODBL., p. 1026): *jāi* + *che* > *jāiche* > **jāɔche* > *jācche* [ʃaccʃhe, ʃaccʃe] 'is going'; *hai* + *che* > *hoiche* > **hoɔche* > *hocche* [hoccʃhe, hoccʃe] 'is happening'; etc., etc.

But the recursive alteration in a few other cases remains obscure: [k'Alai] 'tin' < Hindustani *qalāi* 'tin coating of copper vessel'; [kh'ai] 'ditch' < *khāta*; [tʃh'a:r] 'dust, rubbish', cf. Beng. *chārā* 'ashes'; [tʃh'e:r] 'watery excrement' = Beng. *cherānī* (*chera* + *pānī*); [t'ētai:s] 'forty-three'; [t'ētri:s] 'thirty-three'; [v'epar] 'trade' = *vyāpāra* (-y- as a glide altered to [ɔ]); [s'Arɔe kha'tū] 'the

Survey Department'; [s'iri:] 'sweetness' < Persian *širin* 'sweet'; [s'o:r] besides [fo:r] 'noise' = Pers. *šor*; etc., etc.

§ 26. Gujarati has thus consonants with glottal closure as specific phonemes : the stops and the affricates, simple and aspirated (although examples of each have not been given, it is likely that they exist, or are possible for the speech, for all the 20 sounds of the five *varga*-series), as well as [r', l', ʋ', s', ʃ']. These phonemes have a significant value, as the LSI. list itself shows. To give a few instances —

- [kā:] 'why?' but [k'ā:] 'where?';
 - [ka:r] 'doer', but [k'a:r] 'a palanqueen-bearer';
 - [khai] 'food', but [kh'ai] 'ditch';
 - [tʃirijū] 'a bead', but [tʃ'irijū] 'irritable';
 - [d̥e-ro] 'tent', but [d'e-ro] 'log tied to an animal's neck';
 - [pa:ɾ] 'obligation', but [p'a:ɾ] 'a mountain';
 - [po:r] 'city', but [p'o:r] 'a period of three hours';
 - [ba:rū] 'a door', but [b'a:rū] 'singing out of tune';
 - [m:or] 'a chaplet', but [m'o:ɾ] 'a section among Brahmans, Baniyas, etc.';
 - [re:n] 'night', but [r'e:n] 'a kind of cement';
 - [levū] 'take', but [l'evū] 'reflect, think';
 - [ʋa:ɾi] 'garden', but [ʋ'a:ɾi] 'vessel for holding ghee';
- etc., etc.

§ 27. The date for this kind of modification of internal aspirates as well as of *h* in Gujarati cannot be definitely established. But it seems it was coming in, at least in the Old Western Rajasthani or pre-Gujarati stage. From descriptions of the pronunciation of the dialects of Rajasthani, which is a sister-speech to Gujarati, both being derived from some common form of Early New Indo-Aryan, it would seem likely that stops with simultaneous glottal closure exist also in these. Thus the LSI. for Marwari: "Aspiration and the letter *h* are commonly omitted. Thus *paḍaṇḍ* for *paḍhaṇḍ*, 'to read'; *paḷo* for *paḷho*,

'first'; **kaīno** for **kaḥ^{no}**, to say (Vol. IX, Part II, p. 20); *cf.* **alop** for Central and Eastern Rajasthani, LSI., Vol. IX, Part II, ps. 33-34 (**sair** for **shahr** 'city', **ādo** 'half' = **ādho**, **sikno** 'to learn', **sāy** = **sahāya** 'help', etc.); and for Malvi, *ibid.*, p. 54 ('there are numerous examples of the dropping of an aspirate. Thus, **kādo** for **kāḍho**, 'draw (water)'; **aḍāī** for **aḍhāī**, 'two and a half'; **kīdo** or **kīdho** 'done'; etc.) The source speech of Western Rajasthani and Gujarati on the one hand, and the Central and Eastern Rajasthani dialects and Malvi on the other, might have developed this characteristic, which was later inherited by these in common.

§ 28. In the Old Western Rajasthani speech as described by L. P. Tessitori (*Indian Antiquary* for 1914-1916), **-h-** is generally retained, and so are the aspirates. But already **-h-** is found to be dropped in a word or two (§ 37 [3], *Indian Antiquary* article referred to), and is also found to be inserted between vowels to avoid a hiatus (§ 38); and interesting are the few cases where the **-h-** is thrown back before the foregoing syllable, like **melhaī** < **melhaī** < **mellaī** 'descends', with characteristic change of **-ll-** to **-lh-** (§ 42, § 51). Can we take it that the spelling **mehalaī**, found in two MSS. which Tessitori placed during the first half of the 16th century, did actually represent a pronunciation [mepəlai] or [m'elai]? The **-h-** as an euphonic insertion may very well represent a glottal stop glide to preserve a separate or distinct utterance of a vowel from a preceding one. Cf. also the following (Tessitori, § 51):

***divasaṭakah** > **dīahaḍaū** > ***dīhaaḍaū** > **dihāḍaū** >

Modern Gujarati [d'a:ro] 'day';

***paridhāpayati** > **parihāvei**, **-vaī** > **pahirāvaī** > [p'era'və]

'puts on';

mellaī > **melhaī** > **mehalai** > [m'ele] 'sends';

vallabhah > **vallahu** > **vāhīlu** > [v'a:l] 'love';

sammukha-ka (**sammukha**) > **sāmahaū** (**sāmahu**) > **sāhamaū** >

[s'amū] 'in front of',

The so-called deaspiration of the aspirates in an intervocal position in Rajasthani is actually a recursive treatment as in Gujarati, and it is either be an independent development in Rajasthani, or has been derived from an Apabhramśa source: nothing is known for certain in this matter. But it is not unlikely that the glottal stop pronunciation of *-h-*, at least intervocally, came in during the 16th century.

Panjabi.

§ 29. Detailed phonetic study of only one form of Panjabi has so far been made accessible to us, that spoken round about the towns of Wazirabad and Gujrat, in Dr. T. Grahame Bailey's *Panjabi Phonetic Reader* (London, 1919). This form of Panjabi is an extreme dialect, on the Lahnda-Panjabi frontier. It is marked by a remarkable treatment of the voiced aspirates, and of *h*. Other forms of Panjabi doubtless are also marked by this treatment. At present, we have no recursive treatment of the aspirates, no glottal stop modification of the *h*, whatever might have been the situation in Old and Middle Panjabi times, or earlier. But the voiced aspirates are deaspirated, and further they are unvoiced initially and this is accompanied by modulation of voice (tone); and the syllable with an *h* also undergoes modification in tone. The question of these tones of Panjabi and their origin as a phonetic phenomenon has been discussed by Dr. Jules Bloch (in *Melanges Linguistiques offerts à M. J. Vendryes*, Paris, 1925, pp. 57-67).

§ 30. A study of the examples in the *Panjabi Phonetic Reader* from point of view of the treatment of the aspirates and of *h* would show that:—

I. Unvoiced aspirates retain their aspiration in all cases: *e.g.* [khol] 'open', [aokha] 'troubled, with difficulty', [akh] 'say', [thik] 'right, correct', [koṭhi] 'house', [diṭha] 'seen', etc., etc.

§ 31. II. Voiced aspirates are treated as follows:—

Initially, they are turned to unvoiced stops, with low rising (or low rising-falling) tone (which is represented by the symbol [e], beginning about a tone above the lowest note which the speaker can command, and rising about two semi-tones and sometimes falling again about a tone (cf. Jules Bloch, article referred to, p. 58): thus, [pʋuk:h] 'hunger' = **bhukkha**; [tivan] 'reflection' = **dhyāna**; [tʋʌg:a] 'ox, bull' = **dhaggā**; **cvaṛu** = **cʃvaṛu** 'broom' = **jhāṛū**; [kʋoɾa] 'horse' = **ghoṛā**.

Internally, they are deaspirated; in the interior of a word, the following vowel when stressed takes the low rising tone (cf. Bloch, article referred to, pp. 60-61): thus, [kaɾva] past tense of **kaṛh** 'boil' = Prakrit **kaḍh**; [kaɖva-] causative of **kaḍdh** 'eject'; [ʋaɖvi] passive of **vaḍdh** 'to cut'; and when the accented syllable precedes the aspirate, it obtains a high falling tone, which 'is uttered about a fifth (seven semitones) above the first note of the low-rising tone': thus, [bʌd:a] 'tied' < [bʌn:na] = **baddhā** < **banhā**; [cʌɾ = cʃʌɾ] 'mount' = **caṛh**; [dʌoɾa] 'one and a half' = **deorhā**; [kūɪ = kūɪʒ] 'something, somewhat' = **kujjh**; [sʌb] 'all' = **sabh**; [sʌmɪ = sʌmɪʒ] 'understand' = **samajh**; etc.

In words like [pʋabi] 'brother's wife' = **bhābhī**, [tʋiɖ] 'stomach' = **dhīḍha**, [cʋʌygi, cʃcʌŋgi] 'coppice' = **jaṇghī**, we have both initial and internal aspirates treated according to their position, the words having two tones side by side, resultant on the loss of the aspiration.

§ 32. III. Original **h**, initial and originally intervocal:—

Initially, it remains in a strong or accented syllable which takes up the low-rising tone: e.g. [ʃʋat:h] 'hand', [ʃʋʌs] 'laugh, smile', [ʃʋo] 'be' [ʃʋʌzɾet] 'his highness', [ʃʋoʃ] 'sense, consciousness'; a weak or unstressed syllable with [ʃ] drops, together with the [h], or is rendered very weak—and the following syllable takes the low-rising tone: e.g. **hameśa** 'always' > ***hemeśā**, ***hmeśā** > [mveʃa]; [ʃʋʌs] 'laugh' but **hāsā** 'to cause to laugh', **hasāṇāvāḷā** 'a jester' become [əʋa, əʋaṇvaʃa].

Internally, *h* is dropped, but in its influence in the matter of tone it behaves like the voiced aspirates; thus there is low-rising tone on the strong vowel occurring after an originally intervocal or post-consonantal *h*: *e.g.* *bahā* = *bēhā* 'cause to sit' > [*bəva*, *bva*], as contrasted with [*bâ*] = *baih* 'to sit', with stress; [*dviara*] 'day' = *dihārā*; [*kvaṇi*] 'story' = *kahāṇi*, *kēhāṇi*; [*nvera*] 'darkness' = *anherā*, *ənherā*; [*lv̌or*] 'Lahore', either from *lahaur*, *lēhaur*, **lhaur* or from **halaur*, **həlaur*, **hlaur* (= *Sālātura*: *cf.* Bloch, article cited above, p. 60, foot-note); [*kumiṇar*] 'potter', = **kumihār* < *kumhiār*; [*maʃavur*] 'famous' = *mašāhūr*. When it occurs after a strong syllable, original intervocal *h* (now either intervocal or pre-consonantal or final) is equally dropped, but the preceding strong syllable takes the high-falling pitch: *e.g.* [*râ*] 'remain' = *raih*, *rah*; [*bâ*] 'sit' = *baih*, *bah*; [*b̌ot*] 'much' = *bahut*; [*ǩāra*] 'iron pan' = *kaṛāhā*; [*kida*] 'whose' = *kihādā*; [*kēa*] 'what kind of' = *kehā*; [*triū*], oblique of *trai* = 'three' < *trihū*, *triūh*; etc.

§ 33. The substitution of tone for aspiration is characteristic of Panjabi, yet this is not an isolated phenomenon occurring in Panjabi alone. Mention has been made before of stress and high pitch in syllables having the recursives in East Bengali. This high pitch is heard in stressed syllables, and it goes hand in hand with the recursive: it is not signified by itself alone. Thus Faridpur [*bat poile*, *b'at khaē na*] 'when one has rheumatism, one should not eat rice', lit. 'rheumatism having-occurred, rice one-eats not' = *bātā haile*, *bhātā khāyā nā*, where [*bat*] and [*b'at*] as forming first important words in a sense group have the usual Bengali stress, but [*b'at*] is pronounced at a higher pitch; Noakhali [*hetar k'a'de g'a poise boli hēte ka'de*] 'he is crying because he has a sore on his shoulder', where [*k'ande*] and [*g'a*] appear to have slightly higher pitch than the other words. So Maimansing [*k'a'do g'a deikkæ hē kanta se*] = *kā'dhe ghā dekhiyā se kāditeche*, where [*k'a'do*] and [*g'a*] have this high pitch, as well as stress. But this pitch is level, not rising-falling or in any way modulated, and it is rather difficult to distinguish it from strong stress,

The characteristic sentence intonation of the dialect also interferes, especially when the pitch (or stress) is on a non-initial syllable, and makes the problem still knottier : thus in Maimansing, a common type of finishing intonation in a sentence is of this type: ~, which to some extent is heard in polysyllabic words as well, and hence it is difficult to distinguish in the matter of pitch between [kumar] 'prince'=kumāra and [ku'mar] 'potter' < *kumhāra < kumbhakāra, [gura] 'horse' = ghoṛā and [gura] 'fair, white' = gorā (<gaurā). At the present moment, education is imposing the aspirate sounds in East Bengali, at least initially, and further development of the aspirate > recursive with high pitch will be interfered with as education spreads more and more. Change of [gḥa:] > *'g'a:> *'ga:] 'sore'—would make the tone alone the distinctive feature of the word, marking it off from [ga:] 'body'; and the East Bengali dialect would then arrive at something like the Panjabi distinction, by tone only, between [koṛa] 'whip' and [kvoṛa] 'horse' [pai] 'pie, a coin' and [pvai] 'brother'. But such a situation seems not to have arisen yet.

§ 34. How far is the recursive treatment of the aspirates connected with tone? In some languages at least, a high falling tone goes hand in hand with the glottal stop (cf. LSI, Vol. I, Part II, 29: Burmese). For Panjabi, the analogous cases of transferred aspiration > glottal closure in East Bengali and Gujarati would be helpful, if only for speculation. Common NIA. bhāt=E. Beng. [b'ai] with high pitch=Panj. [pvai]: can the form [pvai] be from an earlier [b'ai] (with or without high pitch), in which the loss of sonority in the consonant was compensated by the low-rising tone? MIA duddha 'milk' > dūdhā > East Bengali [d'u:d], but Panjabi [dūd:] = duddhā; the Panjabi form is on the basis of similar transference of aspiration, and its change to the glottal stop—[*d'uddə]. The recursive treatment of the aspirates is a phenomenon very widely spread in the Indo-Aryan area—in East Bengali, in Gujarati, in Rajasthani

in Sindhi, and certainly in many other tracts, portions of the Panjabi and Lahnda areas being in all likelihood included. But accurate information is wanting in this matter. Thus the account of Lahnda articulation in the LSI. (Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 235, p. 251) would suggest the existence of the glottal stop for **h** and the recursive pronunciation of at least the initial voiced aspirates. Until Dr. Siddheswar Varma's paper on the Phonetics of Lahnda is published, the consideration of this matter will have to be postponed. I have recollection of a 'Panjabi' person—possibly a man from South-Eastern Panjab, saying [d'æramtala] (on a basis [dēhramtala]) for **Dharamtalā** the name of a Calcutta locality. I heard a Muhammadan gentleman from Haidarabad (Deccan) whose family was settled there for generations say [kea b'ai] for **kyā bhāi** 'what, brother?' Deccan Hindustani I am convinced has the recursives for the voiced aspirates and substitutes the glottal stop for **h**, like Rajasthani. The strong tendency to deaspirate or to transfer the aspiration, which is noticed in the Pahari dialects (cf. LSI., Vol. IX, Part IV: p. 116, Kumanni; p. 377, Western Pahari in general; p. 335, Jaunsari; p. 460, Sirmauri; pp. 478-479, Sirmauri Giripari; p. 495, Baghati; p. 560, Kiunthali; p. 673, Kuḷūi; p. 689, Inner Siraji; p. 721, Maṇḍeali; etc.), may be reasonably expected, following what has been revealed elsewhere, to be, at least in some of the dialects, only a recursive alteration of the aspirates. And as Jules Bloch quotes from T. Grahame Bailey (*Linguistic Studies for the Himalayas*), in one dialect at least that of the tract to the north of Jubbal (to the east of Simla) **bhāi** and **ghorā** occur as [baṣṛ] and [goṣro]. A recursive alteration of the voiced aspirates, and a change of **h** to the glottal stop, would not thus be a hazardous assumption for the dialects of the Panjab at some not very early age. Al-Bīrūnī writes **Lauhāwar** for **Lahore**: if his transcription is based on local pronunciation (which very likely it was), it would go to show that the **-h-** was heard as **-h-** in the 10th-11th centuries. The change in Panjabi would seem to be recent, i.e.,

Telugu has converted **uṇḍu** into a new verbal base, and all tense forms of this base are in use.

The aoristic form **uṇḍ** by itself and in combination with the various tense-forms of other auxiliaries **aḡ** and **ir** and the old base used as a verb, are used in the formation of compound tenses in the following dialects to-day:

Brāhūi : the suffixes **uṭ**, **us**, **un**, **ure**, in various tense forms *e.g.* **tikhaṭ** (**tikha** + **uṭ**.), *I placed*, etc., possibly are modifications of ancient [**ul**].

Tuḷu : **-uppe** (**ul** + **p** + pronominal ending in the future perfect tense *e.g.* **maltuḍuppe**, *I will have done* etc.

Koḍagu : **uḷḷiju** in the Present Cont. and Pres. Perf. tenses *e.g.* **naḍandaṇḍ uḷḷiju**, *I am walking*, etc.

Malayālam : **cejdittuṇḍə** (*has done*); **ceydittuṇḍaḥjirunnu** (*had done*), etc.

While thus the use of **ul** as a verb is traceable in the northernmost Dravidian dialect and conspicuous in the southern dialects, the central Dravidian dialects use a verb form : **mand** (**Gōṇḍi**), **man** (**Kūi**) and **men** (**Kurukh**) in stead of **ul** with exactly the same force and meaning.

I have tried to show in a separate paper of mine ("Educational Review," May 1929) that the following forms of Dravidian are all traceable through the intermediate stages [**mən**] < [**vən**] < [**vul**] < [**(v)ul**], to the ancient base [**ul**] :—

South Dr. :—**man :u** (**u**) *to remain*

„ **maṇ** (*earth*)

„ **maṇəl** (*sand*)

„ **maṇei**, **mane** (*house*)

Tamil **mandrem** (*assembly*)

Kūi :—**man-**, *to be* used as a substantive verb.

Gōṇḍi :—**mand-**, *to be*, used as a substantive and auxiliary verb.

Kurukh:—**man**-, *to be, to become*—a substantive verb only.

Brāhūi:—**man**:-, *to become*—substantive verb.

The widespread character of these related forms and the availability of Dravidian analogies to exemplify the changes involved in the development of these forms from **ul**, together with the fact that certain intermediate stages are represented in a few dialects, go to show the probable relationship of these forms to **ul**.

The question of the origin of **man**, **men**, **mand**, **mannu** etc., is however a little complicated by the fact that the Indian Austric dialects: Santāli, Muṇḍari, etc., also possess a verb: **mēn** which is used as an auxiliary and substantive verb with characteristic Austric tense-infixes

What, if any, is the connection between the Indian Austric forms and the Dravidian series? The mutual influence of Austric and Dravidian has not been fully investigated, but there is no doubt that if, as the results of M. Przyluski's researches have shown, Austric has exerted considerable influence in vocabulary on Indo-Aryan, there should certainly have been a great deal of mutual influence between Austric and Dravidian also. **mēn** of Santāli, Muṇḍari, etc., appears to be native in these dialects, allied as it is to similar forms occurring in other Austro-asiatic dialects (*vide* P. O. Bodding's *Materials for a santāli Gr.*, Vol. 1, page 286).

If **mēn** is a native Austric word, what is the nature of the influence it may have exerted on the development of the Dravidian forms which show such remarkable correspondence in form, meaning and usage? The view that Dravidian may have borrowed the Austric word at a very ancient date, is of doubtful value, in view especially of the fact that the change of **v** to **m** in the development of **man** etc., from native Dravidian **ul** on a Dravidic basis, is attested by many parallel cases. It is possible,

therefore, that at best the Indian Austric: *me:n*, *men*, may have hastened the change of (v)ul to *man* in Dravidian, and, further, induced the central Dravidian dialects to use the later developed forms : *man*, *men* etc., as auxiliary verbs, while Brāhūi of the North, and the dialects of the South retained *ul* as the auxiliary, though they also in common with the rest of Dr. developed forms with initial *m*-.

III. New forms from *ul*.

1. *ulḷu*(u) *room* in Tamil and Kannaḍa is directly derived from *ul*, *inside*. Kurukh *ula.*, *inner room*, is cognate, the lengthening of the enunciative final vowel and the change of *l* to *l* being characteristic of Kurukh (vide pages 11, 12 of Grignard's Kurukh Grammar.)

By a process of metecsemy, *ulḷu*(u) has come to mean in Tamil, Malayāḷam and Kannaḍa: *the heart, the mind etc.*

uli and *uḷi* of old Tamil mean *place* ; *ḷ* of *uḷi* is from *l*.

2. Other derivatives of *ul* in Tamil are the following. They are all formed according to characteristic Dravidian modes of word-formation.

ulam, *mind, thought*

ulu, *worm, "what bores through"*

uli, *chisel*

ulavum, *secret, truth*

ulai, *to feel pain inside*

ulā, *to feel, to suffer* in phrases like *ka:mam*

ulā, *to feel love*; *paḷḍel ulā*, *to feel pain*,

ul-, *to think, to remember, to expect*-, occurs commonly in Tamil and Kannaḍa classics-*cf.*

ulḷijedum furekkum:mba: (v)i:xai of verse 223 of *Puraṇānūṟu*

ulār, *to move, to be swayed cf. ulerengu:ndel*, *spread-out hair.*

3. In a number of ancient South Dravidian words, **ul** has acted as a formative suffix : **porul**, *reality*; **Kaḍavul**, *God*; **arul**, *benevolence*; **irul**, *darkness*; **marul**, *to be bewildered*, etc., etc.

4. The variant of **uḷ** : **uṇ**, *eat, to take food* etc. occurs in most Dravidian dialects, the meaning having been acquired by **prosemy** (restriction). The form is found in Tamil, Kann., Tel., Mal., **Tuḷu**, **Kūi**, **Gōṇḍi**, Kurukh (**onna**, *to drink*) and in Brāhūi (**Kun**, *to eat*.) **Kūi uṅga** *meat, foot* (with Dr. affix-**ga**) is from **uṇ**; **Kūi uṇḷe** *truly*, is derived from the radical **ul** itself. Kurukh **maṇḍi**, *food* has been described as a borrowing from Santālī **maṇḍi** with the same meaning; but I think the relation-ship should be limited, if it turns out that **maṇḍi** is native Austric, from what has been stated above in regard to Dr. **man**, **men** etc. and Indian Austric **men**. The final-**ṇḍi** of **maṇḍi** might be compared with the ending **ṇḍi** in Tamil **tiṇḍi**, **uṇḍi** *food*, etc.

5. The following forms of Tamil (cognates of some of which are found in Kannaḍa and in Malayāḷam) show the peculiar Dravidian retroflex continuative **ɻ**. The origin of **ɻ** in Tam. Mal. and Kannaḍa cannot be definitely ascertained; but so far as the following instances are concerned, they appear to be so intimately connected with **ul** in meaning that possibly the sound **ɻ** in these instances was a development from **l**; compare, for instance, the dialectal enunciation in Tamil of **ke:l**, *to ask* as **Ke:ɻ**

[**u.ɻə**-] *to work hard, to drudge*

[**u.ɻu**-], *to plough*; cf. Kurukh [**uɻ**-],

to plough where it is difficult to find out the relationship of the consonantal sounds

[**u.ɻ**-] *to ripen, to expand*, etc.

[**u.ɻ-əl**-] *to move, to turn round and round*

6. The following are ancient compounds in Tamil, formed of **ul** and other words, to bring out special nuances:—

(i) **ulə-ppaɻudəl**, *to agree*, etc.

(ii) **ul-viɻudəl**, *to decrease*

(iii) **ul-karuttu**, *inner meaning*

(iv) *uḷḷaḷḷekkəm*, *self-control*

(v) *uḷḷijər*, *wise men*

(vi) *uḷḷuḷḷai*, *main intention*

The following are ancient compounds found in Malayāḷam:—

(i) *uḷḷanəm*; *courage* (ii) *uḷḷaḷḷmbə*, *mind* (iii) *uḷḷkoḷḷa*, *secret bribe* (iv) *uḷḷeḷḷr*, *secret hate* (v) *uḷḷeḷḷ-*, *to be contained*

IV. *uḷ*. A Possible Deictic Base.

What has been called the Intermediate deictic particle of ancient Dravidian-*u*-underlies a vast number of Dravidian words formed with characteristic Dravidian morphemes:—

Tamil *ugu-*, *to be scattered*, etc.-cf. Kūi *uḷḷ-g-* *to be stripped*.

„ *und-*, *to push*.

„ *up-*, *to swell*.

„ *uj-t-*, *to cause to enter*.

„ *uj-ər-*, *to rise*; cf. Kurukh *uj-*, *to take off*

„ *uḷ-ai*, *to be shaken*

„ *uḷḷr*, *to circulate*; cf. Dr. *uḷḷr*, *village, country*. and Brāūhi *ora, urala*, *village*

„ *ur-i*, *to peel off*; cf. Gōṇḍi *uḷḷ-ec*, *to strip*, Kurukh *ur-*, *to rub off leaves from a branch*.

„ *ur-ai*, *to remain fixed*; cf. Gōṇḍi *urr-*, *to coagulate*, Kurukh *ur-*, *to grow stout* Kūi-*uḷḷ*, *to assemble*.

„ *uḷḷ-*, *to percolate*; cf. Kūi *uḷḷ-*, *to dissolve*.

„ *ujir*, *uḷḷir*, *life*; cf. Kurukh *uḷḷ-ḡ* *to have life*.

„ *ur-*, *to become, to be obtained*.

„ *ur-ai*, *fountain, well, ant, life, surroundings, worm*.

Immediate cognates for some of the Tamil words are available from the other southern dialects. (For a full list of these, see my paper on Dr. *uḷḷ* in *Educational Review*, June 1930).

The structural and the semantic peculiarities of these words clearly point to their deictic origin. It is probable, therefore, that *uḷ* also is a deictic base formed of the Intermediate Demonstrative-*u*- and the formative-*ḷ* of Dravidian.

COMMUNICATIONS.

*Regarding Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's studies in Bhadarwahi
and his proposal for a new list of Key words for
inter-dialectal research.*

I

Many thanks for sending me your circular of the 25th November 1930 and Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's account of the investigations in the Bhadarwahi tract. To judge from the notes and extracts his work is highly creditable, and we shall all look forward to a full account of the results. Having been Sir George Grierson's assistant for sixteen years and having written about a fifth of the Linguistic Survey I am keenly awake to the necessity of supplementing the information it contains. It is highly gratifying that the Linguistic Society of India is going to take up in earnest the investigation of Indian languages, through well-trained scholars. Only in this way will it be possible to arrive at really satisfactory results. It will not be enough to prepare lists of words and phrases and get them filled up. It will be necessary to collect materials on a much greater scale, as has evidently been done by Dr. Varma, and to pay great attention also to stress and intonation. Standard lists may of course be useful, especially for the purpose of elucidating the broad outline of the grammatical system, but it is more important to get unsophisticated tales and stories. And in the standard lists it would be well if words with many meanings (such as "beat") were avoided. I shall not, however, try to go into details. It would perhaps be well to draw up a draft list and draft instructions, and to ask some scholars in India and Europe to go through them and to offer their criticism.

Oslo, Norway.

STEN KONOW.

II

In reply to your circular letter of 25th November, 1930, covering that of Dr. Siddhēshwar Varma of 6th September, we the undersigned beg to say that the interest of the dialects to which Dr. Varma directs attention is obvious ; and that one of the greatest needs of linguistics in India, as elsewhere, is the minute investigation of all dialects.

We are not convinced, however, that the key-words, especially as given in Volume I, Part 2, of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, "are not of much value for inter-dialectical, as distinguished from inter-linguistic research" ; and we feel, in addition, that we should reserve decision until the third part of that volume ('Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages') shall have appeared. One may also point out that, whatever the desirability of "a revised list of words and phrases more suited to inter-dialectical research," its actual application, when drawn up, would be a task of immense magnitude, little less than that which has been entailed in the preparation of the *Survey* itself.

Our own counsel would be the preparation of a series of grammars for newly known dialects, and of revisions, in the light of newer knowledge, of grammars of dialects which still seem inadequately discussed. In these manuals, new lists of words and phrases (to be uniform in all this series) might well be adopted ; but since the *Survey* seems destined to remain the great work (perhaps the only one) on its subject for a very long time to come, the words and phrases which it gives, should, we think, be given also in order to facilitate comparison of the new material with the old.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON,
Professor of Indo-Aryan Languages.

Columbia University,
New York, U. S. A.

LOUIS H. GRAY,
Professor of Oriental Languages.

III

I am sure if a second Linguistic Survey of India is carried on by experts, there is every possibility of the discovery of new material from every corner of India.

Your suggestion with regard to key-words and phrases is very important. Last year when I was collecting specimens of Braj I found that the key-words and phrases given in the Survey did not carry us very far. Carefully prepared lists of words and phrases would be of great help for future work on dialects.

Allahabad University.

D. VARMA.

Proceedings of the Biennial Meeting of the Linguistic Society of India held on the 17th December, 1930, at the Patna College, Patna.

Present:—

1. Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala (in the chair), Bombay.
2. Principal A.C. Woolner, Lahore.
3. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Calcutta.
4. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, Jammu (Kashmir).
5. Mr. K. Chattopādhyāya, Allahabad.
6. Prof. Lakshmi Dhar Shastri, Delhi.
7. Dr. A. Bannerjee Shastri, Patna.
8. Mr. H.K. Deb, Calcutta.
9. Mr. V.P. Vaidya, Bombay.
10. Dr. Mangala Deva Shastri, Benares.
11. Pt. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, Shantineketan.
12. Dr. P.C. Bagchi, Calcutta.
13. Pt. S.P. Chaturvedi, Nagpur.
14. Mr. K.A. Subramaniya Iyer, Lucknow.
15. Dr. T.P. Chowdhury, Patna.
16. Dr. Mohd. Shahidullah, Dacca.
17. Prof. Ramchandra Sharma, Jullundhur (Punjab).
18. Pt. Udai Narain Tripathi, Allahabad.
19. Mr. Gopal Halder, Calcutta.
20. Dr. V.S. Sukhtankar, Poona.
21. Pt. Dakshina Ranjan Shastri, Calcutta.
22. Mr. D. Bhattacharya, Calcutta.

While opening the second meeting of the Society, Dr. Taraporewala announced that the Honorary Secretary, Pt. Gauri Shanker, was unable to be present and that Dr. Siddheshwar Varma had agreed to officiate him during the session.

I. A Correction.

After the Biennial Report of the Society was read by the Secretary, Mr. Woolner pointed out an error regarding "a

special number of the Indian Linguistics" on page 9 of the Report. The language of the Report suggested that the Lahore Oriental Conference had *promised* to bear the cost of the "Special number", which was not a settled fact, as the amount had not yet been formally sanctioned. On the Society's request, however, Mr. Woolner agreed to refer the matter to the Conference.

II. Subscription and Budget.

Regarding subscription, Dr. Taraporewala moved some modifications of the rules. He said that the distinction between "active" and "ordinary" members may be kept up, but students may be admitted at lower rates and life-membership may be introduced. Mr. Woolner proposed that the distinction between "active" and "ordinary" members may be abolished and a uniform subscription of Rs. 12-0-0 per annum be introduced. This change would bring a larger number of members and probably more income. Any deficit could be met by special donations from well-to-do sympathisers. A discussion followed, in which many speakers took part. Dr. Chatterji said that the present state of linguistic studies in India required that those specially interested in the subject should mainly bear the financial burdens of the Society. It was unsafe at the present stage to depend upon the public. After considerable discussion, however, the whole matter including the question of Budget was referred to a sub-committee consisting of Drs. Taraporewala, Chatterji and Varma.

The sub-committee (on the next day) made the following recommendations:—

(1) That the following lines may be added to the fundamental Rule 5 of the Society:—

Student-members will be admitted on a subscription of Rs. 6-0-0 per annum. Any member can have his subscription compounded for life by becoming a life-member, if he pays Rs. 100-0-0 at a time, or Rs. 75-0-0 if he is already a founder.

(2) That the total expenditure of the Society should not exceed Rs. 500-0-0 for the year 1930-31, and the Honorary Secretary be asked to circulate among the members a statement of annual accounts at the end of 1931.

(3) That the journal "Indian linguistics" may, at present, be a "communication journal", keeping members in touch with one another. Lengthy articles sent to the "Indian Linguistics" for publication, could, after careful examination, be forwarded by the Society to larger journals with recommendations for publication.

(4) That the "Indian Linguistics" be conducted by an Editorial Board consisting of three members.

III. "Grierson Commemoration Volume".

Regarding the publication of Grierson Commemoration Volume Dr. Taraporewala expressed satisfaction that so many articles had been already received and on his proposal it was decided to request others, who had not yet sent in the promised articles, to expedite the matter, and kindly see that an article does not exceed sixteen printed pages.

On Dr. Chatterji's proposal it was decided to present the original papers in MS. to Sir George Grierson, before the actual publication of the Volume is undertaken.

IV. New Members.

The following new members joined the Society:—

- (1) Dr. A. Bannerrji Shastri, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon), Patna College, Patna.
- (2) Harit Krishna Deb Esquire, Nabo-Kishen St., Calcutta.
- (3) V.P. Vaidya Esquire, Bar-at-Law, J.P., Bombay.
- (4) Dr. Mangala Deva Shastri, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon), Government Sanskrit College, Benares.
- (5) Pt. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, Vishwa Bharati, Shantiniketan.

- (6) Dr. P.C. Bagchi, M.A., D. Litt., (Paris), Calcutta University, Calcutta.
- (7) Pt. S.P. Chaturvedi, M.A., Vyākaraṇāchārya, Morris College, Nagpur.
- (8) K.A. Subramaniya Iyer Esquire, M.A. (London), the University, Lucknow.
- (9) Dr. Tara Pada Chowdhury, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Patna College, Patna.
- (10) Dr. Mohd. Shahidulla, M.A., D. Litt. (Paris), Dacca University, Dacca.
- (11) Prof. Ram Chandra Sharma, M.A., D.A.V. College, Jullundhur (Punjab).
- (12) Udai Narain Tripathi Esquire, Daragunj, Allahabad.
- (13) Prof. Lakshmi Dhar Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., the University of Delhi, Delhi.
- (14) Dr. A. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph.D. (Gottingen), the University of Allahabad, Allahabad.
- (15) Dr. V.S. Sukhtankar, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
- (16) Dr. Hari Chand Shastri, D. Litt. (Paris), I.E.S., Patna College, Patna.

V. Office-bearers.

The following office-bearers were elected for 1930-32:—

President:—Dr. Siddheshwar Varma.

Vice-President:—Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

Honorary Secretary:—Pt. Gauri Shankar.

Nominated members:—(1) Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala.

(2) Principal A.C. Woolner.

(3) Mr. Babu Ram Saksena.

(4) Mr. L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar.

January 4, 1931.

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

PRESENTATION OF THE COMMEMORATION VOLUME

TO

*Sir George Abraham Grierson, O.M., K.C.I.E., Ph. D.,
D. Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., I.C.S., (Retired),
Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey,
(England.)*

THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,

Ganpat Road, Lahore.

7th May, 1931.

Dear Sir,

The Linguistic Society of India respectfully presents to you this volume of essays which are contributions from your admirers and friends in various parts of the world.

The volume is a token of gratitude for your invaluable services, an expression of admiration for your marvellous personality, and a humble attempt to commemorate your monumental work.

It is impossible to exaggerate the value of your services to the cause of Indology in general and Linguistics in particular. You have given to the coming generations and centuries a veritable *kalpataru* of Linguistic data. You have enriched India's Linguistic Literature to a degree of which no other country in the world can boast.

Your personality is an index of the vast possibilities of Man. It has proved to us that it is possible to have a rare combination of various, often conflicting, qualities—that mastery of details, that brilliant synthesis, that persistence in colossal labour for more than half a century, that vivacity and suggestiveness, that rigorous critical acumen, that constructive faculty which you possess. Your personality will ever stimulate and inspire seekers after linguistic knowledge.

Your work, Sir, is by itself a monument of human achievement, and does not require any "commemorating" agency. But

it is the duty of gratitude which has stirred us to make this offering, however humble, at your feet.

We hope, Sir, that the Society, which was organized after the completion of your "Linguistic Survey of India," will, inspired by your living example and kind wishes, be able to continue your work, though on a humbler scale.

In conclusion, we hope you will kindly accept this offering of devotion, and with sincere prayers for your good health and long life,

We remain,

Dear Sir,

Your devoted admirers,

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA,

President.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJEE,

Vice-President.

GAURI SHANKAR,

Honorary Secretary.

Per Pro the Linguistic Society of India.

THE GRIERSON COMMEMORATION VOLUME.

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- 7a. Uvvaṭa and Mahīdhara—Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon), Lahore.
8. The word Arī in the R̥gveda—K. Chattopādhyāya, M.A., Allāhabad University, Allahabad.

(c) *Middle Indo-Aryan.*

9. Some Sanskrit and Pāli Notes—Jarl Charpentier, Ph. D., Upsala, Sweden.
10. Pāṇini's Grammar and the influence of Prakrit on Sanskrit—Vidhushekhar Bhaṭṭāchārya, Shāstri, Shāntiniketan, Bengal.
11. Aśoka's vāsa-year—R. L. Turner, M.C., M.A., London University, London.
12. A Note on the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharvela—Lionel D. Barnett, M.A., Litt. D., London.
13. *Tatsamagy*—A.C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University.
14. The Prakrit in the Kundamālā—P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A., Vizianagaram.
15. Dharmaprabhasūri's version of Kālakāchāryarkathā—W. Norman Brown, Pennsylvania.
16. The sibilants in the Apabhraṃśa of the Buddhist Dohas—Prabodha Chandra Bagchi.

(d) *New Indo-Aryan.*

17. The oldest grammar of Hindustani—Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M.A., D. Litt., Calcutta University, Calcutta.

- *17a. *Pr̥thvīrāj Rāso*—Shyamsundar Das, B.A., Hindu University, Benares.
- 18. *Passive Voice in Dogrī*—Gauri Shankar, M.A., Lecturer, Government College, Lahore.
- 19. *The language of the Kīrtilatā*—Baburam Saksena, M.A., Allahabad.
- 20. *The verb substantive in Bengali*—Sukumar Sen, M.A., Calcutta.
- 21. *Formative affixes in Assamese*—Banikanta Kakati, M.A., Gauhati, Assam.
- 22. *A Marathi idiom*—Sten Know, Oslo, Norway.
- 23. *The Rūlhā'i Dialect*—Siddheshwar Varma, M.A., D. Litt., Shastri, Jammu.
- 24. *The Personal Pronouns First and Second Plural in the Dardic and Kafir Languages*—G. Morgenstierne, Oslo, Norway.
- 25. *Le present du verbe "être" en tsigane*—Jules Bloch, Paris.
- *25a. *Cerebrals in Sinhalese*—G. P. Malalasekera, M.A., Ph. D., Ceylon.

III. Dravidian.

- 26. *Accent in Telugu Speech and Verse*—G. V. Sitapati, B.A., L.T., Parlakimedi.
- 27. *Materials for a sketch of Tulu Phonology*—L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

IV. Tibeto-Chinese.

- 28. *Affirmative and interrogative sentences in Tibetan*—M. Walleser, Heidelberg, Germany
- 29. *Tibetan Tonemes*—Georges de Roerich, Roerich Museum, New York.

* Articles not yet received, but promised by the contributors.

V. Miscellaneous.

30. Man and his becoming in the Upaniṣads—
Mrs. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., M.A.
31. The fourfold aspect of the supreme being in Manichaeism.—A. V. Williams Jackson, L.H.D., LL.D.,
Litt. D., Columbia University.
32. Two standards of Measure of Ancient Persia.—
J. J. Modi, C.I.E., Ph. D.

List of Praśasti's composed in honour of Sir George A. Grierson.

1. *Sanskrit Verses*—Pandita Kalipada Tarkacharya, Sanskrit College, (on behalf of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.)
2. *Pali Verses*—Principal Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, Shantiniketan.
3. *Maithili Verses*—Pandit Babuā Miśra, Jyotisacarya, Calcutta University.
4. *Bengali Sonnet*—Mohit Lal Majumdar, Lecturer, Dacca University.
5. *Gujrati Praśasti*—I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph. D., Principal, the M. F. Cama Ahornan Institute, Andheri.
6. *Poem in Panjabi*—Brij Lal, M.A., Shastri, M.O.L., Jhang.
7. *Assamese Poem*—S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Professor Cotton College, Gauhati.
8. *Santal Greeting*—Dhunu Kisku, Josef Murmu, Hās-dak', Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas.
9. *A. Sanskrit and a Telugu Verse*—P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A., Vizianagaram.
10. *Oriya Poem*—Sh. Kuntalkumari Debi C/o Poornanand Pattanayak, No. 16, Govind Sen Lane, Calcutta.

1. *Tamil Poem*—Somasundar Desikar, Tamil Lexicon Office, Madras.
12. *Tuluva Praśasti*—Kordcal Srinivasu Rao, Kannaḍa and Tuḷu Poet, Udipi (South Kanara).
13. *Malayālam Praśasti*—Kuṭṭippurattu Keśavan Nāyar, Pandit, Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, Cochin State.
14. *Sanskrit Praśasti*—P. S. Anantnarayana, Śāstri, Sanskrit Pandit, Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.
15. *Sanskrit Praśasti*—Pt. Ram Chandra, Shastri, B.A., Oriental College, Lahore.
16. *Hindi Praśasti*—Pt. Ram Chandra, Shastri, B.A., Oriental College, Lahore.
17. *Urdu Praśasti*—Akhtar Sherani, s/o H. M. Sherani, Lecturer in Urdu, Panjab University, Lahore.
18. *Hindi Praśasti*—Ram Kumar Varma, M.A., Allahabad University, Allahabad.

Note.—The Commemoration Volume in MSS. along with the praśastis was sent to A. C. Woolner Esq. M. A., C. I. E., at present on leave in England. He had agreed to present the Volume to Sir George A. Griereon on behalf of the Linguistic Society. The MSS. have reached him safely.

GAURI SHANKAR.

Linguistic Society of India.

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FOREWORD

The papers published in the present number of the "Indian Linguistics" were read before the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference held at Lahore in 1928. The publication of these papers has been managed by the Linguistic Society of India and financed by the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference.

We hope our readers will avail themselves of the rich linguistic material in these papers which have been written by some of the leading members of the Linguistic Society of India.

Editor.

NOTE

We are glad to announce that Pt. Gauri Shankar, our energetic Hon. Secretary, has been awarded the Sanskrit State Scholarship by the Punjab Government, and is now in England studying Linguistics at the Oxford University. He has been actively associated with the Society from its very beginning, nay, he is one of those who are responsible for its very birth. We are all thankful to him for the ceaseless efforts that he has put in in bringing the Society to its present level. We hope that he will try to promote the cause of the Society even during his stay in England, and believe that, on his return to India, he will ungrudgingly place his knowledge and experience at the disposal of the Society.

We welcome our new Hon. Secretary, L. Duni Chandra, M. A., who has succeeded him here as well as at the Government College, Lahore, and who is already known to us as one of the Founders of the Linguistic Society.

Editor.

THE NEUTER GENDER IN BHADARWAHI.

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M.A., D. Litt.

Abbreviations.

Bhad. Bhadarwāhi (general, referring to all the dialects of Bhadarwāhi).

Bhal. Bhalesi.

Bhiḍ. Bhiḍāi.

Guj. Gujarātī.

Khas. Khasālī.

L. S. I. "The Linguistic Survey of India" by Grierson.

n. Neuter.

Pañj. Pañjābī.

Skr. Sanskrit.

Phonetic Note:—

The transcription followed in Bhadarwāhi words is the one sanctioned by the International Phonetic Association. In the transcription of Sanskrit and Gujarātī words, however, the usual transliteration scheme has been followed. The following symbols may be particularly noted:—

Vowels:—

ε, ε'. Bhad. ε sounds like English ε in "bed," ε' like French ε in *hier* "yesterday". These ε, ε' are separate phonemes, cf. Bhiḍ *ker* "do" but *ke'r* "the thorny leaf of deodar."

ɔ, ɔ'. ɔ is shorter but more open than ɔ'. ɔ as in Bhiḍ *bəɔppən* "greatness" sounds like ɔ in French *bonne pomme* "good apple," though the rounding of the lips is not so marked as in the articulation of its French correspondent. ɔ' as in Bhad. *ghɔɔ* "stone" sounds like English ɔ: in "all," but is more open.

y. This y as in Bhīd. *pyrb* "East" sounds somewhat like French y in "pure", but in quick speech is hardly to be distinguished from normal u. It sounds much more like u than i.

ø. This ø, as in 'pøku "a woman's paternal home" is a contracted ɔʊ, and sounds much more like ɔ' than e or u. It is more open than its French correspondent.

Consonants :—

There occur in Bhād. composite consonants like *ḥl*, *ḍl* which should require special symbols. For they are not mere lateral plosion of *ṭ* and *ḍ*. In monosyllables as in *ḥlat* "grass." *ḍlat* "sickle" the *l* element is scarcely heard, it is a mere breath (especially after *ṭ*), sounding somewhat like Welsh *ɸ*, but in polysyllabic words like Bhād. *janḥlukkhal* "machine for crushing paddy" *bhḥlāi* "Bhadarwāhi," the *l* is more appreciably heard while the first element *ṭ* or *ḍ* is scarcely heard in quick speech.

dz. This dz as in *Bhīd*. *bidz* "seed" does not differ much from z, but the tip of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge, and there is not so much breath as in the case of ordinary z. Considering the historical connection of the sound with skr. *j*, *dz* has been used in the transcriptions.

The Neuter gender in Bhādarwāhī.

Only two modern Indo-Aryan languages, *viz.* Gujarātī and Marāṭhī are hitherto known to possess the neuter gender.¹ My investigations, however, show that the neuter gender exists as a complete system in the three dialects of Bhādarwāhī, *viz.* in Bhādarwāhī proper (which, in order

1. Beames. A Comparative Grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India II, p. 147.

to distinguish it from the other two dialects, I shall call Bhidāi, as it is so called by the speakers themselves) Bhalesī, and Khasālī¹. The neuter gender, however, does not exist in Pāḍarī, which L. S. I. has classified under "Bhadarwāhī Group".²

The striking features of the Bhad. neuter are the nominal and adjectival terminations, the plural in the former, and both the singular and the plural in the latter. Thus the plural of Bhad. *gahr* "house" (neuter) is *'gharā* but that of *sapp* "serpent", which is masculine, is simply *sapp*. Again, the singular neuter adjectival termination is *u*, while the plural is *ā*, as Bhid. *'baḷḍu ghar* "a large house" pl. *'baḷḍā 'gharā* "large houses." The masculine adjectival terminations, however, are *o* (sg.) and *e* (pl.), as *'baḷḍo sapp* "a large serpent," *'baḷḍe sapp* "large serpents." Similar grammatical features exist as a complete system in Bhad. pronouns and verbs, as we shall see presently. That Bhad. neuter generally corresponds to Skr. and Guj. n. will be shown by the following vocabularies:—

I Bhid. vocabularies occurring in the neuter gender:—

'Agn-kund—the front cavity of a domestic fireplace.

'Aḡen—courtyard pl. *'Aḡnā*.

'Amber—sky.

'Amḷaṭṭu—yeast.

'Amḷu—N. of a palatable sour meal.

Ann—grain.

ādhēru—darkness.

1. This dialect, not mentioned in L. S. I., has been discovered by me during my recent Himalayan tour. It is spoken in a region called *Khasali* or *Khasal* near the Western Frontier of Bhadarwah. The inhabitants are called *Khasali*, *Khas* or *Khas* "rustic or barbarous people".

2. Vol. IX, Part IV, pp. 831 ff.

'ākhor—fruit of the walnut tree, pl. 'ākhorā. The walnut *tree*, however, as in skr. idiom, is masculine, and its plural is simply 'akhor.

aləs—(1) laziness (2) yawning.

āṇ—hail.

asən—the “seat” (backside) of a *pyjama*.

'aṣi—the mouth.

'aṭṭu—flour.

bāṇ—forest

bāṇdu—(1) betrothal (2) the present given to the fiancée on betrothal.

'bacən—speech, words of the wise.

baṇ—a kind of rush for rope-making Pañj. *vāṇ*.

biḍ—“seed,” pl. 'biḍā.

bāṇ—the warp in a loom.

biṣhāṇ—bed.

bhaḍī—shaving of the head etc. in mourning.

bhaḷṇ—hymn.

bhatt—cooked rice.

'bharu—charges for grinding corn pl. 'bharā.

bhut—ghost, pl. 'bhutā.

chāṭ—a winnowing basket.

chatən—the roof of an *almīrah*.

'dakkhən—south.

'darṣən—sight (of a holy or respectable person or God).

daṇ—charity.

dar—door, pl. 'darā.

dāū—a tether.

dadz—dowry.

d'ṣenik—ceremony of the tenth day after death.

dōḍəlu—a vessel to coagulate milk,

- ˘dod —milk, pl. du'ddā.
 dhaṇ —(1) wealth (2) flock of sheep and goats.
 dhə'ṇalu—milk and milk products.
 dhaṇ—paddy.
 dhīan—contemplation, attention.
 dṛaṇ—a scarecrow in cultivated fields.
 ˘dol—a pail to fetch water.
 ˘dhakkəṇ—lid of a box.
 ˘ḍlat—a sickle.
 ˘gal —throat.
 ˘gidd—jackal, pl. 'giddā.
 ˘git—song.
 ˘gīṛ —goitre.
 ˘guggal—incense.
 ˘ghar—house, pl. 'gharā.
 ˘ghi—clarified butter.
 ˘hadd—bone.
 hoəḍor —bone, pl. 'həḍorā.
 ˘jantər—amulet.
 ˘jantḷ—spinning wheel.
 ˘jennu—the sacred thread.
 ˘kamm—work, but cf. ˘karm “the *kriyā* ceremony,”
 which is masculine.
 ˘kamməl—blanket. This word is used both as mascu-
 line and n. as it is in skr. (*kambala*).
 ˘kəpal—forehead.
 ˘kirtən—the singing of hymns in a procession.
 ˘kubb—a hump on the back.
 ˘kul—sub-caste or family, pl. 'kulā.
 ˘kərā—the iron pan for boiling milk etc.
 ˘ku'ʃaṅ—bad omen.
 ˘kutər—dog, pl. ˘kutrā.

- 'khillu—land lying fallow.
 lāgn—auspicious time for marriage.
 lakk—the waist.
 lalēt—greed.
 'likēṭ—cloth, pl. 'likṛā.
 leṇ deṇ—transaction.
 lōu—iron.
 luṇ—salt.
 mēhurt—auspicious time.
 māṇḍer—a temple.
 mλdzz—a waist-band or girdle.
 mēṣaṇ—a place for burning the dead.
 mas—meat.
 'matṭhu—a boy, pl. 'matṭhā.
 mukh—the end of a beam, ladder etc., pl. *mukkhā*.
 mull—price.
 musel—a pestle.
 muṭḷ—urine.
 nakk—nose.
 naṣṭ—ruin.
 nāū—name, pl. nāūā. The *semi-tatsama* *nām*, however,
 is used as masculine.
 nāṅgēl—the wooden “sole” in which the ploughshare is
 fixed.
 naṣ—a dance.
 nṛ'haṇ—bath.
 'nē'ju—elopement.
 o'kalu—ascent, height.
 pačchēm—West.
 paller—grey hair, pl. pallrā.
 'paṇi—water.
 peṭ—abdomen, stomach.
 pīal—the lower world skr. *pātāla*.

pītek or pītik—the 15th day ceremony after death.

pōṣṭher—tail.

'pøku—a married woman's parental home.

pyrb—East.

'phalar—the hole in the “sole” in which the plough-share is fixed.

phull—cataract (in the eye).

riṇ—debt.

rū—cotton.

sarg—heaven.

sat—truth.

sukh-sād—welfare.

'supṇu—a dream.

sutḷ—thread, yarn.

'sutḷu—amulet.

ṣaṇ — omen.

ṣam'ṣan—the place where the dead are burnt.

ṣap or ṣāp—the bier including the corpse, pl. 'ṣapā.

ṣastr—weapon, pl. 'ṣastrā.

ṣag—vegetable.

ṣaṭer—śāstra.

'ṣeccu—a model in an iron foundry.

'ṣeṭṭu—in an oil-mill the oil-cake which remains after the oil has been pressed.

ṣe'ker—the bark of a tree.

ṣllu—cold, coldness.

ṣiṅg—horn.

ṣirēt—the head of the bed.

ṣit—ague.

tal or tall—ground, floor.

tī'har—festival, pl. tī'harā.

tirth—a place of pilgrimage.

tuttər—face

thuk—spittle.

ṣakk—an ornament worn on top of the head, Pañj.
caṅk.

ṣamm—leather.

ṣir—delay.

'ṣiṣu—nipple of the breast.

ṣhal—deception.

'ṣhaṇnu—a sieve.

ṭabbər—family.

ṭeppu—a small cap.

'ṭikku—the tilak mark on the forehead.

'ṭiḷagru—light.

ṭiḷam—copper.

ṭi'ṇək—intermittent fever after every third day.

ṭhau—a hamlet.

ṭkkhəl—mortar.

ṭḷ—otter.

ṭ'dhar—loan.

ṭṭər—North.

u'pam—proverb.

ḍal—water.

ḍar-ḍaṅgəl—an impassable forest.

ḍarm—birth.

'ḍagru—vigilance (waking) for some religious purpose.

ḍal—net.

ḍar—barren soil.

ḍil—the root of a plant.

ḍiṇ—life.

ḍhall—bush.

A comparison of the above words with the corresponding Skr. and Guj. vocabularies will show that Bhiḍ. neuters

generally correspond to Skr. and Guj. neuters. Bhiḍ., however, shows certain points of divergence from one or both of these parallel languages:—

(a) Bhiḍ. names of towns and countries, unless they are feminine, are in the neuter gender. *e.g.*, the following words are all n.:—

bhiḍḍā—Bhadarwāh.

bhəḷəʃ
or
bhəḷēiʃ } —Bhales.

ʔambu—Chamba.

ʔemmu—Jamnu.

ʔambəsər—Amritsar.

lʔhəʔr—Lahore.

ʔiri nʔgər—Srinagar.

kəlʔattu—Calcutta.

kəbʔas—N. of a holy mountain.

hʔdwar—Hardwar.

ʔʔgən nath—Jagan Nath.

Thus “I have seen Jagan Nath will be translated in Bhiḍ. as mī ʔʔgən nath ləʔru (and not ləʔro which will be masc.) ε. The gender of jagan-nātha (Guj. jagan-nātha) both in Skr. and Guj. is masc.

(b) There are several words which are masc. in Skr. but n. in their corresponding Bhiḍ. forms *e.g.*, the following are all n.:

bāḍər—mokey, pl. ʔbāḍrā.

bhʔarm—suspicion. The corresponding word both in Skr. and Guj. is masc.

dīʔʔnek—the tenth-day ceremony after death. Skr. dasʔāha, and Guj. dāśah are masc.

'dīebu—husband's younger brother. Skr. *devara*—and Guj. *diar* are masc.

dīaū—village. Skr. *grāma*—is masc., but Guj. *grām* like its Bhiḍ. correspondent is n.

gaī—throat. The correspondent word both in Skr. and Guj. is masc.

gaṇḍ—an infectious ulcer attacking sheep and goats. Skr. *gaṇḍa*—"a wound" is masc.

haṭh—obstinaey. Skr. *haṭha*—is masc; Guj. *haṭh* is masc or fem.

kau—a crow. Both the Skr. and Guj. correspondents are masc.

'mē'dō—frog. Both the Skr. and Guj. correspondents are masculine.

manṭī—an incantation. Skr. *mantra*—and Guj. *mantr* are masc.

no:l—a mangoose. Skr. *nakula*—and its Guj. correspondent are masc.

'sē'sar—the world. Skr. *saṃsāra*—and Guj. *saṃsār* are masc.

sarg—Heaven. Guj. *svarg* is also n., though Skr. *svarga*—is masc.

uḍī—Otter. Skr. *udra*—"otter" is masc.

(c) Some words, however, though n. in Skr. are masc. in Bhiḍ. Thus the following Bhiḍ. words are all masc.:—

'akḥher—a letter (of the alphabet). Guj. *aḥsar* is also masc., but Skr. *akṣāra*—is n. . .

ber—enmity. Skr. *vaira*—and Guj. *ver* are n. .

bhass—dust. Skr. *bhasman*—is n., while Guj. *bhasm* is fem.

dukh—pain. It is curious that both Guj. and Bhiḍ. **dukh** are masc., while both Guj. and Bhiḍ. **sukh** are neuter.

man—mind. Both the Skr. and Guj. correspondents are n..

mitl—friend. Guj. **mitr** is also masc.

til—a kind of oilseed.

teḷ—oil. Guj. **tel** like Skr. **taila**—is n..

phal—fruit in general (not an individual fruit). Guj. **phaḷ** like Skr. **phala**—is n.. For an individual fruit Bhiḍ. uses the word **meo**.

Bhiḍ. and Guj. genders also differ in the following words, all the Bhiḍ. words being n.:—

Bhiḍ.

aṭṭu—flour, Guj. **āṭo** (masc.)

bhatt—cooked rice. Guj. **bhāt** (fem.).

gur—molasses, Guj. **guḍ** (masc.).

kəpal—forehead, Guj. **kāpāl** (masc.).

kubb—a hump on the back, Guj. **kubj**. (masc.).

kutər—dog, Guj. **kutro** (masc.).

laləṭ—greed, Guj. **lālac** (fem.).

naṭ—a dance, Guj. **nāc** (masc.).

ṭikku—a *tilak* on the forehead, Guj. **ṭikko** (masc.).

udhar—loan, Guj. **udhāro** (masc.).

dzarm—birth, Guj. **janam** (masc.).

dzal—net, Guj. **jāl** (fem.).

The above words show the strong tendency of Bhiḍ. to Neuter. That this tendency is still alive is further confirmed by the following examples from Arabic, Persian and English loan-words in Bhiḍ. all of which have the n. gender:—

enam—reward, Guj. **inām** (n.).

'asman—sky, Guj. **āsmān** (n.),

mtihaṇ—examination.

gu'man—pride, Guj. *gumān* (n.).

jəhaz—ship.

kaŋ'kal—a poor man.

kakəl—paper, Guj. *kāgal* (masc.).

o'saṇ—gratitude, obligation.

pə'c-kaʃ—a screw-driver.

pu'lad—steel.

sabr—patience, Guj. *sabar* or *sabur* (fem.).

saj—implements and appliances used in connection with the cow.

ʃukər—gratitude.

ʃun'ʃaṇ—wilderness.

taʃʃəb—wonder.

tak—a niche.

baʃən—a button.

əpreʃən—a surgical operation.

There is a large number of Bhiḍ. neuters ending in sg. *ō*¹ and pl. -u or *ā* e.g.

əŋ'agarō—coal, pl. əŋ'garā.

'aʃhō—strawberry.

'be'rō—the common berry fruit “zizyphus jujuba,”
*pl. 'be'rā.

'bibrō—poppy-head, pl. 'bibru.

'caṇō—the peach fruit, pl. 'caṇā The peach tree, however, is fem.

'cirō—apricot.

'doppḥō—the rind of a fruit, pl. 'doppḥā.

'ḍhellō a clod, pl. 'ḍhellā.

'ḍhlēṭhō—gum of the teeth, pl. 'ḍhlēṭhu.

1. The *ō* in this -*ō* however, is somewhat more open than *ō*, and should be strictly speaking transcribed as *ō̃*

'gabbō—sheep or goat, pl. 'gabbā.

'gelrō
or } —tonsil, pl. gē'ru.
'gēlrō)

'gujro—raw apricot, pl. 'gujru.

'gōrō—cattle, pl. 'gōru.

guō—the fruit of a tree called gū (the *tree* being
masc.) pl. guā.

'haddō—bone, pl. 'haddā.

'je'bō—a cup-like appliance to gag cattle, pl. 'je'bu.

'kanḡḡō—bracelet.

kē'rō—a piece of wood, pl. kē'ru (for wood in general.)

'kimmō—or 'kīmlō—name of a fruit.

'kykrō—a young cock, pl. 'kykrū.

'khe'khḡō—cheek, pl. 'khe'khḡu.

'mē'dō—frog, pl. 'mē'du.

'mēḡḡō—the dung of goats, pl. 'mēḡḡā.

'me'thō

or—firebrand, pl. 'mōshu.

'mōshō

'patlō—leaf.

'pekhrō—bird, pl. pekhrū.

'pe'prō—moth or butterfly, pl. 'pe'prū.

'pōḡḡō—eyelash pl. 'pōḡḡā.

'pōrō—a flock of sheep and goats, pl. 'pōru.

phḡḡ'ghō—the wing of a bird, pl. 'phḡḡā.

p'hegō—fig, pl. 'phe'gu.

'phē'tō—rafter, pl. 'phē'tu.

'phurō—flower, pl. phyru.

redzētō—a rope, pl. rddzētū.

'je'krō—rind or bark, pl. 'je'krā.

'jillō—ear of corn, pl. 'jillā.

je'rō—apricot, pl. jē'ru.

tiũ'dō—N. of a fruit.

'tēkkṛō—the ruddy goose, pl. 'tēkkru.

'tōjō

or—apple, pl. 'tōjā.

soiō

'thyṇṭhō—the black mushroom called 'gocchi in Pañj.,
pl. 'thyṇṭhu.

The suffix *ō* serves not only to indicate the neuter gender, it is also used as a Diminutive.

The Diminutive in Bhiḍ.

This is formed by the addition of various suffixes, and it has generally the neuter gender. The following suffixes may be mentioned, all the words noted being in the neuter gender:—

(a) -ō—'dzhallō—a small bush, from dzhall (*n*). bush.

(b) -ṛō—'gṛḍṛō—a small jackal, pl. gṛḍṛā. An ordinary jackal is gṛdd (*n*).

'ṭhṛō—a tiny lip, pl. 'ṭhṛu.

(c) -ēũ

bṛ'leũ—a small cat (an ordinary cat being called bṛ'lao masc.), pl. bṛ'ṛā.

dḷṛ'dzeũ—"beard-burnt"—a term of abuse for children,
pl. dḷṛ'dzā.

gēdhēu—a small donkey.

geṭ'lēu—a small hole, pl. geṭ'lēũ.

meṭh'leũ—a boy just born pl. meṭh'leũā. This word is an example of a Diminutive of a Diminutive. For 'maṭṭhu "boy" (already *n*.) has the ordinary diminutive 'meṭṭhōlu (pl. meṭh'ḷāũ) meaning "a young boy", while a very young boy (just born) is called meṭh'leũ.

sep'leũ—a very very young serpent, pl. sep'le'wã. Here we have a Diminutive of "the third degree." Thus

sapp (masc.)—an ordinary serpent.

'sappu (n)—a young serpent.

'seppøtu (n)—a very young serpent.

sep'leũ (n)—a very very young serpent (being younger than 'seppøtu).

Again, dže'lěũ (a very small bush) is Diminutive of 'džhallō, which is already a Diminutive of džhall.

(d) -ru or ru

gha'felru—a small pot, pl. gha'felrã.

ne'fønrũ—a young man eloping with a girl, pl. ne'fønrã.

'połru—a young grandson, pl. 'połrã.

'bheñeru—a young brother, pt. 'bheñerã.

(e) -u

'sappu—a young serpent.

mětu—a young Mehta (title), pl. m'ătã.

(f) -nu or nu

'symnu—a young miser, pl. 'symnã.

'tøttnu—a young adulterer, pl. 'tøttnã.

(g) But the most frequent dim. suffix is -tu, pl. -tã,

e.g.

bə'cherøtu—the tiny young one of a mare, pl. bə'cherøtã.

bə'ziroøtu—a very young Wazir (hereditary title), pl. bə'ziroøtã.

'bɪ'liəøtu—the tiny young one of a cat, pl. bɪ'liəøtã.

'bittøøtu—a young scorpion, pl. 'bittøøtã.

ðuŋ'garøtu—a young castrated male sheep, pl. ðuŋ'garøtã.

ḍl̥e'gətu a very young tiger, pl. ḍl̥e'gəṭā.

ḍlebətu—a young *devara* (husband's younger brother),
pl. 'ḍlebəṭā.

ḍhl̥ebbhoṭu—a young brown bear, pl. ḍhl̥ebbhoṭā.

'it̥əhoṭu—a young bear, pl. 'it̥hi'tā.

'ke'ətu—a young crow.

'le'ɾətu—a very young bridegroom, pl. 'le'ɾəṭā.

'me'mətu—a young maternal uncle, pl. 'me'məṭā.

'ne'tətu—a young relative, pl. 'ne'təṭā.

pɪ't̥le'ətu—a young paternal uncle, pl. pɪ't̥le'əṭā.

're'dzətu—a young Rājā, pl. 're'dzəṭā.

're'ətu—a young yuvarāj.

Proverb:—

kue 'ke'ətu ɸaru.

rae 're'ətu ɸaru

“To the crow a young crow is dear,

To a Rājā a young yuvarāj is dear.”

Other neuter suffixes not indicating the dim. sense.

(1) A curious neuter termination occurs in 'pɪt̥ərā
—ancestors (pl. only).

(2) -on (or, ə'n) occurs as a neuter suffix signifying
“forest.”

'geron—a forest of Deodar trees (ge'ɾ—Deodar tree).

ɸad̥ɸon—a thicket or wood of the ɸad̥ɸ plant (name of
a pricking shrub).

't̥iuwon—a pine-forest.

(3)—ən occurs as a neuter suffix in həl̥əḍən or
həl̥əḍhən—the distribution of sweets etc when beginn-
ing to plough the soil.

(4)—ləū (or ləḍ)

'ke'ləū—Deodar oil.

āṭṭi'māsaū—the vital organs of a goat.

'khaṇṇaū—food, diet.

(5)—ū

ε'ṭū—gourd, pl. 'ε'lūā.

'de'ṛū—sour pomegranate, pl. 'de'ṛōā. The nasality may be traced to the *m* of Skr. *dāḍima*.

ṭobbiū the suburban villages around Bhadarwāh town,

(6) The suffix -oppəṇ signifying **state** or **condition**, corresponding to Skr.—*tva*, is neuter in Bhad. The parallel suffix *paṇu* is neuter in Guj. also (*cf.* Guj. *aṇjāṇpaṇu* (n.) “ignorance”, *adhikpaṇu* (n) “excess” etc). The following Bhiḍ. words, all neuter, may be mentioned:—

bə'ṛoppəṇ—greatness.

bəu'ṛoppəṇ—insanity.

bu'dhoppəṇ—old age.

ge'joppəṇ—abusiveness.

kə'ne'thoppəṇ—young age.

kue'n'joppəṇ—womanhood.

mə'thoppəṇ—boyhood.

rɪrka'toppəṇe—vagabondage.

(II) Bhalesī vocabularies occurring in the neuter gender:—

As in Bhiḍ. the neuter in Bhalesī generally corresponds to Skr. neuter, with only minor differences here and there, *e.g.* while in Bhiḍ. *deo* “cloud” *butṭ* “tree” are masculine in Bhal. they are n., the former being pronounced *deu*. In fact the main difference between Bhiḍ. and Bhal. is phonetic, as the vocabularies given below will indicate.

Another point of difference between Bhiḍ. and Bhal. neuter is the scarcity of the Bhiḍ neuter suffix -ō in Bhal., thus while Bhiḍ. has 'phuṛō “flower” Bhal. has 'phuṛru

“flower,” *cf.* Bhiḍ. ‘caṇḍ “peach,” Bhal. can “peach.” Bhiḍ. ‘paṭṭḍ “leaf” Bhal. paṭṭ. This -ḍ in Bhiḍ. seems to be a later analogical addition, and Bhal. seems to indicate an earlier stage of the language.

A point of difference from the Skr. gender is that while the fruit of a plant has in Bhalesī usually neuter as in Skr., the flower follows the gender of the tree, *e.g.*, Bhal., uṭṭhar (N. of a plant) is masculine, its flower also called uṭṭhar is likewise masculine; Agg (N. of a plant with bright red flowers) is feminine: its flower is also feminine. This is a partial divergence from Skr., for in Skr. the gender of the flower as in aśokam (but aśoka-, (masculine)—the aśoka tree) is neuter, if the tree has the masculine gender.

Specimens of Bhalesī neuter words:—

‘akhu—tear (from the eyes) Bhiḍ. ‘ē·khu.

‘alu—gourd, Bhiḍ. ē·lu.

a’ram—relief.

ant’ral—the inner portion of a house.

əpaṭṭ—indigestion.

as or ‘aṣi—mouth. Bhiḍ. ‘aṣi.

ədzirn—indigestion.

ek’puru—a one-storied house.

‘baḍlu—rain.

‘baṇu—betrotal. The final ‘u is extremely difficult to hear. There is a rounding of the lips, but the sound itself is a very delicate u.

‘baṭṭuṭ—male calf, pl. ‘beṭṭuṭ.

baner monkey, Bhiḍ. bāder.

‘beiral—the outer portion of a house.

bi—seed, Bhiḍ. biḍ.

‘buṇan—in weaving, the yarn which is put into the shuttle.

buṭṭ—tree. Bhiḍ. buṭṭ (masc.).

can—peach. Bhiḍ. 'caṇṭō.

cu'kor—a square or rectangle.

dλgd—jealousy.

dΔṇ'got—a rope.

de hē'neru—a throw with the right hand in a certain game.

deu—rain. Bhiḍ. deo (masc.).

duar—door. Bhiḍ. dar.

du'puru—a two-storied house.

dhinu'ar—a pen for sheep or goats.

dhun—incense-holder.

ḍell—a heap of clay.

(ḍ)ahəṇ—eclipse.

(ḍ)lo—mixed meal for cattle.

'geṭṭaru—Name of a game in which girls play with marbles.

gil—goitre, Bhiḍ. gir.

goṭh—squatting-ground for cattle in a meadow.

ghΔṇ—hammer.

ghiu—ghee. Bhiḍ. ghi.

ghrat or gherat—flour-mill driven by water-power
Bhiḍ. ḍhlat.

hal'heitl—the whole apparatus of a plough.

har—flood.

'hukəm—an order.

juth—a crowd.

kə'bΔḍie—the game kabaḍḍi.

kəpa—forehead. Bhiḍ. kəpal.

'kaṛu—the link of a chain.

'kaṭru—the young one of a bear.

'kaṭṭu—the young one of a buffalo, pl. 'keṭṭuā.

kəmm N. of a fruit. Bhiḍ. kimm.

koṛ—a small rafter.

'kunnu—a kuṇḍ or cistern full of water for washing clothes.

kuṛ—leprosy.

khadər—N. of grass used as hay in winter.

khall—threshing floor for rice and wheat.

'kheṛu—wound or ulcer.

'khnus—a ball (for play).

khuraṛu—N. of a foot-disease among cattle.

mach—honey, Bhiḍ. 'maṭhi.

'maṇu—frog, Bhiḍ. 'mēḍō.

'matṭhu—boy, pl. maṭṭh, Bhiḍ. 'maṭṭhu. *cf.*, the delicate u of bḷanu above.

mig—the wild goat, pl. 'miggā.

nām—refusal.

nanī'hal—maternal grandfather's home.

'nerṛu—mangoose, Bhiḍ, nəl.

paṭḷ—leaf, Bhiḍ. 'paḷō.

'pakhu—the fan used in a flour-mill, pl. pakh.

'phagu—fig, pl. 'phaguā, Bhiḍ. 'pheḡō.

'phuget—chaff.

'phurru—flower, pl. 'phurruā. Bhiḍ. 'phuṛō.

raṭṭ—black.

'sandir—tool, pl. 'sandrā.

sar—a hole in a flute.

sat-bar—N. of a flower (Pañj. sat-'barga).

ṣarbət—syrup.

ṣellu—cold, *i. e.* coldness, Bhiḍ. ṣillu.

'ṣetthu—wax.

ṣimmer—mucus.

ju'kar - a field in which vegetables have been cultivated.

'tapnu—a field well-exposed to the sun.

tutt—face, Bhiḍ. tutṭar.

teṇ - tin.

ṭir—the eye, pl. 'ṭirā.

ṭṭikand—triangle.

ṭhul—egg.

ṭinn—the trident-mark in a temple.

ṭir'ollu—bird, pl. ṭir'ollā.

ṭoṭṭ—a despicable rogue (contemptuous), pl. 'ṭoṭṭā.

When not used contemptuously the word is masc.

ṭhapper—a straw-hut.

ṭheṭṭi—a rice-field.

u'jarnioṭ—rubbish.

ḍaṇu—knee, pl. 'ḍaṇā.

ḍhell - bush. Bhiḍ. ḍhall.

The above list will indicate that in Bhal. neuter endings in -ō do not occur. I have, however, noticed a few words with -ō ending, which seem to be loan-words from Bhiḍ., e.g.:

ṭorō—apple.

ṭir'ō—apricot, pl. 'ṭirā.

'mutṭhuō
or
mutṭhuo } —firebrand.

(III) Specimens of neuter vocabularies in Khasālī.

The neuter vocabularies in this dialect generally correspond to Bhiḍ. A few particular neuter words may be mentioned:—

bī'lar—cat. Bhiḍ. bī'ao is masc.

bī'leṇu—young one of a cat.

'bhiḍṛu—young one of a sheep.

d'ōi—curd, Bhiḍ. 'dzammōru dud (lit. "condensed milk").

'eṅkhru—tear (fram the eyes), Bhiḍ 'ē'khu.

'kApru—cloth.

'kēdu—bran.

koṭ— a coat, Bhal. koṭ.

kuk'reṭu—young one of a cock.

'phuṛu—flower, Bhiḍ. 'phuṛō Bhal. 'phuṛu.

'sonnu—gold.

ṣuṇḍ—dog.

ṣu'neṭu—puppy, pl. ṣu'neṭā.

The Neuter gender as a grammatical System in Bhal.

Inflection.

The declension of *singular* neuter nouns ending in a consonant as ghar "house" is the same as that of masc. nouns. But in *plural* there is a difference. Thus while the nominative and plural accusative plural of lu'har 'blacksmith' is lu'har, the nom. acc, pl. of ghar is 'gharā. Khas. maintains the form 'gharā in all the cases (plural) :—

nom. 'gharā	ab. 'gharā-kā
	or-trā
acc. 'gharā	gen. 'gharā-kera-u-i
ins. 'gharā-sei	loc. 'gharā tīr.
dat. 'gharā	

Bhal. however, keeps the form 'gharā in only the first two cases, in other cases (except the *e.g.*, and gen. cases) the form is 'gharan, gha'ran or gharn. The following plural declensions of ghar and lu'har in Bhal. will indicate the difference:—

nom. 'gharā	nom. lu'har
acc. 'gharā	acc. lu'har

ag. 'gharə	ag. l'uharə
ins. none	ins. lu'harən ɔei
dat. 'gharan or ghə'ran	dat. luha'ran
ab. 'gharan or 'gharan-keri	ab. lu'harən or lu'harən-'berĩā
gen. ghArkeu-eu-ei	gen. luhar'keu-eu, ei
loc. gharn madz or gharn-antər	loc. lu'harən-madz or „ -antər

Bhid. maintains the form 'gharā in a larger number of cases than Bhal. does, and so lies midway between Khas. and Bhal. in this respect:—

Declension of ghar in Bhid (plural): —

nom. 'gharā
acc. 'gharā
ag. 'gharēi
dat. gharn
ab. gharn-'kerā or gharānā
gen. 'gharākero-u-i
loc. gharn-mā.

It should be noted that the nom. and acc. plural of ghar in Guj. also is 'gharā.

A common neuter ending in Bhad. is -u. which in the singular remains unchanged, but in plural becomes ā. Thus while Khas. masculine 'bheḍḍu “male sheep” has the nom. acc. pl. 'bheḍḍu, the neuter 'maṭṭhu “boy” has the nom. acc. pl. 'maṭṭhā. The declension of Bhid. 'maṭṭhu is similar to that of ghar, but in Bhal. the word is pronounced maṭṭhu; the final u is heard with great difficulty, though there is a visible rounding of the lips. Bhal. words similar to this are bəḷu “betrothal”, 'pakhu “the fan used in a flour-mill.

A peculiarity of this ending in Bhal. is that the plural has no termination, thus the plural of Bhal. 'mat̥ṭhu, (n.) is mat̥ṭh but the plural of Bhal. 'ak̥hā (also n.) "tear" ending in the ordinary u, is 'ak̥hā. The following plural declension of Bhiḍ. and Bhal. 'mat̥ṭhu and 'mat̥ṭhu respectively will indicate the difference: -

Bhiḍ.	Bhal.
nom. 'mat̥ṭhā	nom. mat̥ṭh
acc. 'mat̥ṭhā	acc. mat̥ṭh
ins. } 'mat̥ṭhēi	ins. 'mat̥ṭhən-sēi
and }	
ag. }	ag. 'mat̥ṭhe
dat. 'mat̥ṭhən, 'mat̥ṭhənjo	dat. 'mat̥ṭhən
ab. 'mat̥ṭhən-kērā	ab. 'mat̥ṭhən-biriā
gen. 'mat̥ṭhā-kero	gen. 'mat̥ṭhkeu-eu-ei
loc. 'mat̥ṭhən-mā	loc. 'mat̥ṭhən-madz
	or—Antər.

The tendency to n. pl. ā is so strong that it is extended even to echo-words as in 'mat̥ṭhā 'sut̥ṭhā : "boys etc. (Bhiḍ.).

There is another common neuter ending—ō in Bhiḍ. mentioned in the above vocabularies. The suffixal ending—ō is maintained in the singular forms of all the cases, while the *plural* ending is u, maintained in nom. acc. and gen. The following declension of Bhiḍ. phuṛō "flower" will indicate the difference:—

Singular	Plural
nom. phuṛō	'phyṛu
acc. phuṛō	'phyṛu
ins. phuṛōe	'phyṛēi
dat. phuṛōe	'phyṛən
ab. phuṛōērā	'phyṛanā or 'phyṛən ke'rā
gen. phuṛōero-u-i	'phyṛu kero
loc. phuṛōē-ma	'phyṛən-mā

Adjectives.

The neuter sg. adj. ending is—*u*, the masc. ending being —*o*, *e. g.* Bhiḍ. 'roṛu 'maṭṭhu "a handsome boy" but cf. masc. roṛo 'mēṇu "a handsome man," Bhal. 'rollu "handsome" (n.). masc. being 'rollo.

The n. pl. adj. termination in all the dialects of Bhiḍ. is—*ā*, the masc. ending being—*e*, thus Bhiḍ. and Khas. 'baḍḍā 'gharā "large houses", Bhal. 'baṛā gharā, but cf. masc. Bhiḍ. 'baḍḍe 'ghore Bhal. 'baṛe ghore "big horses." It should be noticed that Guj. neut. sg. adj. termination is *ū* pl.,—*ā*. *e. g.* Guj. 'baṛū ghar "a large house", 'baṛā gharā "large houses."

In declension most of the dialects change the final adjectival—*u* into—*e* in oblique cases, but Southern Bhal. keeps the—*u* unchanged in all cases (except in nom. and acc. pl., where it becomes—*ā*); thus in Southern Bhal. 'rollu 'maṭṭhu "a handsome boy" is thus declined:—

Singular	Plural
nom. 'rollu 'maṭṭhu	nom. 'rollā 'maṭṭh
acc. 'rollu 'maṭṭhu	acc. 'rollā 'maṭṭh
ins. 'rollu 'maṭṭhe-sei	ins. 'rollu 'maṭṭhən-sei
ag. 'rollu 'maṭṭhe	ag. 'rollu 'maṭṭhe
dat. 'rollu 'maṭṭhe	dat. 'rollu 'maṭṭhən
ab. 'rollu 'maṭṭhe-'bīriā	ab. 'rollu 'maṭṭhən-'bīriā
gen. 'rollu 'maṭṭheṇ-eu-ei	gen. 'rollu 'maṭṭhkeṇ-eu-ei
loc. 'rollu 'maṭṭhe-maḍz or	loc. 'rollu maṭṭhən-maḍz or
Anter	Anter
voc. 'rollu 'māṭṭha	voc. 'rollu 'maṭṭhio

In masc., however, the same dialect (Southern Bhal.) has the adj. termination—*e* in all the oblique cases singular and all the cases plural, *e. g.* 'rulle 'ghorən-sei "with a nice horse" 'rulle 'ghorən-sei "with nice horses."

Northern Bhal., however, follows the other dialects of Bhal. by converting the adjectival—u into —e in oblique cases, *e. g.* cf.

South Bhal.

'mi 'rollu 'matṭhe i'nam pālū

North Bhal.

'mi 'rulle 'matṭhe i'nam pālū

“this good boy has received a reward.”

Genitive endings.

The genitive endings of nouns also serve as adjectival terminations and so take the neuter gender if the succeeding noun has that gender. The following terminations may be noted for each dialect:—

masc. sg.	n. sg.	masc. pl.	n. pl.
Khas.—'kera	—'keru	—'kere	—'kerā
Bhid.—'ero	—eru	—'ere	—'erā
Bhal.—eu	—eu	—ei	—ei
North Bhal.—ēu			

To illustrate the above terminations, we may note the following:—

“the boy’s horse” “the boy’s house” “the boy’s horses”
“the boy’s houses”

Khas.	'matṭhe-kera	'matṭhe keru	'matṭhe kera	'matṭhe-kerā
	'ghora	ghar	'ghore	'gharā
Bhid.	'matṭhero	'matṭheru	'matṭhere	'matṭherā
	'ghoro	ghar	'ghore	gharā
Bhal.	'matṭheu	'matṭheu	'matṭhei	'matṭhei
			(n. bhal. ēu)	
	'ghoro	ghar	ghore	'gharā

The nasality of gen. sg. —ēu occurring in North Bhal. reminds one of the normal nasal ending of n. sg. adj. ending in Guj. as in 'baṛū ghar “a large house.”

Predicative adjectives.

The n. gender occurs not only in attributive, but also in predicative adjectives, *e. g.*—

'kharu "good"

'dō'itikerā 'bhalu naū 'kharu

"a good name is better than wealth."

pārāi 'kharu thiū

"the last but one year was good" (this example, strictly speaking, is an impersonal phrase, which will be noticed presently).

'dhobberu 'kutēr nē 'gharēru nē 'ghaṭheru

"a washerman's dog is fit neither for the house nor for the washing Ghat (well-known proverb).

Pronominal adjectives.

The n. termination of these adjectives is the normal —u for sg., —ā for the plural, *e. g.* Bhiḍ.

sg.	pl.
iru "like this" (near)	irā "like these" (near)
ēru "like this" (distant)	ērā "like these" (distant)
uru "like that" (near)	ūrā "like those" (near)
tēru "like that" (distant)	tērā "like those" (distant)
ḍēru "like which" (relative)	pl. ḍērā
kēru "like which?" (interrogative)	pl. kērā.

The masc. terminations for the above, however, are as usual—o (sg.) and—e (pl.) as iro, ire etc.

Neuter adjectives ending in—ū.

There are a few neuter adjectives ending in -ū in the nominative case, but the real n. termination even here is -u, the nasality being a survival of Skr. adjectival termination—am. Examples from Bhiḍ:—

n. sg.		n. pl.
'eggrũ	"frontal"	'eggrĩã
'dyrũ	"distant"	'durĩã
bē'ijũ	"upper"	bēijã
bunvũ	"lower"	bunniã
ne'ṛũ	"near, lit. pertaining to one that is near"	'neṛũ
pet'tũ	"backwards"	'pettiã
ē'tḷũ	"inner"	'ēṭḷĩã
ut'trũ	"northern"	'uttriã

The masc. forms for the above end in—ĩō (sg.)
—ĩē (pl.) as 'eggriō, 'eggriē, etc.

Adverbial phrases for inanimate objects.

There is a number of curious pronomino-adverbial phrases which it is difficult to explain. They refer *only* to inanimate objects; they cannot be necessarily connected with the neuter, for n. refers to animate objects as well, as 'māṭṭhu "boy", but these phrases may have their origin in the n. gender.

The phrases occur in Bhiḍ:—

illerelei "for this very thing" (near). If the object is animate, then ṛserelei is used, though this phrase can be used for inanimate objects as well.

ēllerelei—"for this very thing" (distant)

ulle relei—"for that very thing" (near)

tēlle'relei—"for that very thing" (distant)

ḍēllerelei—"for which very thing" (relative)

kōllerelei—"for which very thing?" (interrogative).

The more general phrases both for animate and inanimate objects would be e'serelei, u'serelei etc.

Pronouns—

The Demonstrative Pronouns in Bhāḍ. have a neuter ending—**n** only in the noun and acc. sg., in other cases and in plural they are declined exactly like masc. The genitive case, however, like the genitive case of nouns, has the usual neuter endings as noted above.

Nom and acc.

n. sg.	masc.	n. and masc. pl.
In "this" (near)	i	'Inā
en "this" (distant)	ε	'enā
un "that" (near)	u	'unā
ten "that" (distant)	te	'tenā
ḍen "which (relative)	ḍe	'ḍenā
or		
who''		
kōn "which (interrogative)	kōn	'kō'nā
or		
who''		

The difference between Bhiḍ. and Bhal. in this declension is only phonetic. While Bhiḍ. has the final -ṇ. (the retroflexion, however, is so slight that often in quick speech only **n** is heard), Bhal. has **n**. For the genitive case cf.

sg.	pl.
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Bhiḍ.	tə'seru ghar "his house"	təserā 'g'harā
Khas.	təkeru ghar ,,	təkerā 'gharā
Bhal.	tə'seu ghar ,,	tə'sei 'gharā

For masc. cf. Bhiḍ. tə'sero 'ghoro, "his horse" təsere 'ghore etc. (pl.)

Among the Personal Pronouns only the genitive case has neuter when the succeeding noun has the n. gender, as 'meru ghar (Bhiḍ. and Khas.)

Bhal. *meu ghar* North Bhal. *meũ ghar* "my house",
pl. *'merã 'gharã* (Bhid. and Khas.) *'mei 'gharã* (Bhal.)
"my houses."

Similarly.	Bhid.	Khas.	Bhal.
"Our house"	<i>'j̥ʃu ghar</i>	<i>ãikeru ghar</i>	<i>ə'seu ghar</i>
"Our houses"	<i>'j̥ʃã 'ghrã</i>	<i>ãikerã 'gharã</i>	<i>'əsei 'e harã</i>

Similarly for the 2nd pers. *'tɔʃʃu ghar* "your house"
pl. *'tɔʃʃã gharã* (Bhid.) etc.

Conjugation—

The gender of the verb itself, when used as an infinitive mood, and not governing an object, is neuter, as it is in Guj.; cf. *'kernu* "to do" Guj. *karvũ*, *'marnu* "to die" Guj. *marvũ*, *'denu* "to give", Guj. *'d.vũ*, *'bɪʃnu* "to sit," Guj. *'besvũ*. So when the infinitive mood is used as a subject, adjectives connected therewith attributively or predicatively have the neuter gender, e.g., *'mæ.u gãɳu zəryri e* (Bhid.) "My going is necessary, i.e., it is necessary for me to go."

Here *'meru* has the n. gender. *pãɳnu əbẽ't̪ɪu* (n.) *'bhõte* (Bhid.) "to study is difficult." *'ronu 'cãɳgu nai* "it is not good to weep." *'tut̪teru 'sɪnu 'ruʃʃeru pɪ'teɳu ghar 'bhõte* (Bhid.) "a home is the mending of the torn and the propitiation of the angry" (Proverb). A common expression "for communication" is *'ej̥nu gãɳu* (Bhid.) (lit. "coming and going").

The infinitive keeps the n. ending when it is used as an object or has the future sense, e.g., *'kasri 'bhõɳu pẽrtã* "having read of (your) being ill." *ɪri tɔs'ẽi 'ej̥nu* "you shall come here." The n. ending is also extended to "echo-words" after the infinitive, as in *'kãnnu 'kãnnu* "to keep well-dressed."

When, however, the infinitive mood governs an object, it takes the gender of that object, thus we have *bhatt* 'khaṇu "to take rice" *bhatt* being n., but *roṭṭi* 'khaṇi "to take bread" (fem.), 'leḍḍu 'khaṇo "to eat laḍḍu" 'leḍḍu being masc.)

Present Participle—

The Present Participle takes the n. gender even in Bhiḍ., in which the present tense has no special n. ending, *e.g.*, *mī* 'maṭṭhu khērtu khērtu lā'u "I saw the boy playing," 'gallā 'kertu rāṇu "to keep speaking", 'khātu rāṇu "to keep eating," 'hastu rāṇu "to keep laughing" 'dētu rāṇu "to keep giving."

The Present Tense—

In this tense both Bhal. and Khas. have a special ending in the 3rd person, but Bhiḍ. has no such special ending. Thus these endings in Bhal. and Khas. are:—

n. sg.	masc. sg.	n. pl.	masc. p.
Bhal.—tu	—to	—tā	—te
Khas.—tu	—tā	—tā	—te
<i>e. g.</i>			
Bhal.—'bhōtu "is"	'bhōto	'bhōtā	'bhōte
or	or	or	or
bhōtu	'bhōto	'bhōtā	'bhōte
Khas.—'bhāḍtu	'bhāḍtā	'bhāotā	'bhāḍte

But Bhiḍ. has 'bhōte, 'bhōten both for masc. and n.

The Future Tense.

In this, however, Bhiḍ. has not only a n. ending in the 3rd person, but also in the 2nd person, if a boy ('maṭṭhu) is to be addressed to; these endings being 'lu and 'lā both for 2nd and 3rd person, *e. g.* 'bhōlu "thou (a boy) shalt be (2nd pers.) or it shall be (3rd pers.)" pl. 'bhōlā, but masc.

will be 'bho'lo, 'bho'le. In Khas. 3rd pers. Fut. n. has ũ and ã in sg. and pl. respectively, thus 'bholũ, 'bholã, but masc. 'bholo, 'bhole.

Bhal., however, has the same endings for masc. and n. Future, viz. u, as bholu, pl. bhon or bhol.

The Past Tense.

The past tense is formed by the past participle, which has two forms, active and passive. The n. forms of this participle are interesting, as they undergo many *Ablaut* changes. The general n. ending in the 3 dialects is -ũ (sg.)—ã (pl.) (if the verb ends in a vowel, otherwise u). while the masc. ending is—o sg.—e pl. in Bhal. and Bhid., —a (sg.)—e (pl.) in Khas.

Examples:--

bhũ (Bhid.) "was", "became" èru ki bhũ "how did it happen"?

(but masc. bhuo (Bhid.) bho (Bhal.) bhua (Khas.)).

thiũ (Bhid.) "was" dar 'gharoru thiũ, ten 'naŋŋu

Bhal. thẽu "the door was open, it ran."

(masc. thio)

pərheũ "taught" 'tɛni 'mat̪t̪hu pərheũ

(Bhid.)

"he taught the boy" but cf. masc.

'tɛni mɛ̃nu pər'hao "he taught the man".

kheũ (Bhid.) "ate" pl. khã

(Bhal. khãu)

mĩ bhatt kheũ

I took rice" but cf. masc.

mĩ pu'lao khau "I took pulao."

'tɛni 'bɛrã khã "he ate berries",

but masc. pl. is khæ.

ḡũ (Bhid.) “came” ‘matṭhu ḡũ

Bhal. (aũ) pl. ā

“the boy came”

pl. ‘matṭhā ā

“the boys came”

masc. is Bhid. ao }
Bhal. au } sg.

Bhid. ae }
Bhal. a } pl.

‘hassu “laughed” pl. ‘hassā.

dzũ “spoke” pl. dzā.

dzēu “given birth to” pl. dzā.

jeũ (Bhid.) “went” pl. jeā (Bhid.)

Bhal. gēu gā (Bhal.)

But cf. masc. sg. jou (Bhid.)

geu (Bhal.)

masc. pl. jee (Bhid.)

gee (Bhal.)

mũ (Bhid.) — died, pl. mūā (Bhid.)

(Bhal. ‘marũ) Bhal. ‘marā

kĩũ (Bhid. and S. Bhal.)—did, pl. kiā

(N. Bhal. ‘karu)

(N. Bhal. ‘karā)

Impersonal phrases.

The ordinary past participle is also used in the impersonal sense, and then only the n. gender is used *e. g.*

ʼlɪkhu ? “have you written?” {lit. has (it) been
written?

krũ ? “have you done ”?

ʼʃuɳu ? “have you heard”?

Such phrases are used without any literal reference to the subject or the object. It is evident that this idiom is inherited from Skr.

Similarly, to indicate things in general, the n. gender is used:—

sλb ʼhacchu lən ! “May they see everything good!”

mĩ kich ʼburu nə krũ “I have not done anything wrong”.

ʼthōɽu tə ʼroɽu “a little, but good” (Proverb).

dʒen bhũ tes gāɳe de

dʒen rɑũ tes bəɽ dē

“Let go what is past, take care of that which remains” (Proverb).

Cf. Impersonal phrases like the following:—

ḍīḡu —“it has dawned.”

ʼmanənu pōũ “(he) had to admit.”

A striking peculiarity of the Impersonal in Bhaḍ. is that even intransitive verbs, as in Skr., are used in the passive voice, and when in the form of past participle, take only the n. gender:—

Bhiḍ. :—

mī nāhēu —I bathed (lit. it was bathed by me).

mī rōū —I wept.

mī 'hassu —I laughed.

Bhal.

mēi dzoū —I said *cf.* Guj. kahjū.

mēi 'lāru —I fought.

mēi 'khaṇkhu—I laughed.

mēi 'ṭakku —I was angry.

mēi 'bantu —I greeted.

The Involuntary (?) Past Passive Participle.

Besides the ordinary Part Participle which can be used both in the active and the Passive sense, Bhiḍ. has another participle, which it is difficult to name. This participle has two senses, positive and negative. When used positively, the sense is involuntary, *i.e.*, the agent is taken as utterly helpless in the action mentioned, and the case used in connection with the participle is not the Instrumental, but the Ablative. The structure of this participle consists of j (being a retention of the old Skr. y of the Passive), besides the usual participle termination, *e.g.*, Bhiḍ. mī 'paṇi piū "I drank water." Here piū is the ordinary past passive participle, and the case used is the Instrumental mī "by me"—the literal meaning being "water was drunk by me." But now *cf.* Bhiḍ. mī kērā 'paṇi pi'jū "water was drunk by me involuntarily." Here pi'jū is the Involuntary past passive participle, while the case

used in connection therewith is not the Instrumental *mī* but the Ablative *mī-kērā*. This is one use of the Participle. Another use is negative, and when used negatively, the participle implies failure of the action, and the case used is not the Ablative, but the Instrumental. Thus the same sentence can be put negatively as *mī 'paṇi nə pi'jū* "I could not drink water" (lit. water could not be drunk by me). The occurrence of this participle is interesting. It seems to have originated from the comparative failure of the ordinary past participle—though passive in origin—to give the passive sense, for it had begun to be used as the ordinary form for the active past tense. To give the true passive significance the old *y* of Skr. was restored and kept in the past participle. Whatever the origin of this construction may be, it is used copiously in the **neuter** gender in Impersonal phrases, *e.g.*

Bhid.

<i>mī nə gəijū</i>	"I could not go"
but <i>mī kērā gəijū</i>	"I went involuntarily."
<i>mī ne dzəi'jū</i>	"I could not speak"
but <i>mī kērā dzəi'jū</i>	"I spoke involuntarily."
<i>mī nə ſhyijū</i>	"I could not touch"
but <i>mī kērā ſhy'ijū</i>	"I touched involuntarily."

Similarly Bhal. uses this Participle copiously, the Neuter ending being *ōū* instead of Bhid. *ū*. It is interesting to note that even the verb substantive 'bhə'nu "to be" can be used in the Passive sense, as it is in Skr., *e.g.*, Bhal.

tei dəvae sei 'radzi bhəi'joū? "was recovery possible by thy medicine?" *bhəi'joū* being the **neuter** "Involuntary" past passive participle.

Similar neuter participles for other verbs in Bhal.

With Instrumental.	With Ablative.
khs'i'joũ “(involuntarily) eaten”	nə khs'i'joũ “could not be eaten”
pi'joũ “(involuntarily) drunk”	nə pi'joũ “could not be drunk”
dzøi'joũ “(involuntarily) spoken.”	nə dzøi'joũ “could not be spoken.”

Thus like Bhiḍ., Bhal. also uses the Instrumental *e.g.*, mēi (Bhiḍ. mī) “by me” in connection with the negative sense and the Ablative, *e.g.*, mē'ra (Bhiḍ.) mī-kērũ “from me” in connection with the positive sense. *e.g.*, Bhal.

mēi nə 'hessjoũ	“I could not laugh”.
but	
mē'ra 'hessjoũ	“I laughed involuntarily.”
mēi nə dzhull'joũ	“I could not sleep.”
but mē'ra dzhull'joũ	“I slept involuntarily.”
mēi nə ei'joũ	“I could not come.”
but mē'ra ei'joũ	“I came involuntarily.”
'teni nə dzi'joũ	“he could not live.”
but te'sa dzi'joũ	“he lived involuntarily.”

Conclusion.

The above study gives us the following three points:—

1. The living occurrence of the Neuter Gender in Bhadarwāhī, being the preservation of a grammatical phenomenon indo germanic in its origin.

2. The striking similarity of the three dialects to Gujarātī in this respect, even in details of terminations etc.

3. Innovations like the Involuntary past passive Participle, the Diminutive suffixes of various "degrees of diminution," a variety of neuter suffixes like—*ō*, *ēū* etc. This indicates that these dialects are not a mere decadence of the old but a further evolution of linguistic phenomena which may have an important bearing on general linguistics.

Under what circumstances the people with languages now so spatially apart as Bhad. and Guj. but linguistically so allied come to be separated is a torturing question which only later research may solve but which the above study has brought into further prominence.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF DOGRI DIALECT.

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In writing this monograph my object is simply to note linguistic phenomena in which Dogri dialect differs from Panjabi. This attempt of mine does not profess to be wholly free from error. It is not improbable that further study will require modification of certain things laid down in it as principles.

It consists of the following chapters:—Introduction.
1. Phonetic observations in Dogri. 2. Structure.
3. Specimens of the dialect. 4. Vocabulary.

Origin of the name.

This name (Dogrā) is traditionally derived from Skt. *Dvigarta*. “But this term is nowhere found in our historical texts and has probably been connected in analogy of the ancient name *Trigarta*¹. The original form of the name seems to be Durgara” (Stein, *Rajtarngini* II 432).

There is difference of opinion as to the derivation of Dogrā from *Dvigarta*. But to me the derivation seems plausible for the following reason. The word *Dvigarta* means ‘two big ditches’, which may figuratively be used for ‘two lakes.’ Some forty miles from Jammu lies a big lake covering an area of at least eight square miles. It is called Sarvūṣar. (Skt. *Sūryasara*). There is another lake of the same dimensions situated at a distance of twelve miles from *Sūryasar*. Its name is *Mānsar*. These two lakes are referred to in the word “*Dvigarta*.”

1. *Trigarta*, according to Sir A. Cunningham, is the name of the country between Kangra and Jallundhar to the south of Chamba. *Indian Antiquary*, 1888, p. 9.

In the country round these two big lakes pure Dogri is spoken. The inhabitants of this tract are mainly Rajputs and Brahmans.

Natural scenery of the country baffles any description. Round these lakes there are grassy and shadowy parks. Mango trees around them attract the notice of the traveller. The great expanse of the bluish green water of the lakes, overgrown with lotus plants enchant the traveller who has travelled so far to feast his eyes upon the natural scenery.

These two lakes must have impressed the minds of the dwellers round them. They associated the name of their country with them. It is possible that they might have held festivals in the pleasing and heart-easing surroundings of these lakes. Dogrā forefathers to keep afresh the memory of the land of festivities, enjoyment and revelry named their country *Dvigarta*.

But more authentic derivation of the name Dogrā is suggested by the word "*Durgara*" which is found on two copper-plate deeds of Chamba. Till this discovery other derivations were feasible. But now they must be regarded as fanciful against this authentic reference of historical value.

"The name "*Durgara*"² is probably a tribal designation, like *Gurjara*, the original of the modern "*Gujar*." The names Duggar and Dogrā are now applied to the whole area in the outer hills between the Ravi and Chenab, but this use of terms is probably of recent origin and dates only from the time when the tract came under the supre-

2. About the Durgara land, mentioned in the Chamba copper-plate Inscription edited by Professor F. Kielhorn, C. I. E. with whom Kiras would appear to have been allied, I have not been able to collect any information, but it does not seem impossible that Durgara may be identical with Dogra, which by Sir A. Cunningham is given as a name of the country including Jammu and the other petty States between the Jhelum and the Ravi. Indian Antiquary Vol. 1888.

macy of Jammu.” [Punjab Historical Society Journal, Vol. 8. pp. 106].

A Short account of the Script.

The alphabet in which the Dogrī dialect is written is called Dogrā or Dogrī. This character is current in the Panjab Himalayas where it is known as “Ṭākari.” Some thirty or forty years ago the then Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, caused to be invented a modified form of the current Ṭākari so as to bring it more into line with Devanagari and Gurmukhi. This improved Dogrī was used for some time in official documents, but it did not generally displace the old Ṭākari form of script, which is still employed by shopkeepers in their account books and by some in correspondance as well. The former type is called “Purāne Dogre” while the latter is called “Navē Dogre.”

In the times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh the Dogrā type of characters was used for printing purposes. Many books were transliterated into them, and even some were translated and printed in Dogrī.

But this scheme was not carried out after his death. Court language which was Dogrī in his times was replaced by Urdu and English. The Dogrā press was abolished. Since then no attempt has been made to revive it.

The Dogrā script now current is the old one. This alphabet is very imperfect. Theoretically it has all the letters found in Devanagari except a few which are not employed in the dialect *e.g.* र and लृ. The vowels are loosely written. One peculiarity of the script is the very frequent employment of the initial forms of vowels for their medial, *e.g.* dā is written d+ā.

Ḍogri and its place among the dialects of the Punjab and Languages of its surrounding country.

Ḍogri proper is spoken by the people of the outer hills, from the Ravi to a little west of the Chenab. It is almost a racial dialect, as it occupies the area of the Ḍogrā race. Those people who have migrated from this country to the Panjab use the speech of their adopted country.

Ḍogri differs considerably from Hindi. If a Hindustani had to travel through the country where pure Ḍogri is spoken he won't be able to understand much of it.

Ḍogri has in its north Rāmbani, Kishtwari and Bhadarwāhī which have close resemblances to it. But they are classed with Kashmiri. On its west it has Lahanda form of speech, generally known as Poṭhohāri. There are three sub-dialects of Ḍogri. These are Kandēāli, the Kangrā dialect, and Bhateāli. Kandēāli is spoken in the north-east of Gurdaspur District and it is a mixture of standard Panjabi and Ḍogri. Kangrā dialect is the dialect of Kangrā District, and Bhateāli is spoken in the Western Chambā.

I have treated in this monograph only the Ḍogri spoken in the country between the Ravi and Chenab.

I have taken the speech of Jammu city as the standard. It is spoken purest by those who have not come into contact with other races; especially it is to be heard pure and unmixed from the lips of women who from their seclusion and little intercourse with strangers are the most likely to preserve the indigenous speech.

Literature in Ḍogri.

There is not a single work hitherto written in Ḍogri dialect which fact is noticeable in the history of a dialect.

Dialects die out after being amalgamated by their surrounding literary speech. Only that dialect can exist which has got a firm basis to resist the inroads of other dialects and that is literature. As culture and education spread they carry with them the vehicle of their medium and thus the symptoms of Dogri dialect being wiped out of its nativity are becoming more visible and incurable if immediate steps are not taken to produce some literature by those who take pride in their speech.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh tried his level best to promote the teaching of Dogri in the State schools. He tried to make the script scientific. Dogri was made the Court language in his time. Some songs in Dogri have appeared in a pamphlet written by Pt. Har Datta of Jammu. His attempt is commendable.

Language and Dialect.

With regard to the future development of languages or dialects it must be borne in mind that all languages are the result of growth, they are the natural products of the genius of the communities which speak them. It is very doubtful whether any permanent effect, or at least beneficial effect, could result from an attempt to interfere with the natural course of development, whether in the matter of pronunciation, vocabulary or idiom. Much is talked about *desi* words in the Indian vocabulary of to-day, and some would seek to eliminate them thinking thus to make the language purer. If such words are effectual they will tend to remain, if they are not they will tend to disappear—of their own accord, as it were. Any attempt to interfere with a language in this way—to introduce a sort of caste distinction amongst the words of it—can only spoil it. The process of elimination

must be natural, a part of the stream of changes which form an essential part of its life.

It is, of course, this constant tendency to change that gives rise to dialects. There can be no doubt that the more closely the members of a community are knitted together by common bonds of interest and culture the less likely will its language be split up in this way or, at least, the more tardily will it do so. But sooner or later every language, if it is a living language, will divide up into dialects and re-divide as by a common law of growth, which it is vain to attempt to resist. Amongst the dialects that thus arise in any coherent community there will be ordinarily competitions for supremacy until one of them gains the day and a standard literary dialect comes into being. This is what happened in England and Germany, as elsewhere in the West; and it happened without the conscious aid of any individual or of any body of individuals. Chaucer in the one case and Luther in the other had, of course, no thought of fixing or standardizing their language. This was a result of the wide appeal which their respective workings made, and such appeal sprang spontaneously from something like a feeling of their linguistic fitness. It may well be said that Dr. Tagore has similarly, by his published works contributed largely towards the fixing of the literary standard of Bengālī. He has moreover added a lustre to Bengālī of which all the other vernaculars of Northern India may justly be proud. But I need hardly say, it would be wrong to suggest that any amount of literary excellence could ever raise the language of Bengal to a position of supremacy to-day. The modern vernaculars of Northern India are indeed no longer dialects but—in the main—definitely individualized languages having each its own dialects.

Dialects, in the stricter sense, can, of course, always be used for literary purposes; indeed for poetry, and especially for emotional poetry, they would seem to be the only really legitimate medium of expression, representing as they must do the mother-tongue or, if not that at any rate the home language. For this or for other reasons dialect literature certainly holds a prominent place in the world of letters of the present day. And if in England poets have returned to express themselves in the dialect of Devonshire or of Yorkshire there is no reason why poets in our part of the world should not express themselves in the dialect of Salkot or Jammu. Whether any thing beyond local success would ensue would depend partly upon language and of course, partly, indeed to a very large extent, upon the writer and those for whom he is writing. As I have said that the dialect is used in "account-books by the rural shopkeepers," I presume that this is not wholly the case but mere mentioning this fact suggests the possibility that the dialect is lacking in some of those associations which make the richness of poetic dialect. If it is so lacking, I should advise our poets to leave it alone, however melodious it may be. But they themselves are the best judges, and should feel instinctively whether the medium is a suitable one or not. It would, of course, be quite futile to think of introducing a new dialect, even locally, for ordinary literary purposes.

SPEECH MATERIAL OF DOGRĪ.

Dogri differs from standard Panjabi in many respects. Differences in pronunciation are tabulated:—

(a) Vowels:

Panjabi sounds.	Initial.	Medial.	Final.
Λ		qΛq : u = q'd : u	
i		1. = u jit : he = jut : hæ	
u		kuʃ = k'ʃ	
e	= i ethe = it : hæ en : ā = in : ā eddar = iddar		2. = æ nere = neræ ure = uræ kære = kæræ
o	= u othe = ut : hæ oho = uæ o'dā = u'dā o'ddar = uddar 'ob : i = 'ub : i	= u ṭona = ṭūna jōk = juḱ : moṭa = muṭ : a choṭa = chuṭ : a	3. = u pichhō = pichhṭ parasō = parasū Λdō = Λdū tΛdō = tΛdū jΛdō = jΛdū
æ	= i æ̃ = iā æ̃s = īs æthe = ithæ		= Λo b'æ = bΛo s'æ = sΛo r'æ = rΛo q'æ = qΛo

Following examples illustrate the above table fully:—

1. **i medial** = u
 kídā = k'ūdā (whose?)
 kíddar = k'uddar (where?)
 kitthō = kutthū (whence?)
 kite = kutū (anywhere).
2. **e final** = æ
 pære = pæræ (away. adv.)
 Λgge = Λggæ (before.)

sám : anē = s'ām : anaē (in front of).

Δje = Δjæ (as yet.)

bannē = bannæ (on the side of).

picche = picchæ (behind).

3. o final = u

Δdō = Δdū (then)

jΔdō = jΔdū (when)

tΔdō = tΔdū (then).

(b) Consonants.

	Initial.	Medial.	Final.
kh		(i) = x likanā = lixanā	= x hirkh = hirx
x	= kh xær = khair xiāl = khiāl xush = khush xabar = khaur		
ch	= ʃ che = ʃe	= ʃ Δchā = Δʃā	
r		= l dΔridderi = dΔlidderi baraderi = balad : eri ret = let : er	= l sær = sæl
l	= n lenā = nenā		
ʃ		= r kheʃo = kheʃo	
u	(ii) = b uari = bari		
p	= bæ or væ pær = bær	= b or v cupcApitā = cupcAvitā dΔpat : a = dΔvæt : a	

- (i) **kh medial** = **x**
cikhā = **cix** (funeral pyre)
lakhmī = **laxmī** (Goddess of Wealth).
carikhā = **carxā** (Spinning wheel).
- (ii) **v initial** = **b**
vΔḍā = **bəḍ : a** = (big).
vic = **bic** (in)
vaste = **bastæ** (for)
vAcchā = **bēccha** (calf)
vərá = **bərá** (year)
vAzīr = **bΔji : r** (minister)
e. g. Bəjīrābād = Wazīrabad.
va = **ba** (wind) air.

The sound **v** is a lip-teeth sound. Lips are not closed, but a fricative sound is produced by letting the air pass through the teeth and lower lip, while **b** is labial explosive. In Dogrī fricative **v** is not found used initially.

- (iii) **ch initial** = **j**.
chΔjj = **jΔjj**, "Winnowing basket".
channənī = **jañnənī** "Sieve".

If "j" comes in every word which begins with **ch** it becomes a vulgar sound. In a Sanskrit drama by Shūdraka there is a character who always speaks **j** instead of **Ch** or **S**. This Phonetic variation is not general. Very few people who are quite illiterate use this sound most frequently.

PHONETIC RULES.

§ 1. Where Panjabi has **j, g, b, d, (r), ḍ** following a nasal of the same class, Dogri retains only the nasal dropping the following sound:—

pājābi	=	pāṇābi	ipjan	=	ipan
sāṇj	=	sāṇ			
surāṅg	=	surāṇ	zāṅgāl	=	zāṇāl
siṅg	=	siṇ			
ambārsar	=	am̐: ārsar			
imbali	=	iməli			
cāndan	=	cān : an			
pāṇḍat	=	pāṇat			

Exceptions:—

mūḍā	=	mura
aṇḍā	=	āṭəra
phāṅg	=	phāṇg

§ 2. Non-conjunct **kh** of Panjabi when it does not begin a word is modified to **x**,

cikha	=	cixa
sukh	=	sux
dukh	=	dux
cārəka	=	cārəxā

When it is initial we have **khellanā** as in Panjabi and conjunct **kh** is retained as in **rakkhanā, səkkhər**.

This sound occurs in other words too whose equivalents are missing in Panjabi.

saxər	=	Skt. Sākṣar, literate
sālxar	=	glutton
rāxanā	=	cupboard

When we have **x** initial the word is of foreign origin.
Xaur = **Xabar, Xamāri**.

§ 3. Dogri has retained **r** in the derivatives from Sanskrit, while Panjabi has lost it.

D.		Pt.		Skt.
nīdra	=	nīd	=	nīdrā
troṛanā	=	toṛənā	=	truṭ
kərsan	=	kisan	=	kriṣ
khetṭer	=	khet	=	kṣetra
darabb	=	dəbb	=	darbha.
mūttər	=	mūt	=	mūtra
træ	=	tin	=	tri
treh	=	teh	=	triṣā
grā	=	gāō	=	grāma
trīmat	=	tīmṭ	=	strī
drop : ər	=	dopuṭ (H).		
jit : ərū	=	janṭu (Skt.)		
pareādi	=	poādi		
drəoṛna	=	dəoṛna		
trəp : əna	=	ṭəp : əna		

In some words r is introduced,

karopi	Skt.	kopa
kraṭhan		kaṭhina
birlap		vilapa
sarāph		ṣapa
sarbandhi		sambandhī.

§ 4. Elision of Vowels:—

Unaccented initial vowels are dropped.

		Ḍogrī
əkāssi	=	kāssi
əkavupjā	=	kupjā

This process is very common in numerals. Other examples are:—

		Ḍogrī
umed	=	med
əfəsos	=	basos, masos
upa	=	pa from Skt. upāya
ucecā	=	cecā <i>especially</i>
əcarj	=	carj <i>surprise, wonder.</i>

Appeal	=	pi:l
'ilaɟ	=	laɟ
'itla	=	təla
əsbab	=	səbab
əmi : r	=	mi : r
ustad	=	sətad
əmanət	=	manət
iqrar	=	krar
ilahi	=	lahi
ilaqa	=	laqa
'əlæ'dah	=	læ'da
Skt. adhīna	=	tvi : n
almirah	=	ləmari
imtiḥan	=	mətian
abad	=	bad
avaz	=	baɟ
akhi : r	=	khi : r
ikhtiar	=	khtiar
əfiu : n	=	phi : m
əget : əra	=	get : əra
ikəlapa	=	kəlapa
Skt. upadrava	=	pədro
itifaq	=	thuak
Skt. ananta	=	nənt
əthəvar	=	thuar

§ 5. Elision of Consonants:—

(a) **b** or **v** of the Panjabi elides in

(i) Locative suffix **bic**

kvr bic = **kvræc**

(ii) Possessive suffix **bāla** or **wālā**

dialī = **divalī**

kvræ ala = **kvrvala**

pvaḡəla = **pvaḡvala** (fortunate).

raṅḡəla = **raṅḡ-bala**.

(iii) other words as

dove = doe

pvaṽē = pvaē

(b) k of Panjabi is elided in

(i) In Conjunctive participial terminations, it is replaced by i.

khake = kdaiaē

ake = aiaē

(ii) accusative termination ki or gi, where it is replaced by i.

kvoṛe-ki = kvoṛei

us-ki = usi

(iii) Instrumental termination—kanē

uskṽnē = usnāē

These terminations are peculiar to Panjabi which has nū and nāl respectively in their place.

(c) ch initial sound of conjunctive Suffix is dropped in Dogri.

kər chaḍḍi = kəri oṛi

kha „ = khai oṛi

Note:—The insertion of i shows that a consonant has dropped.

(d) p of the postposition pase in the locative sense is dropped giving place to a diphthong:—

mere pase = mereasæ

§ 6. Metathesis:—

This occurs when new or difficult words are introduced into the vocabulary of the people who are ignorant of the correct pronunciation of new words.

nuqsan = naskan

nəqja = nəjqa

udas = duas

səṅkrāti = səṅṇad

masant = mənsāt

general = jarnæl

Angarez = nərgəz

Aksər = əfkar.

atəʃbazi	=	astbazi
ekadəʃi :	=	kasti :
səŋkʌlp	=	sələkʌḍp
mətʌb	=	mətbəl

§ 7. Medial **g** in Dogri loses its pure gottural character and is pronounced as **g**

ʈignā	—	to rest
tʌgi : d	—	necessity.

-h- of Hindi also is pronounced as **g** in words like **hī** or **ha**

at : əgə	—	very much ati hī .
ʃʌndegə	—	reaching jate hī .
migi	—	to me.
mʌtagə	—	very much.

§ 8. Initial **f** is absent in Dogri Speech.

fail	phel
fʌrək	phark
fi : rozi	phroʃi.
fʌoʃ	phʌoʃ
tʌofi : k	tʌphi : k
rafu	rap : hu
faeda	phæda
fəḷā	phəlana.

§ 9. The **ḡ** or **ḥ** or **ā** followed by a voiceless consonant is pronounced as **æ**:

Dogri	
nicænt	: niʃcinta (free of anxiety).
tæntər	: tʌntra (tantra).
mæntər	: mʌntra (mantra).
sænt	: sʌnta (saint).
səŋkh	: ʃʌŋkha (conch shell).
bæś	: bʌś. (family).
sæntha	: sʌntha (lesson).
læŋka	: lʌŋka (ceylon).
jænt	: jʌntu (living organism).

sæsa	: sʌʃəʃə	(<i>suspicious</i>).
kʌænʈa	: kʌnʈa	(<i>hoan</i>).
bæśūri	: bāsuri	(<i>flute</i>).
kæt	: kātā	(<i>lover</i>),
præt	: updrāt	(<i>afterwards</i>).
kæth	: kʌnʈh	(<i>throat</i>).
phrætu	: phərʌnta	(<i>vagabond</i>).

This phenomenon is clear from the instances of borrowings from English.

Warrant	>	bræt.
Point	>	pæt.
Trunk	>	træŋk.
Assistant	>	ʃtænt.

When æ or ʌ is followed by a voiced letter this change does not take place:—

ʌŋg	—	limb.
chʌnd	—	metre.
pʌŋd	—	load.
khʌŋd	—	sugar.
pʌŋg	—	bhang plant.
phʌŋg	—	feather.
tʌnd	—	fibre.
dʌŋgər	—	beast.
dəŋda	—	stick.
dʌŋg	—	sting.
pʌŋʃ	—	five, but pæc — or a member of a paṇcayət.
thʌnd	—	cold.

The following points may be noted regarding the above phenomena.

Non-appearance of ɛ or æ before voiced consonants indicates a historical change.

In Panjabi as well as Ḍogri *anusvāra* or **n** before an unvoiced consonant cannot stand. The latter must become voiced.

danta- > **dand**.

kaṇṭaka- > **'kaṇḍa**.

Historically speaking Ḍogri, therefore, possessed only *anusvāra* or **n** + voiced consonant. In a later historical period long after the vocalization of unvoiced consonant after **n** or *anusvāra* had been established the vowel **Λ** in loan words before **n** + breathed consonant, without voicing the consonant began to be changed into **Ē** or **æ**

Exceptions are to be noted in the case of *anusvāra* (**n**) + unvoiced fricatives, viz,

sansara—**sænsar**.

By analogy we have **s'æ**s—thousand.

pansari—**pansari**.

Syncopation in Ḍogri.

The case-endings when added to nouns and pronouns undergo radical changes which make the structure look synthetic:—

{	mere-ja	=	mere-kaJa	{	Instrumental and Ablative.
			by me, from me.		
	pṽAræṇæ	=	pṽAræ-kæṇæ		
			with brother.		
	'udenæ	=	usde-kæn : æ with him		
{	richæ-ja	}	=	}	from a bear.
	richæ ha		=		
	mereæsea	=	mere-pasea		
			from me,		
			from the direction of mine		
mere-ella	=	mere-bælla	(Panjabi mere bællō).		
mere-ell			towards me		
			with regard to me.		
			As regards me.		
Ablative	kvore-pra	—	kvore-upera		
			from the horse—from the horse.		
	kṽAræ-ca		out from the house.		
Locative	kṽAræ-c	—	in the house		
	siræ vər	—	siræ-up : ær		
			on the head		

Accusative **k_vAræ-i**, **k_vAræ-gi** — To house

mi-ki—gi—i — To me.

Instrumental 'ode-næ dikkhio kūde — See that you do not speak with him.

ǣræ.næ mʌri gea — He died of poisoning.

mere-sa naĩ ʝanõda — I cannot go.

Ablative paɲmes:ræ-ja dʌro) — Be afraid of God.
 -ha -----)

k_vore-pra diggi pea — He fell from house.

mere-asea do rupæ dei-oro — Give two rupees on my behalf.

Locative cor k_vAræ-c jai bArea -- Thief entered the house.

'ode siræ-vər safə nɑī — He has no turban on his head.

In Modes syncopation is very much used.

1. *ɪd ərnã* — *ɪa kərnã*, *I am going.*

yardah — ja kerdaha, *I was going.*

garden — ia kærden, *They are going.*

kærna — in different forms is used in these participles.

2. $\begin{array}{ll} \text{janog} & - \text{janh}^{\vee}\text{og} \\ \text{jan}^{\vee}\text{ōda} & - \text{jan h}^{\vee}\text{ōda} \end{array} \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{ll} \text{janog} & - \text{janh}^{\vee}\text{og} \\ \text{jan}^{\vee}\text{ōda} & - \text{jan h}^{\vee}\text{ōda} \end{array}} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{These two forms with } \text{hona} \\ \text{can be found used with} \\ \text{every verb in passive voice.} \end{array}$

3. **pʌɾvi-ored-pʌɾvi chorea**— **chorna** is generally changed
to **orea**.

4. *juslæ* — which time, } from **vella** (time) with
is-læ — this time, }
kère-læ — which time, } pronoun.

bʌdd-læ — morning time,

sAŋŋæ-læ — evening time.

5. In individual cases this syncopatic process is also remarkable.

bar	— Saturday	khufca — khuji cahe	This construction is used in the sense of 'might.'
tar	— Sunday	khuspa — khuji pvaē	
sApar	— Monday		
salkAompəna	— sApkəlpə kərna			gAōpa — gAō pvaVē

sAnvAon — **sirnvAon**

6. **kuṭheala** — store-keeper.
suad-la — delicious, tasteful.
kṽəræ ala — husband.
akli ala — wise
labv(g)te lei (aōg) — In quick speech the future
 — is syncopative.
 He will bring when he finds.

Structure of the Dialect.

Noun.

Gender of animate objects is determined by their sex. It is difficult to point out the gender of inanimate things. For this purpose following rules are noteworthy:—

(1) Words which end in **-a** or **-ā** and words having more than one syllable containing **-a** in the last syllable are usually masculine, *e.g.*

aṭa	(flour)	ballən	(firewood)
kṽərā	(pitcher)	cikkəṛ	(mud)
həḷək	(rabies).	jəngəl	(forest)

Exception to this is **sakəṇ** (co wife).

(2) Words ending in **-i** are generally feminine.

bəneali	(firewood)	brənauli	(geneology)
bərasūi		b'ūcəri	(a bush).

Exceptions are **ji-wish**, individual; **paṇi** : (water)

moti pearl.

Words common to Dogrī and Panjabi generally have the same gender in both languages.

Formation of Feminine.

Many words form their feminine from an entirely different word or in an irregular manner.

<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
babb (father)	mā (bebbe) mother
puttar (son)	tvī (daughter).
pvrā (brother)	pvaen (sister)
judī (son-in-law)	nû (daughter-in-law)
mura (boy)	kūṛī (girl)
sahn (bull)	gau (cow)
saṇḍa (buffalo-bull)	maṇ: (buffalo-cow)
təṭṭu (poney-horse)	ṭær (pony-mare.)

Regular formations are:—

I. Masculine nouns and adjectives ending in **-a** and participles in **ea** or **-a** form their feminine in **-ī**. If the word denotes an inanimate object form in **-ī** means a small specimen of a class.

<i>Masculine.</i>	<i>Feminine.</i>
tvAgga bull	tvaggi cow
kut:a dog	kutti (bitch)
ḍubbea drowned	ḍubbi
ciṛa sparrow	ciṛī she-sparrow
carkha (spinning wheel)	carkhī small spinning wheel
ṭvol (drum)	ṭvolēki small drum
kacca (lad)	kacci

(ii) Masculine ending in a consonant, adds **ī**, **ṛī**, **ṇī** to form feminine.

br'amēn	bramēnī
ḍūm	ḍūmēṇī
bal	balēṛī
jimidar	jimidarṇī
paṇet	paṇetṭānī
me'ta	metēḍānī.

(iii) Final **ī** of the masculine is changed to **æn**. If it ends in **ai** or **ī** the feminine changes this into **æn**.

papabi	pəpabæn
teli	telæn
pʋəŋgi	pʋəŋgæn
raī	ræn
nai	næn or niani
bəri	bærn

Some peculiar forms of words denoting blood or conjugal relations.

pʋai, pʋra	pʋæn, pʋabi
pʋətəri	pʋətəri
jəṭhūtṭər	jəṭhī
pʋənoa	bhənei
nənoia	nənan
dədeora	dadəs
pətəraora	pərtiani
pətəri	piderəs
der	dərani
jəṭh	jəṭhanī
mama	mami
nana	nanī

(a) **Noun Declensions:—**

Method of adding post-positions as case endings is somewhat synthetic in its character:—

(i) The instrumental is the same as organic Locative

həṭṭhə	(Lahanda)	} by the hands.
həṭṭhə	(Dogrī)	

L. zorī	} by force.	zabani	} by word of mouth.
D. jorī		jabani	

(ii) The ablative is organic in origin.

- L. *jəhərō* from a city }
D. *jəra* from a city }

dəkhanō cərhi bəddəli
dəkkhənā „ „*

} The clouds
} are risen
} from the
} south.

(* The ablative termination in Dogri is *ā*.)

Another form is got by suffix *tō, thō, thuā*.

(iii) The locative suffix is *-ic* or *-c*, i.e., this is a contracted form of the Panjabi post-position *vic* and has become a termination.

Noun declensions.

The cases are distinguished from one another partly by inflection, but chiefly by the use of subjoined particles, or post-positions, which serve the purpose of case signs.

Nouns ending in vowels make the following vowel changes before the case signs which are given in the tabular form:—*

For accusative:—*gi* or *ki*

Instrumental = *kola, kənæ, kəccha thuā, thī*

Dative = *joga, lai, tai, gītæ, kitæ bastæ*.

Locative = Particles expressing Locality. e. g.
-*c-ver-per*.

Singular.			Plural.		
Nominative case.	Oblique case.	Vocative.	Nom.	Oblique.	Vocative
Nouns आ <i>m a</i>	e	ea, e	e	ē	eo
... अ <i>m ×</i>	æ	a	×	ē	o
... उ <i>m ×</i>	æ	a	×	ē	o
... ई <i>f ×</i>	×	e	ā	ē	o

Nouns ending in आ masculine = *kvora, soṭa, koṭha, loṭā*,

„ „ „ अ „ = *kvər gur*, [except खडाल = *toy*

„ „ „ उ „ = *khinnu* 'a ball'.

„ „ „ ई feminine = *pothī*, a book.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

SINGULAR.				PLURAL.		
Cases.	I	thou	He	we	you	they
Nom.	aũ, mĩ or mê	tũ	'oh	As	tuu	o, oh
Agent.	mê	tũ	'uně	Asě	tusě	uně
Accusative -Dative.	mĩ-ki, mĩ-gĩ, mĩ (a)	tuki, tugi. tu,	us-ki-gĩ usi.	Asě-ki, gi, Asěi	tusě ki, gi, tusěi	uněki, gi, uněi
Genitive	mera ma'ra (b)	tera, thuara	'oda, usda- o nhuara	asě-dā	tusě-dā, tundā	uně-dā, ũdā
Ablative Instru- ment.	mere or ma'rie- {thĩ -thĩ kōla -kaccha.	tere or thuare { -thoā thĩ	'ode or 'ude 'thĩ " " " " " " " " " " " "	asě {thoā sai'he- {thĩ	tusě tu- {thoā, sai'he- {thĩ,	unde } kōla and } other.
Locative.	mere-c or bic ma'ie-c	tere- {c thuare {c -bic.	'ode 'ude -c nhuare- {bic	asě c sai'he-c	tusě c tusai'he-c	unde-c -bic

(a) First take the accusative-dative forms.

The three forms are—

	I.	thou.	he.	
{	miki	tuki	uski	} and so on.
	migi	tugi	uski	
	mi	tui	usi		plural.

Here the termination-ki is same as कृतः in Sanskrit. It has come down to Vernaculars through Prakrit kidas or kidaii. With the progress of time 'd' disappeared, and the word became kiao, and hence ki, which being again added as a termination was later on reduced to-i, e.g.,

{	tava kritah—Sanskrit	
	tava kidao —Prakrit	
	tava kiao	*
	tu kiao	*
	tu ki	(Modern Dogrī).
{	tui	—more developed form of Dogrī.

(b) Secondly take the genitive forms.

	I.	thou.	he.	
{	(i) mera	tera	usda, 'uda	}
	(ii) mvara	thuara	nhuara	

mera, tera, and usda show traces of Panjabi but their alternative forms are directly related to those found in Lahanda, viz.

Pothohari	{	māheda	tuhada	usda
		mahra	tuhara	usna

(c) As for the ablative, post positions are as neumerous as the words which can give the sense of the case for which they are used:—

(i) For dative we have

— laī	—	from लिये	— Hindi.
— tai	—	” ताई	— ”
— gitæ	—	” (Dogrī)	
— kitæ	—	” (Dogrī)	
— bastæ	—	” वास्ते	— Hindi
— jogga	—	” योग्य	— Sanskrit.

(ii) For ablative we have

— kola	— Lahanda.
— thoã	— Lahanda.
— kæccha	— Dogrî.
— thî	— Lahanda.
— thû	— Lahanda.

(iii) For **Locative** we have the words which give sense of location.

— pær	on
— vic	in.

(iv) For **agent** case we have the same postpositions as those used in ablative.

VERBS IN DOGRÎ.

§1. Verb follows the general law of simplification, a characteristic of Indo-European languages, and it has had to pass through different stages, *viz.* vedic, classical, Pali, Prakrit, and modern type. In classical Sanskrit a root or stem had in general, 702 forms (6 phases × 13 tenses × 9 persons), which have been reduced to a very small number by process of reduction.

This reduction necessitates a greatly extended use of participles and it is a great step in the transaction from the synthetical to the analytical system.

Dogrî, which is a dialect of Panjabi, follows it with a few exceptions, and in turn verbal forms coincide with those found in Lahanda which was once the *lingua franca* of the whole of Panjab and was replaced by the Modern Panjabi later on.

The principal tenses that have survived in Panjabi are—

(i) Old simple present or present subjunctive.

(ii) Imperative.

(iii) Future.

and the rest of the verbal business is done by participles.

The phases are three—active, passive, and causal.

Participles are:—

- (i) Present Participle.
- (ii) Past Participle.
- (iii) Conjunctive Participle.
- {(iv) Infinitive.
- {(v) Gerund.

To give a list of variations from the standard Panjabi that are found in Dogrī I shall deal with the above participles, phases, and tenses successively:—

(i) **Old simple present; or present subjunctive.**

marna to kill.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1. marā | marie, marcæ. |
| 2. marē | maro. |
| 3. mar-æ | marən. |

(ii) **Imperative.**

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 2. mar | maro. |
|---------------|--------------|

N.B.—In imperative it is to be noted that the form **mar-su** is the survival of **skt.** form **मारयस्व** which in **Pkt.** would phonetically become **मारस्तु**—

(Respectful imperative forms are **marīā mar-i-o**).

(iii) **Future.**

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. marəŋ or maruŋ | marəge, -giā. |
| 2. marəŋāē, -giē | margeo. gio. |
| 3. marəg- | marŋən. |

(The forms vary in feminine in 1. p ; 2. s. and p. 1 person singular resembles **Rājāsthāni**. It varies from the Panjabi only in that **g** is changed to **ŋ** owing to the preceding nasal.

Participial tenses:—

Past conditional—**mārda** (यदितेन मारितः स्यात्)

æ—is to be traced back to अय of the { Present Definite—**maraidaha** (मारयन् अस्मि)
Imperfect — **maræda-sa** (मा यन् आसम्)
causal.

Past — **mārea** मारितः

Compound verb—**mari-gea** (gone to death).

Conjunctive — **mari-æ**.

Another aspect peculiar to Dogrī dialect is the addition of—**cæ** to a verbal form in the sense of imperative to give a permissive force. (It is used in plural 1st person only).

(i) It is used in conditional—

हो चै - **ho cæ**. — if we be

(ii) Imperative—

kha cæ - Let us eat.

In Lahanda it is used with singulars in the imperative sense.

mæ khaũ ca may I eat.

mæ pərhā ca may I read.

əsi pərhie ca may we read.

In Lahanda it is an in-organic, while in Dogrī it has become organic to some extent by dropping the nasal sound which preceded **चा**—

It cannot very safely be connected with Urdu or Hindi चाहिये, a potential termination added to the infinitive of the stem.

Another termination is—**je** which may be regarded as remnant of potential which has passed over to respectful imperative or simply precativ:—

akhāje = may I say.

(**akhde-je** = They are saying)

We have verbs followed by **-go**, viz., **aiāgo** 'I am coming'.

Passive Voice is formed by adding **-i** to the root and conjugated like the active with **jana**.

sijji—gaī—It was made wet.

(standard panjabi has **pvijj gaī**.)

phissi—gaī—It was squeezed.

pīti—gaī—It was ground.

pvājj—jana—To be broken.

-i-an augment is more frequently used in Dogrī than in Panjabi.

Impersonal is formed with a vowel change in the verb viz.,
 sənoi gea, jənoa noi gea. This aspect has been fully dealt
 with in my article contributed to the *Grierson Commemoration*
volume.

Causal.

This is formed by adding **a** to the root.

{	pṽəḍ	--pṽuāna (to cause to turn).
{	pā	--puana (to cause to put).
{	ul	--luana (to cause to descend).
{	jagada	--jəgana (to cause to wake).

Thus we find that **l** is a peculiarity of Dogri. It is only an extra addition, as the standard Panjabi has not got it.

{	pi	=	{	pialləna (
				paḷiana	= To cause to drink
				(pj. piana)	
{	sao	=	suaḷəna	= To cause to sleep.	
{	baḷo	=	buaḷəna	= To cause to sit.	
{	uth	=	thūaḷəna	= To cause to lift.	
{	kha	=	khuaḷəna	= To cause to eat.	
{	nha	=	nhuaḷəna	= To cause to bathe.	
{	dikkh	=	dikhaḷəna	= To cause to see.	
{	sī	=	səḷiani	= To cause to be sewn.	

nikkhəṛ (To separate)	nəkhəṛ (To cause to separate).
sijj (be moistened)	səṛa (To cause to moisten).
phətt (To torn)	phəra (To cause to be torn).
səṛ (To burn)	səṛa (To cause to be burnt).
təp (To warm)	təpa (To cause to heat).

Compound Verbs.

1. They are used to form intensives.

gəl sər	gəli-sari gəi	= rotten.
phir-ṭur	phirde ṭurde	= walking.
nəc-trəp	= nəcəde trəpəde	= Dancing and jumping.
kha-pi	= khāne pīnde	= eating and drinking.
bṽo-khṛo	= baḍde khṛōde	= sitting and standing.
a-ja	= aūde jaṇde	= coming and going.
	= dinde duande	= giving and causing to give.
	den duan	= to give.
le-de	ləu den	= Exchanging.
	milde milāde	= meeting and causing to meet.
	mər mukḥ	= annihilated.

(मृ+मुक्) (मृत मुक्)

rai cukk To be unable to do anything.

(sar-pər) To be rotten.

Sometimes the same word is repeated.

phir-phur—To walk.

khó-khu --To eat.

a-o —come repeatedly.

a o-æ kər na

b. Substantive verb has forms similar to those of Lahanda substantive.

Present-Substantive.

SINGULAR.				PLURAL.		
	Full form.	Contracted form.	Emphatic form.	Full form.	Contracted form.	Emphatic form.
1. {L. D.	hā hā	ā ā	ahā ā	hā hæ ā	ah ā	ahā ā
2. {L. D.	hē	ē ē	ihē ē	ho o	o o	cho ò
3. {L. D.	he	e æ	ihe	hin 'n	in 'n	'ehin; en

The differentiating feature is that in contracted forms 'h' assumes a phonetic form quite akin to g (g of urdu). viz.

'ogæn = The are.

The above table in which Lahanda as well as Dogrī forms are shown side by side, shows that Dogrī forms have dropped 'h' in greater number of cases than the Lahanda forms have done.

That is to say Dogrī resembles Lahanda more than it does Panjabi.

- Future forms are
1. **voŋ, ovge**
 2. **voga, ovge**
 3. **vog, ovŋən**

Some Important Suffixes.

First person singular and 3 person plural are noticeable.

The suffix **-kar** which is used in Sanskrit to form an onomatopoeic word is modified in Dogrī by doubling **-k-** of **-kar** and dropping **-r**. The syllable preceding **-k-** is lengthened.

pətak : a	.....	‘ The pat sound ’
phənak : a	—	‘ gust of wind ’
tvəmak : a	.....	‘ sound of a heavy blow.’
ṭhənak : a	.....	‘ Jingle of coins’
gəṛak : a	.....	‘ boisterous laugh.’

In hunḱāra the change is exceptional. It becomes ṇvūra. ‘responding sound.’

The suffix **-rā** is used to denote various meanings:—

(i) It is used as a Pleonastic suffix

cvigəṛa	.....	cvik : a	Downward.
āṭə-ṛa	—	āṭa	‘ egg ’
dəaṛa	.....	dē	‘ day ’
ambe-ṛī	.....	am : ā	‘ mother’
rā-ṛa	.....	rā	‘ path.’
col : ə-ṛi	.....	col : i	‘ waistcoat.’
uvə-ṛa			
əkə-ṛa	.....	əkka	‘ This’
pəṭə-ṛa	—	pəṭ	a long scarf.
tak-ṛa	.....	tak	nitche.

(ii) It is a comparative suffix

Positive		Comparative
nik : a (young)	.....	nik : əṛa, nigəṛa (younger)
laoka (small)	.....	lakvera, laok : əṛa (smaller)

baḍ : a (great)	—	baḍera-baḍ : əṛa (greater)
picce (behind)	—	picceḍ a (far behind)
du : r (far)	—	dəreḍ : a (further)

(iii) **-ra** is used to form adverbs of frequency

kéra	—	one fold
caora	—	four fold
cheora	—	six fold.

-ri as pleonastic

pvi -again	phvi -again
phi again	phiri again
mau mother	mau-ri mother.

-ra as pleonastic

bak :h	bak : həra	Separate.
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(iv) **-k, -pvər sara** do not change the meaning when added to the adj. **danā, bind, jəra, kəntər, rual**:—

danā-k	} little	bind-k	} little
-sára		-sára	
-pvərə		-pvər	
-jəneá		-jəneá	
jəra-k	} little	kəntər-k	} little
-sára		-sára	
-pvərə		-pvərə	
-jəneá		-jəneá	
rual-k	} little		
etc			

Tones in Dogri.

In Dogri high falling tone **^** and low rising '**v**' tone exist. The change of tone in several cases affects the meaning of words. The low-rising tone is peculiar to the middle of the Panjab. The aspirated sonants viz. **gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh** are spoken as **k, c, t, p** with the lowest degree of sonance.

The causes leading to this division of tones are multifarious viz. elision of 'h', falling of stress, and substitution for **gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh**.

In the following pages a few instances are given in which the tone determines the sense.

1. Monosyllabic Words.

Unstressed. — Nasalized. — High Tone. — Nasalized. — Low Tone. — Nasalized.			
ka=skt क =ô kha "may he eat"	kã=crow (1) =husks of pulse.	ké=what? k'o=tease.	kva=grass kva=a deep wound kvo=a reptile.
			kũ: =whirling sound.
kha=ख =ô kha "may he eat"	khã=may I eat √khana.	khá=imp. 2nd. √khana to eat.	
		kh'u=well.	
ga=ग =sing, =Imp sing.	gã=may I sing √gana	khé=dust khô=den =to snatch	
		gá=a process for sepa- rating corn from husks. gû=excretion, filth.	

ca=च	cā=conceited- ness =canine disease. chā=shade.	cā=tea, year- ning, long- ing =feeling. chá=gruel.	cū=hair
co= =to milch Imp. 2nd V cona.	co=curiosity, liking, fond- ness.		
ja=ज	jā=may I go V jana "may I go"	jā=Imp. 2nd V jana	
ta=ट	tū	tō = shampoo Imp. vtōna (pvorəna) to touch dā=	tvā=to fell down tvō { =Imp. 2nd V to carry =leaving against support. tvu=bowels. nvā=Imp. 2nd. V to bathe.
na=न	nēp=not, nega- tive par- ticle. nā=name.	nā'=negation (-deni)	

Unstressed.	Nasalized.	High tone.	Nasalized.	Low tone.	Nasalized.
ta = ṭ heat	tā=then =from tana (may I heat)	té=thirst (Pj). tô=husks tâ=fold, severe beating	tā=this side. √tātūā tū : = you “tâ cârênd” (to give a severe beat- ing).	tvo = wash.	tũ : = smoke.
tha = ṭ = was	thā = place , room.	thā = bottom e.g. = lani = to feel the bottom			
da = ṭ = trick		dā = burning			

pā = प				pva =rate	pū : =
pa = √ paṇa Imp. 2nd		phā =हanging.			
pha =फ		pí =vto grind Imp. 2nd		pvi = again.	
pi : = drink vpi : na		bā =exclama- tion!	b'ā = arm = may I till v'bāna	pvo = husks of wheat or barley.	
ba = अ = air	bā = well	=	m'ā =a kind of peas.		
	mā = mother				
ra = र		rā =way, path =sow 2nd Imp.	rā' = may I sow.	rva = musical tone.	
= opinion = a mirasi		v'rāna.			
ro = weep		rô = anger			
		rí =rheuma- tism.			

<i>Unstressed.</i>	<i>High Tone.</i>	<i>Low Tone.</i>
<i>bā</i> 'air'	<i>bá</i> 'oh!'	<i>bva:</i> 'fling'.
<i>bā</i> 'tank'	<i>bā'</i> 'arm'	—
<i>bari</i> 'window'	—	<i>bvari</i> 'broom'.
'turn'		
<i>bār</i> Day, Turn	<i>bár</i> 'outside'	<i>bvar</i> 'season'.
Legend		
<i>bela</i> 'marshes'	<i>bél:a</i> 'free'	—
<i>ban</i> 'arrow'	<i>bán</i> 'furrowed land'	—
<i>bil</i> 'hole'	<i>bíl</i> 'roll'	—
<i>bil:a</i> 'cat'	<i>bíl:a</i> 'damp'	—
<i>cār</i> 'part of roof'	<i>c'ār</i> climb	<i>cvar</i> Chandallier; rebuke; snubb- ing.
<i>cār</i> 'bug'	<i>c'ār</i> climb	<i>cvar</i> cloudy day; come down.
<i>cali</i> 'forty'	—	<i>cvali</i> funeral pyre.
<i>kand</i> 'back'	—	<i>kvand</i> rogue.
<i>ga</i> sing	<i>ga'</i> Process of sepa- rating corn from husks.	<i>gva</i> cause to ex- create
—	<i>k'ær</i> 'calamity'	<i>kvar</i> 'cloudy'
<i>gær</i> 'outsider'	<i>g'ær</i> 'see'	—
<i>ko</i> 'crow'	<i>k'o</i> 'one mile'	<i>kvo</i> a snail
<i>kas:</i> 'fever'	—	<i>kvasæ:</i> rub
<i>kho</i> 'habit'	<i>kho'</i> snatch; cave	—
<i>kath</i> 'wood'	<i>káth</i> 'sixty one'	—
<i>kān</i> 'mine'	<i>kān</i> <i>kṛṣṇa</i>	<i>kvan</i> water split about
<i>kāni</i> one eyed woman	—	<i>kvani</i> story
<i>kol</i> near	<i>k'ol</i> earthen grainery	<i>kvol</i> to mix with water
<i>kēni</i> rain drop	—	<i>kveni</i> dense

kʌri rafter	kʌ'ri saucy liquid	kʌΔri watch; pitcher; moment.
-----	kéra one fold	kvera 'circumference
	kérā which	kverā a pot for ghee
las:i 'Eighty one'	-----	kvās:i 'rut'
kət:ə 'Reap'	-----	kʌΔt:ə 'less'
pær 'foot'	pær 'quarter of a day	-----
pi:o 'drink'	pi':o 'grind'	pvi:o 'again he'
rol 'Deception'	-----	rʌol company
ra 'bard'	rá 'path	rʌ tone
suai 1½	suái complaint	---
san whetting stone	sán 'bull'	svan obligation
sui needle	s'ui 'red'	-----
sua '1½'	suà 'ashes'	-----
ʈʌŋg 'hang'	-----	ʈʌŋg means

SPECIMENS OF DOGRI DIALECT.

(Phonetic Transcriptions).

PRODIGAL SON.

Dogrī (eastern).

ikk admiã de daõ jatøk (jagət) he. nigərə jatøkæ næ babbæ-i gəlaiã bapu (cacu) jədətɪ da jekɾa mera hɪnsa hæ miki dei deo. bas unn jədət unēc baṇḍi ditti. thoɾe dinē prənt nikəɾa jagət apni jədət leiã kutæ dūræ mulkhæi cali gea : . uthæ unn apni daolat mərə kammē c ɟuɑi ditti. jislæ o əpnɑ sara kicch khərc kəri-æ̃thɑ tɑ ut mulkhæ c baḍḍɑ kal pea te o' loɾband hvoi gea. ut mulkhæ de ikk admiã-chh naokər hvoi gea. unn uski əpnē khetrē-c sūr cəran pveja. o khufiæ kan : æ apna tvidḍ toē ənnē pvari bi lēda jinē i sūr khandese pər usi kusæ vi khanei naī ditta. jislæ o apniɑ surti aiã tɑ akhen ləga je mere babbæ-ch kinnē tēlbæ-ale kamme rāden. jinde kacch apne gəjare kola ann aṭa badi jənda æ. te mē pvukha (suɾæ-ərnā) mərə-ərnā. mē uṭhhiæ əpnē babbe kol jaṇ (jāga) te aũ usi akhga (gəiāga) cacu aũ tera or tvuṭarɑ te pənmes : ræ da dendar hā. te aũ is kəmmē da naī je tvuṭarɑ puttər gulā. miki əpnā tēlbæ pər kamma rakkhi læ.

ô tɾi pea te babbæ kachh aca pər ô aɟæ dūrgæ ha je 'ude bəbbæ di naɟəri pei gea te uski kias aca (uṭhea te) khiṭṭ ditti, te 'uddi kɾaɾiæ pərdiggiã ũdi pappi lei. putræ næ uski gəlæa cacu aũ tera te panmesra da dendarā te hvun mæ is joɟəɾa naī je tvuṭarɑ puttər əkhwā. pər babbænæ kam : ē-i gəlaiã badhiæ-thō badhiæ talle ano, te iski luao. hvthæ-i nūṭhi pærē juṭṭi luao, te chæl təɟəɾa jea chillu ano te usi baḍḍho as tvam khacæ te khufi mənacæ. je eh merá l'əoɾa mari gea da ha te phir jī pea æ. o khufiā mənən lei pee.

uslæ ũda baḍḍɑ puttər khetræ-c ha. jislæ aiã te kværæ kol pujja tɑ ôde kannē-c gaṇē te nēcəne di balel pei. unn iksi kammē-i kualea te ləga puchhən pei é gall ki æ. unn akhea tera pva aida æ te thuaɾe babbenæ ikk baḍḍɑ bakkəra baḍḍəɑ je uski ô raɟ ibajɪ labbi gea. idde pər usi ro' aca. te andræ gi naī gea

is mǫjǫb 'oða babþ kahlægi aia te 'ode fande kíte þær puttre
næ juab ditta dikkh tere eggæ kamm karde kinnē blārā hvœ ne
te nē kadē tera akha þætea tābi tū miki kadē chillu naī ditta
je aū bi apne sajjane mittre-c khufiā kerdā þær apne is puttræ
de aōde gæ, jinn apni jædat kappær punēs ruṭvai ori, tū udde
mǫjǫb ikk baḍḍa chilla baḍḍhea.

babbæ galaca lə'oreā tū mere næ mvefæ je kicch mera æ so
tera i æ. migi khufi karni jog i æ je é tera pvara mari gea da ha
hvun ji pea æ, guaci gea da ha hvun lvbbi pea æ.

North Wind and the Sun.

pvaræ di ba te Sūrj

(Dogrī (eastern.)

ba te sūrj is gallæ þær evægaræde he je asē daonē-c kunkéja
joræala æ. innē c ikk rau ik lamma cola pæde ai niklea. inne
daonē-c é gall mənōi jera pælæ is rauda cola tuarg o joræ ala
hvog. innē-c ba jorædi bægən lei. þær jiā jiā joræ di caln
lei ūā ūā o rau apne pinḍepær coga balétən lei pea. réi ráiæ
kauæ næ jor lana chōri ditta. pvi surj 'təmamæ eniæ camkea
te us rauæ evatt apna cola luai suttea. is mǫjǫb bau gi mannəna
pea asedaō c sūrj mate joræ alaæ.

North Wind and the Sun (Central Dogrī).

pvaræ-di ba te surj

'utrædi þeon te su : rj a pū: cē evægaræ de he.

tā je ik rai ai nik.alea jin:æ garm coga laeda ha.

cagara e ha þær sære daō ca mæte joreala kunæ.

unē apurcē e mæta þekaja þei jera is ráiæda coga
pælæ luai sutæ, ūæ mæte joræ ala ova. innēc utræ di ba: mæte
gæ joræ næ evul'en lei þær. jiā jiā o mæti cvuldi hi iā iā rai apne
coge gi sejerda janda sa. rai rvaie baunæ tveri tai sut'i.
pvi surj ovr təmamæ næ lifke tā usiæ læ ráiæ næ coga luaiæ
paræ maria, é dikhiæ barugi mannəna pea þær asē daō ca
sūrjgæ mæte joræ-alaæ.

Two Stories from Panjabi Phonetic Reader rendered into Dogri

manke di kvani

ik hvinduæde kol bac:ha sa, jûda nã manka sa. ô janã bilkul charackãt rãnda sa. na ran: sa sã, nã koi putar tvî. chara iã bac:ha gæ sa jude kan:æ barta piar karda sa. ik dinæ di gallæ, o bac:ha mari: gea us janëi barta basos hvoa, sir manai lea te matemi kapre lai læe. bår gea te ik mitar milea, puchan laga "é ké gal æ, ké hvoea, khær te hvæ nã?," un:æ akhea "pvai ké akhã manka mari: gea" te in:î gal kar:æ ron læi pea bæ:s inni gal hvoi, te udë mit:ræ nã kvar ja:æ sir manaja te matemi kapre lai læe. ijã gæ usi dik:hiæ ik hvor næ vi ijæ gal kirti. trije-i dik:hiæ caothe vi iæ kam kita. te hvonde hvonde jæræ-de rîvse takræ é gal puri gai:, khi:r bajiræ vi sir manaiæ matemi kapre lai læe. phîr raje puchea "bajir ji, é kégal æ, das:io te ser:," ô ak:hæn laga "tusë-i melu:m næi, manka mari: gea da æ, te sare us-de sogæ-c ne. raje-i pëta te nei sa ki manka kunæ, par jarmæ de mare puchea gic:hea kakh vi næi, te hvornë anjær dik:ho dik:hi sir manaiæ matemi kapre lai læe. rani râvn hvoi di puchæn lagi "éji kûda sog æ," raje ak:hea "manke da." tãd tã bære basosædi gal:æ par é dæs:io xã ô maneka hovnda kun sa. raje kafa koi utær næi danoi sak:æa, ak:hæn laga. "Iæ pvai bajiræ-i puchæneda ceta næi rea." bajirægi bi pëta nei sa. bas ijã puchæde pachãnde manke-de malkæ tikær gal ap:ri gei.

ô ak:hæn laga "manka te mera buc'ha sa." in:î gal' ak:hiæ uc:î uc:î tvã mar: lei pea. jis:æ sarë-i is gal:æ da pata lag:a ke dangræ pic:hæ sir manæ se kor bi kusæ-gi kif ak:hne jora nei rea.

corë te khote di kvani

ik kvamiav: grã da rænë-ala akli-c kif kvat: gæ sa. log us-di ik jæb gal sanãden, axden pvai ik bari usnæ bajaræda ik khota mul'ë lea khota te barta tagara labda sa-s, umeri bi lakvera te milea bi sasta. ô janã is:æ khufi-c dilæ-c gûda

gānda ja da sa. raste c do cor bæthe de tamaku se chik:æ de. us
rāi-æi dik:hiæ ik:ænæ due-i ak:hea "dik:heā oe ē kēra naeda
trapda ja: da æ".

due næ akhea "pvai seana usgi mantiē jera khota vi careai
læ te malkæ-gi pata vi nāi lag:an-diæ. pæle-næ ak:hea pai
jekar tū meri majt karē tā āu an: i din:ā ā.

pher doe cor khote ale dæ pic: hæ gae. ik-næ akhea mē
bal:ē bal:ē khota kholi læn, te tū us: i taule-gæ kvar læi jajā,
pic:hū da mimi parti lon, te uski khote-da koi bi pata nai
lag:an den." dua ak:hen laga "hvala pvai tū te bāra
sianā ē".

phi cupcāpīte doe ag:æ badhe. kvamiaræ næ unde pærē-
di cher jara bi nāi suṇī. ik coræ-næ khoteda ras:a kholea te
ap:nē mū:nḍe par sutṭi lea, dua chut karēda khote i læi gea.
thorē ciræ pic:hū cor, jin:æ ap:nē mūḍe-pær ras:a suṭ:ea da
s-a, pichei khic:an laga. jad kvamiaræ muṛiæ dik:hea dik:hda
ki æ ke ik adami bad:a da æ

kvamiar usi puchan laga "jara e gal ke æ". un:æ akhea
"mē bebe-i mual ditti si tā khota baṇi gea ā. us bicare næ usi
chori-orēa.

duæ din ô phir khota kharīdan bajariæ gea. ut:læ us:æ
khote-i bad:a da dik:hea, usi soṭa mariæ ak:han laga "ba, tū te
pher ep:enī mau-gi galā kaḍ:ia hvon:an, ægti mē tere-thoā
baciæ gæ rēunā ā.

in:ī gal akhiæ hvor pas: ei ṭuri gea.

A letter in Dogri.

It is written by a person who has been to the plains for the
first time. In this he narrates his experiences on his way to and
at Lahore.

é kaḥ:el lvorēda likhea prēv:ij:ē trā:ē pvadredīē l mvaṛea
jindu-kola piarea pvaua ramv:nāi av:thē jor:æ mata sāra pærē
paona puy:æ ji l migi thoṛa at:egæ mata sara manda lag:æ da
ji l ovr bi duasiā matiā gæn ji l

is kakelæ-c tusēi aū raste diā bittā likhēnā ji | aū pvaḍḍua
da uterā tā migi ikæ ovr sathi mili-pea | as doe utihū cali pael
basōli-æ de Agæ æe tā mōlx phatṭa jēn lagat cali : cali : janṭā
vut-i gāṭṭā, pēr pændā mukṭenē-c naī avæ ji | pvaḍḍa ramtvēnā
sāra mōlx Atigæ mēta chælæ ji | uterāḍa vutṭen carvāia-c
te carvāiada vutṭen uterāia-c uli janda ji | te panmesār tera
pvēla kæræ as mēsā mēsā ovṭe truṭe de pēṭhan koṭ pūje ji |

jus belæ ṭisnæ pēr pūje tā utihæ matiā gæ navīā cījā
dikhiā ji te dixde gæ sāre ṭau phulṭi gæ te as doe tapil:
kanæ ṭuc: ovi gæ |

pher asē kī dik: hea kī nargejē ik: baḍṭa janea kola jiā
pvut bas: kiṭṭa da ji. te 'udc pic:hæ matiā sārā chanī baḍṭi
diā ji | sāre kola ik jēnvakiæ janææ babuæ næ duariæc khaloiaæ
pæse mēngi læ te asē-i ṭiskā dai: ditiā ji te asē gi ik: kulie-c
buva li ditā ji |

te ide pic:ū ik: babuæ næ evaṇḍi lvai te due næ us kale
pvutædi cuphelæ gi Aggæ chuai diti ji | te usræ ikæ kill
suṭ: i te chanī gi tvr:ṭen lei pea | pvi daō pārē-c asē gi aṭ: i
lvor suṭ: ia |

utihæ kif ovr ge rang dikhia | dikhede gæ sāre ante ṭaḍoi
gæ te jat bakoi gea | te vūn ḍar avæ da ji gaōpa ithæ gæ
raocæ | pvaḍḍa ramtvēnā tvrt æmber mili gæ | tusē sāre jīnē
di te nvuar dikhēnē di as naī ræk: hēnī khuspa as cakṭiæ de
danē anṭer pviol jucæ |

te o bill bi jera mī kværa kvææ kvn:æ pveriaæ āda ha
u : na ovi pea æ bær mī bekereṇ bi bēra khulla te medæ je jīde ræ
tā kvæto kvat: ḍiḍe daō barā ovar langi janṭen ji | ovrnē sēvnē
gi jētha jog cærnbandanā sēmvalēna ji | ovr ji ji: nda rvea tā aū
due kakṭelæ-c likhēj |

likhneala thuara cærnē da pīara pvuk:hu tēmakuṣāla.

Translation of the above Letter

This letter is written on 23rd Bhadon, from Lahore.

Accept my humble obeisance with folded hands O my dear
brother, Ram Dhana, dearer to me than my life even. I miss

you very much and have other reasons, too, for being melancholic.

I, in this letter, write to you what happened in my way (from home to Lahore). As I descended from the Bhaddu ridge (the native place) I met another companion (who was also coming to Lahore). We began to travel together from that place. When we had gone beyond the Basohli town the country looked extensive and wide (lit. as if cut and enlarged). We were exhausted by travelling, but journey did not end. O dear brother! our country is far more pleasant than this one. On our side fatigue caused by ascending a hillock is removed in descending down from it. May God bless you, we reached Pathankote quite exhausted with fatigue.

When we went to the Railway Station and saw very many new things we were at our wits end out of surprise.

What did we see next that Englishmen having subjected a black devil to their control and have tied to its tail a series of cottages. A fashionable Babu standing in a window, gave us tickets on payment of money and made us sit in one of those huts.

Then another Babu gave a signal with his flag and the second one enflamed the tail of that Devil (the Engine) and it out of anguish, giving a diabolical squeak, began to drag behind it those cottages and in a moment we reached Lahore.

There we found ourselves in a new atmosphere, and seeing those surroundings we gaped and looked with a glaring look quite astounded. Now we are afraid that we might, perhaps, be destined to remain here for ever. O Brother, the earth and heaven joined. Do not entertain any hope of our being alive and seeing us back in our native place, perhaps we may be ground to flour like grains between two halves of a hand mill. [Note:—seeing the horizon for the first time in the plains, the writer expresses himself as above].

The small dry *bill* which I brought from my house filled with clarified butter is but one-fourth used, though I am using it extravagantly, and I am quite confident, if God grants me life, it shall suffice for two or three years more.

Pay my compliments to the elders. If surviving, more in the next.

The writer, your devotee, Bhukkhu tobaccoist.

Vocabulary

Language or a dialect is the production of a Society. Social changes in the historical development of a people can be detected from the study of the Vocabulary of the people. In the case of an Aryan dialect it is clear that it must possess words directly or indirectly derived from its parental stock, Sanskrit, or to be more accurate from Primary or Mediaeval Prakrits.

Dogri being spoken by people inhabiting hilly tracts of the Northern Panjab it remained very much outside the Persian influence which had its full sway in the plains in Muslim times.

In the following list I shall give only those words that are not found used in standard Panjabi.

avṛ	--- S. m.	gariand, defeat.
avṛ	--- S. m.	month; aṣarāh 2nd person Singular Imperative from avṛana, to weigh; flood.
ar	— S. f.	fence.
ār	--- S. m.	preparations.
āor	--- S. f.	oil seeds (brassica junica); ailment.
āor	--- S. f.	scarcity.
avṛi	--- S. f.	harvest ra'bi; a player of the same team; a kind of fruit.
avṛa	— S. m.	preposition meaning like, similar to; fine imposed on the owner of stray cattle.

ahpāl	..... Adv.	no.
ac: əmi:	..... S. f.	an unpleasant sensation in one's legs when one is tired or ill.
acərna	..... V.	to be absorbed, also <i>rəcəna</i> .
ad: ə'məjāte	Adv.	in the middle (Skt. <i>ardha-madhya</i>).
ajar	..... S. m.	tax in cash imposed on land.
ætā	..... Adv.	very much.
ætā	..... S. m.	wooden seat for chopping fodder.
æn	..... Adv.	exactly (Persian a'in).
æn	..... S. m.	the upper entrance of the earthen grainery for pouring in the grain.
	..... S. f.	hailstones.
ag: əlgu: ne	..... Adj.	abundant.
ag: əleada	..... Adj.	glutton.
ag:ə'	..... S. m.	one-half of the sacred thread.
ægəti or ætəki	..... Adv.	this year.
ak: ha	..... S. m.	one side of a sack used in loading an animal for transport.
ak: ha	..... S. m.	saying.
akhtri:	..... S. f.	saying.
akho	..... Adv.	yes.
akhəna	..... Verb.	to speak.
al: əɾ	..... Adj.	inexperienced.
əl: əɾa	..... S. m.	nest.
al māl	..... S. m.	hesitation.
aləkh	..... S. m.	sensation of uneasiness.
aləkhət	..... S. f.	"
əl	..... S. f.	mane.
avl	..... S. f.	state of ones health.
ap: həl	..... adj.	fruitless, barren.
apu	..... Pro.	oneself.
andəruar	..... adv.	inside.

Am : i	.... Pro.	I also.
Am : əna	.... Verb.	tired.
alək	.... S. m.	laziness.
aŋər	.... Pre.	like.
ās } ūās }	.... S. f.	15th day of the dark half of the month. Skt. amāvasyā—
Aṇḍa	.... S. m.	load on one side of an animal.
Ambəla	.... Adj.	acid.
Aṛea	.... Inter.	vocative Particle 'O'.
arbəla	.... S. f.	sound health. (Skt. āyurbala).
arəsi	.... S. f.	thumb mirror-ring; a colour atəji (Persian).
Aṛb	.... Adj.	unmannerly, raw.
ār tur	.... S. m.	domestic treatment of a sick person
Aṣəm	.... S. m.	novelty, curiosity.
as : əra	.... S. m.	support; Preparation from curd and vegetable.
As : i :	.... Adj.	eighty.
	.... S. f.	edge of a wooden plank.
Aṣkər	.... Adv.	often, after all.
Astər	.... Adj.	mischievous.
ātəra	.... S. m.	egg.
āṭəna	.... S. m.	egg.
At : ərū	.... S. m.	day before yesterday or day after tomorrow.
At : hrū	.... S. m.	tear.
at : hərna	.... Verb.	to get dry.
at : həri	.... S. f.	wooden vessel used for preparing tobacco.
At : həra	.... Adj.	teasing.
at : ər	.... Adj.	one in straitened circumstances. (Skt. ātur—)
bar	.... S. m.	saturday.
bəṣk	.... S. m.	habit.
baṭ : otar	.... S. m.	compensation.

basona	..... V.	to take rest. (Skt. vis'rama).
bajda	..... S. m.	unpleasant task.
baġgəna	..... V.	to wait.
baŋəter	..... S. m.	liking.
bānda	..... S. m.	ornament.
baḍəlakhi	..... Adj	cloudy.
babə'l'una	..... S. m.	cyclone.
baḍ : əla	..... S. m.	morning.
baḍ : əla	..... S. m.	pay-bill.
bak : ənā	..... V.	to gasp.
baġ : əna	..... S. m.	firewood.
baġū	..... S. m.	nose ring.
baŋéar	..... S. f.	fence.
baŋkəs	..... S. m.	secret, used figuratively, baŋgas means white spots which appear on the body of a horse as symptoms of old age.
baŋəali	..... S. f.	firewood.
baŋər	..... Pre.	like.
baŋa	..... S. m.	cotton seed.
bit : otana	..... V.	to lament.
bat : a	..... S. f.	way, path.
baṭi : rñā	..... V.	to bathe a child.
baḍi : rñā		
baṭiani	..... S. f.	maid cook.
baṭéa	..... Adj.	exhausted.
buəvr	S. m.	show
baṭ : əna	V.	to became mad.
bətor a	V.	"
baŋu : ʔa	S. m.	bunyan tree.
bv : t : ər tara	S. m.	spoken figuratively of a person who is seen very seldom cf. 'i:d ka cād.
baś : ən	S. m.	smoking pipe.
bek : ərna	Verb	to use.

baraṇa	S. m.	weeping.
bāṇ	Prep.	without.
bind	Adj.	little.
bil : a	S. m.	eat.
bil : a	Adj.	damp.
būṅgəṛi	S. f.	the part of the arm near the shoulder
biləṇ	S. f.	clothes horse. A stick suspended by two ropes to hang clothes on.
baṣkādəra	S. m.	corner from baṣkar —middle.
bæək	S. f.	cushion.
bāda	Adj.	open. Eupemistically spoken of go- ing to stools as people generally go out for that purpose.
baras'ui	S. f.	a suit of embroidered clothes carried for the bride by the bride-groom's party when going to marry.
baṣoa	S. m.	new year day (vârṣoəayâ).
barsod	S. f.	yearly presents to a priest.
barnā	S. m.	alms given after (taking) round the head.
baṇəkəna	V.	to stick fast.
baṭhona	V.	to shrink.
bargəlaṇa	V.	to persuade.
baṇjāna	V.	to test.
bāl : əna	V.	to seat.
bələla	S. m.	officer in charge of cash.
bauli	S. f.	tank.
b'auli	S. f.	trunk of an elephant; curdled milk of a cow who has recently calved.
balal	Adj.	invalid.
bis : ərna	V.	to forget.
bast	S. m.	any thing.

bat:ə	S. m.	stomach ache; enmity; excessive heat.
baltá	S. m.	a pitcher full of water broken after carrying it round the corpse when it is being conveyed to the cremation ground. This obsequy is performed at a specified place under a banyan tree near the cremation ground.
b'í	S. m.	willow tree.
bæt:əl	Adj.	playful.
bag	S. m.	embroidered scarf garden.
badaŋgi	S. f.	profession of a physician.
bædi	S. f.	"
bæŋgər	S. m.	perverse person.
bak:əna	V.	to show symptoms of bringing forth young one generally spoken of cattle.
bar'ūrna	V.	To dust with powder.
bar'ūra	S. m.	dusting with powder.
bares	S. f.	age.
baontər	S. m.	mischievous fellow.
bat' : a	S. m.	hole for ear-ring; stone.
baŋan	S. m.	bedding.
bartes : ər	S. m.	family priest.
bars gλnd	S. f.	birthday.
bā	S. f.	tank.
barnəoli	S. f.	geneology.
barkhi	S. f.	offering to the dead a year after the death.
baŋgaŋi	S. f.	stony road.
bal : ə	S. f.	bee hive; a big earthen jar; creeper,
	Adj.	better.
baŋgi	S. f.	sample.

bar	S. f.	legend.
biṇḍu	S. m.	stem
basá	S. m.	confidence. Trust.
baḥhala	Adj.	outsider.
baḥhē	Adv.	on the side of.
basni:k	S. m.	inhabitant.
bæ	Particle	vocative.
birl	S. f.	hole.
bit	S. m.	position.
bicola	S. m.	mediator.
b'irer	S. m.	grams soaked in water.
bab	S. m.	insult.
bale	S. f.	offering of rice cooked in milk on full money day to secure wealth in cows.
baḥheād	S. f.	trouble.
barn	S. m.	hybrid.
calobi	S. f.	diving.
cāḍara	S. m.	a triangular piece of cloth, four such are sewn to make a cap.
cali:ṭha	S. m.	flour of grams.
c'ū : k	S. f.	corner.
cher	S. f.	basket for clothes.
cūāṭhi	S. f.	burning faggot.
cənar	S. f.	wise woman, skilful lady.
curna	V.	to leak.
cəraṣi	S. f.	cycle of 84 lacs of births according to Hindu belief.
	Adj.	84.
car cəpheri	Adv.	all round.
co	S. m.	a spring.
caḥkəṇə	S. m.	eclipse.
cagla	S. m.	a seat.
chəpal'əna	V.	to conceal.
chəel or fəel	Adj.	good looking.

culi	S. f.	a fashion of combing hair among women.
canga cokha	S. m.	sweet dishes.
cvali	S. f.	funeral pyre.
cvigera	Adv.	downwards.
cvam:ən	S. m.	cover of a palanquin.
cvari	S. f.	smoking pipe.
cveliana	S. m.	place near the hearth for keeping kitchen requisites.
cvoka	S. m.	one who keeps the fire burning by feeding it with faggots.
cvumb	S. f.	wrapping of loose scarf.
cvæðgra	Adj.	dense thicket.
cvus musa	S. m.	dawn.
cvora	S. m.	repentance.
cvit:ha	Adj.	ashamed.
cvas : əna	V.	to rub, to fry.
cvæj : əri	S. f.	a pitcher; smoking pipe.
cvæto cvætṭə	Adv.	presently.
cvu:ṭa	S. m.	swinging.
cvəm : əni	S. m.	a stick.
dvi : n	Adj.	dependent, subdued.
dabe satṭ	Adv.	continuously.
ḍarai	S. f.	a kind of loaf which is rather broader than ordinary one.
dari	S. f.	warm reception.
dədvārnā	S. m.	place for boiling milk.
der	S. m.	delay.
ḍaḍ : e	S. m.	unripe oats.
ḍaṇḍkar	S. m.	deserted place.
ḍḍelgir	S. m.	gipsy.
ḍanā	adj.	little.
ḍ'udəni	S. f.	earthen pot for boiling milk.
ḥuskəna.	V.	to sob.
ḥrand	S. f.	snubbing

dəvəṭ : i	S. f.	small head gear.
dəreḍ : a	Adv.	away
dren	S. m.	a boatsman.
ḍib : i	S. f.	smoking pipe.
gaḷ : ər	S. f.	rope for drawing water out of a well.
giḷ : i	Adj.	not well cooked loaf of bread.
garola	S. m.	handful of corn.
gul : ərə	S. m.	fried rice flour mixed with sugar which is held auspicious and is taken out by handfuls by the bride from a vessel and distributed among the females present on the occasion of her first entry in the father-in-law's house after the marriage.
gaḍ : ər	S. m.	part of the body above the girdle.
galawā	S. m.	rope.
goṣka	S. m.	coughing while drinking.
galtan	} Adj.	very much fond.
galcan		
gæ	S. f.	step.
guṛkəni	S. f.	hiccough.
gedə	Adv.	away.
gatla	S. m.	a piece of fruit.
gaḷ	S. m.	desire.
gala	S. m.	handful of corn put in a handmill at a time while grinding.
guḥa	S. m.	detective.
gi : ṭa	S. m.	pebble.
gəṛid : i	S. f.	caper.
guṛguṛi	S. f.	smoking pipe.
gəlanī	S. f.	speech.
garsal	Adj.	dilapidated.
gelana	V.	to speak.

g'od : ən	S. f.	a model of cow's udder made of cow-dung. Skt. godhana .
get : əre	Adv.	beforehand.
gûḍa	Adj.	awkwardness due to removal of ornaments.
g'ær	S. m.	land attached to a temple.
gol : a	S. m.	jack.
göl : a	S. m.	a vessel made of cowdung.
gola	S. m.	ball.
g'æl	S. f.	lane.
gór	S. m.	cowshed.
gu'b : ər	S. m.	suffocating heat.
gaṇḍ	S. m.	earthen support of a hand mill which runs round it, made to receive the flour coming out of it.
iv : khi	S. f.	expectation.
ivrkh	S. m.	love; fondness.
uvṭ : əna	V.	to be tired.
Avjæret	Adj.	clever.
avīmaī	Adv.	with difficulty.
uvpph	S. m.	eagerness; delight.
uvs : əṛ	S. m.	hot weather.
uvar	S. f.	vapour.
uvjkæra	S. m.	springing up of a child from the lap.
ivkhi	S. f.	expectation.
jæveje	S. m.	a fashion of cutting the hair of the head, perhaps cutting them like <i>yava</i> .
juna	Particle	vocative.
jæthiar	S. f.	brooming of the kitchen after cooking.
jak : otak : ē	Adv.	hesitatingly.
jit : rū	S. m.	a living being.
jæneā'	Particle	like

jat : ər	S. f.	Waving of head as a sign of possession by some spirit.
jok : həna	V.	to weigh.
jəgat	S. f.	octroi duty.
jok : e	Adv.	now-a-days.
jəthi :	S. f.	daughter of husband's elder brother.
ɟapphi	S. f.	quarrel.
jun : ə	S. m.	serving of meals to a marriage party by the maternal uncle of the bride.
jatək or jagət	} S. m.	boy.
ɟaθhut : ər		
jædea	S. m.	son of husband's elder brother
jəɟa	S. m.	greetings; Skt. jayadeva .
jæntər	S. m.	pair of shoes or clothes.
ɟan : ə	S. m.	amulet.
jəol	S. m.	stone.
jetæ	S. f.	cloth joining the corner of scarf of the bride with that of the bridegroom while they go round the sacred fire. Skt. yugala .
ɟijman	Adr.	if.
jəmat : ra	S. m.	devotee.
ji : ɟa	S. m.	son in-law.
ɟəkəm	S. m.	sister's husband.
juar	S. m.	wound.
ɟar	S. f.	deserted place.
juk : ə	S. m.	forest
ɟanɟate	S. f.	leech.
jəmādru	Adv.	suppose.
jūri	Adj.	inherited.
ɟan : i	S. f.	broom.
ju : fa	S. f.	marriage party.
	S. m.	scholarship.

piæjænt	S. f.	people of a family.
jacæna	S. f.	begging
just	S. f.	even.
kia	Particle	what, how is he.
karkū	S. f.	narratives of religious martyrs.
kas : ə	S. m.	fever
kæŋkəri	S. f.	a pebble
kioṭi	S. f.	a mixture of several pulses
koka	S. m.	iron nail
kungəla	Adj.	soft.
kaŋso kaŋtæ'	} S. m.	hearing.
kū		
khəḍal	S. f.	unequal dimensions of a bedstand.
kilk	S. f.	toy
kokū	S. f.	reed pen ; cry.
	S. m.	space between the fully stretched thumb and the first figure.
kəjoṭi	S. f.	girdle cloth.
kləta	S. f.	bad habit.
kərŋḍu	S. m.	small basket for flowers.
kular	S. f.	dawn
ɹaʃaṭi	S. f.	piece of cloth in a shirt below armpit.
ɹhəneai	S. f.	ditch ; armpits.
khūja	S. m.	corner.
kaŋámuni	S. f.	reluctance.
khingəra	Adv.	slanting.
ɹhərəṇḍu	S. m.	scratch by nails.
ɹoḍ : ər	S. m.	ominous bearing.
khut : ɹ	S. f.	raised platform beside the door.
	Adj.	counterfeit coin.
ɹhaṭtə	S. f.	bedstand
	Verb.	2nd person Imp. singular 'to earn', 'cover
ɹrūtəni :	S. f.	girdle string.
kūq	S. f.	huge wave.

	S. f.	one
kæntər	Adj.	little.
kuskəna	Verb.	to speak.
kənorṇā	S. m.	near skt. kaṇṇābhyarṇa .
kṵær	S. m.	bad weather.
kṵesəla	Adj.	one who feigns as if sleeping.
khufpa	Adv.	perhaps.
kṵḍāḍ	S. m.	ointment for eye sore.
kṵəsməla	Adj.	brown.
kuaḷ·ənā	V.	to call.
khu : s : ənā	V.	to snatch.
ku : na	V.	to speak.
khit :	S. j.	running.
khid : əna	V.	to frighten.
khap : ū	S. m.	expectoration caused by smoke, dust etc.
kup : ənā	V.	to girdle up one's clothes.
khuaṭ : ənā	V.	to pluck.
kaṇā	V.	to vex, tease
	Adj.	one-eyed person.
kherpaṇa	V.	to boil.
khəṭṭənā	V.	to earn.
kaḷ : ənā	V.	to cover.
kəchop : əṛ	S. m.	tortoise
kasti	S. f.	11th day of a lunar half of a month.
kuṇja	Adj.	fifty-one.
kāṭh	Adj.	sixty-one.
kəjaṭ	S. m.	soft cover over millet ear.
khor	S. m.	walnut.
kaḷjan	S. f.	panygeric sung by a family bard.
karea caoth	S. f.	fourth day of the dark half of kalik.
kiscali	Adv.	how.
kənu : ri	S. f.	green moss.
kədū	Adj.	when.

kirk	S. f.	dust particles.
ker	"	"
kəli : k	S. f.	a meddlesome woman.
kij	Pro.	something.
kval : ənā	V.	to melt.
kaou : ni	S. f.	itching sensation.
khəlar	S. f.	disorder.
korju	Adj.	oozing.
kan : æ	Particle	with.
khūnda	Adj.	blunt.
kak : əl	S. m.	paper.
kuā'	Adv.	where.
kətā'	Adv.	where.
kutā	Adv.	where.
kəlap'a	Adj.	a lonely person.
kanəa jənəa	Adj.	of what kind.
kunji	S. f.	key.
khufi	Adv.	perhaps.
kəlpəna	V.	to condole.
kəlēni	S. f.	a quarrelsome woman.
kic : ər	Adv.	how long.
kəlū	Adv.	when.
khei	S. f.	rust.
kə'k	S. f.	stench.
kôkâ	Adj.	which.
kundâ	Pro.	whose.
khər sâi	S. f.	asthama.
k'ə si	Adv.	why.
kəsu : t'ərī	S. f.	moving on knees by a child.
kvi : s : i	S. f.	cleaning the bowels by rubbing on the earth generally done by children.
kap : ənā	V.	to cut.
khāl : əka	Adj.	downward.
khəbəl	Adj.	muddy.

kəca	Adj.	bad.
kac : a	Adj.	unripe, bad.
kləta	S. f.	bad habit.
kənvəra	S. m.	shoulder.
kaməsəl	Adj.	hybrid.
khin : ū	S. m.	ball.
lī	S. f.	line, tradition.
līmbā	S. f.	locks of matted hair.
liṭ	S. f.	lock of hair.
lvutən	S. m.	40 days after delivery.
lak : ənā	V.	to lick.
lug : a	Adj.	solitary.
lam : əslam : ā	Adj.	long.
laɣəvu : r	Adj.	necessary.
lag : ə	S. f.	date fixed for marriage.
ləkhaoli	S. f.	one lac.
ləxlu : t	Adj.	extravagant.
laulvuən	Adj.	smeared with blood.
li : dək	S. m.	tail.
lī : k	S. f.	line.
līnda	Adj.	shameless.
lurka	S. m.	uvula.
læridar	S. m.	body guard.
mənas : a	S. m.	wrapping of cloth on head to lift a load.
nənuk : h	S. m.	man.
nən : iā	S. m.	respectable.
tarmən : iā		
man : oā	S. m.	long illness.
mənaḍṭha	S. m.	coaxing.
maṭhonā	V.	to grow.
minkəna	V.	to chew.
mundərnā	V.	to fill up a hole.
maṭhi	S. f.	burning faggot.
məsāni	S. f.	ornaments given to the bride just after the marriage.

mocəre	S. m.	shoes of small boys.
māmvet̚ : ər̚	Adj.	motherless.
mə'n : ā	S. m.	raised mound to conceal the hunter from wild animals from where he can shoot them.
mim : i	Pro.	I also.
ma'nū	S. m.	man.
miakhəru	Adj.	emaciated.
mətotəra	Adj.	hard, figuratively at enmity.
maori	S. f.	mother.
məjel	S. f.	funeral procession of an old man.
māj	S. f.	ladder.
mənvera	S. m.	early in the morning.
mətveani	S. f.	wife of a barber.
məjvatəla	Adj.	middle one.
məjvərata	S. f.	midnight.
maṭhəna	V.	to cheat.
mvesəna	V.	to wipe.
mvetəna	V.	to wipe.
mak : ər̚iā	S. f.	small unripe mangoes.
muk : hənā	V.	to fill to the brim.
mithənā	V.	to estimate.
muāderiā	S. f.	trouble.
mi : m : ɔni	S. f.	child's organ.
milkənā	V.	to flash.
məjər	S. m.	plans.
məmvan	S. m.	guest, especially son-in law.
məju : r	S. m.	labourer.
mexci : n	S. f.	magazine.
məta	Adj.	much, many.
muṭ : a	Adj.	fat.
mat : ər	S. f.	tablet.
məxe	Prep.	I say.
muriə	Adj.	again.
məsɾ n	S. m.	jaw-o-the Lantern,

murære	S. m.	ankle joint.
nəfo'a	S. m.	something entering the nails.
nasvora	Adj.	worthy to perish, used as a term of imprecation.
nægdo	S. m.	word used to denote an unknown person never appearing.
næga	S. m.	casing for the drawstring of drawers.
nirkhi : n	Adj.	very weak.
nig : osar	Adj.	poor.
niora	S. m.	salted vegetable.
nəkhəkhəl	S. f.	total expenditure.
nafet	S. f.	scarcity.
nersavā	S. m.	something presented to god as a vow.
nəonəna	S. m.	pair of clothes for the relatives of the bridegroom given in dowry to the bride.
nəci : ja	Adj.	tedious
nig : osar	Adj.	wretched.
nī : dra	S. m.	invitation to a marriage party.
		sleeplessness.
nuk : ə	S. m.	shoe.
nənvu : t : ər	S. m.	son of husband's sister.
nədəroŋ	S. m.	relatives invited in marriage party
nik : hər	S. f.	rebuke.
nəkəb : əla	Adj.	lonely. Desolate.
nat : ə	S. m.	fast for half the day.
nim : ocvan	Adj.	astonished, depressed.
nvap : a	S. m.	lily.
nvuara	Pro.	his.
nig : ər	Adj.	durable.
nenā	Verb.	to carry.
nit : hərnā	Verb	to be distilled.
nəkhət : ərijīb	S. m.	a fortunate being.
næ	S. m.	nails.
nənviəl	S. m.	maternal father's house.

nirvuar	S. m.	fast for 24 hours. skt. nirāhārā.
nag : ər	S. m.	city.
niani	S. f.	wife of a barber.
nicet : ə	Adj.	fearless.
nanti	S. f.	golden ear-ring worn by women
nabīnəkor	Adj.	quite new.
næn pran	S. m.	life.
nəroa	Adj.	wholesome.
nuana	Verb	to send for.
nəranəroa	Adj.	healthy.
nəroa	S. m.	funeral party.
nig : ərna	V.	to go from bad to worse.
néa jənea	Adj.	life.
nij : ə	Adj. particle	better never.
nathu : r	S. m.	disease of legs.
nuvar	S. f.	appearance.
os : eā	S. f.	regular ailment.
o'b : ər	Adj.	inexperienced.
ōvde sādōde	Participle	having in possession.
pver mali	S. f.	abundance.
paŋ : ərna	Verb.	to sprout.
phuru	S. m.	particle, drop.
phāt	S. f.	stick.
paŋət	S. f.	line Skt. pankti.
phæl su : f	Adj.	extravagant.
phək : ərə	S. m.	pan of a balance.
pholka	S. m.	tears.
pek : həna	S. m.	quarrelsome topic.
phəna k : a	S. m.	gust of wind,
pvanē	} Adj.	in opinion.
pvaē		
pvaē		
pu'anē	Adj.	barefooted.
phəlu'a	S. m.	small boil due to burning.

pə'g : əri	S. f.	ear-ring for men.
pru : n	S. f.	sieve.
pəraʔē	Adj.	across.
punuara	S. m.	vessels of leaves.
papaŋ	S. f.	ladder.
poʔa	S. m.	finger.
pasuaʔ	S. m.	red garment of a special cut worn by the bride-groom at the time of marriage. Persian <i>pešvaz</i> .
paia	S. m.	necessity.
pajā	S. f.	capacity.
pərosa	S. m.	meals sufficient for one man.
pləstra	S. m.	chopping instrument.
paor	S. f.	root of a tree.
pəʔəri :	S. f.	presents to a guest at a <i>sradh</i> 4 years after the death of a person.
pac : hə	S. m.	scratchings.
phaŋg	S. m.	feather.
pərt	S. m.	reply.
pioka	S. m.	paternal house.
phim : əni	S. f.	pimple.
phu : s	S. f.	show.
phəʔak	S. m.	big boil due to burning.
pəʔədi	S. f.	footside of a bedstead.
pəʔəra	S. m.	a long scarf wrapped round the body by women when busy in kitchen; also on inauspicious occasions.
pəleana	Verb.	to whet.
parlo	S. m.	doomsday.
pacuaʔ	S. m.	archard.
parokh	S. f.	backbiting.
pajaki	S. f.	bride's party when coming to the house of the bride-groom after the marriage.
pac : ər	S. m.	prattler.

put : u	S. m.	knave.
parsánū	S. m.	man.
panveai	S. m.	scarcity of water.
phādvār	S. f.	exhaustion due to over travelling.
parū	S. f.	last year.
parar	S. m.	year before the last.
parna	S. m.	towel.
patarna	V.	to violate the chastity of a woman.
purna	V.	to prick.
paḷḷe	S. m.	excuse.
pætra	S. m.	a ring worn when performing some religious ceremony.
paṛæ paona	V.	to vow for the fulfilment of one's object.
patēria	S. m.	uncle. Skt. <i>pitrivya</i> —
paṇḍuanḷi	Adj.	two-fifths.
paṛ	S. m.	deception due to bad eye-sight.
paskū	S. m.	anything used to make up the balance.
pharḷi	S. f.	blanket.
pharbeḷi	Adj.	cheat.
p'æ	S. m.	path.
padro	S. m.	disaster. Skt. <i>upadrava</i> —
pac : hota	S. m.	repentence. Skt. <i>pas'cattāpa</i> —
paṇḡ	Adj.	melted.
paṇotra	S. m.	five per cent of the revenue paid to the head man on the sum collected by him.
paokha	S. m.	shadow
panḷona	V.	to be recognized.
pvaḷh	S. f.	tune.
paḷanəna	V.	to recognize.
p'ona	Verb.	to feel.
parsuārthi	Adj.	benevolent.
paṛ	S. m.	tinkered joint.

pæt	S. m.	stone under a pillar; English point.
pat : ær	S. m.	flat bronze or wooden vessel used for kneading purposes.
panmes : ær	S. m.	God.
pao'	S. f.	dawn.
parkarma	S. f.	circumambulation.
paro'tiai	S. f.	profession of a priest.
panji : kəra	S. m.	five pebbles.
pāra	Adj.	baby who weeps much.
pa'to'le	S. m.	clothes for Toys.
pa'rgálna	V.	to melt.
pattra baccəna	V.	to run away.
pha'nd sot	S. f.	brooming.
puk : erna	V.	to prove useful.
phung	S. f.	drop of rain.
pæk : hær	S. m.	tether.
paləma	S. f.	feeding.
part	S. f.	clue.
pas : əna	V.	to be big with milk.
pas : əna	S. m.	a term of rebuke.
pa'ra	S. m.	spout.
purməli	S. f.	sprout.
pve'ak : a	Adj.	thirsty
pvelkerna	V.	to coax.
pvani	S. f.	postponement, dismantling.
pva'nga	S. m.	compensation.
pva'm : əra	S. m.	bonfire.
pva'k : həna	V.	to recognize.
pva'eter	S. m.	manager of a kitchen.
pva'ial	S. m.	partner.
pva'rane	S. m.	senses.
pvelona	V.	to heal.
ruc	S. f.	appetite.
rede	Adv.	near.

ˈmca	S. m.	spoon.
rəva	S. m.	fashion.
rá ʒande	Adv.	without any concern.
rabəʒi	S. m.	reportee
riat	S. f.	cheapness.
ron-avka	Adj.	about to weep.
raʒ:əmã	Adj.	sufficient for one meal.
ruð : ənã	V.	to be occupied.
ru'dz : ənã	V.	
réð : əna	V.	to tease.
rvəphevra	S. m.	bringing the wife home for the first time after marriage.
reð : a	adv.	near.
reʃka	S. m.	dispute.
ræd khæd	S. m.	remnants.
rug : ə	S. m.	handful.
rual	Adj.	a little.
r'ʊð : ə	S. f.	hole.
rakho'ri	Adj.	bedstand without any bedding.
raŋəla	S. m.	small smoking pipe made of coconut— nāryal.
se	S. f.	shave.
suart	S. f.	shave.
sagəla	S. m.	big bronze vessel for cooking large quantity of rice.
salū	S. m.	embroidered scarf.
sinək	S. f.	white ant.
seki	S. f.	daughter of cowife.
saɔʒ : əl	Adj.	spoiled.
sak : hər	Adj.	more.
sanæ	Particle	with.
satnidra	Adj.	awaking before enjoying full sleep.
sat : baɣana	S. m.	stranger.
sat : taɪfæn	S. m.	„
saku : t : ər	S. m.	son of cowife.

suliā	S. f.	wild plant.
sej : əl	S. m.	dampness.
sak : ənmaora	S. m.	an image of cowife on a gold plate worn round the neck by the living wife of a person on the death of first one. It is supposed to prevent evil effect.
sat : i	S. f.	broad loaf of bread.
sənaoni	S. f.	information about the death of a relative.
sλrə	S. f.	vein near ankle.
sərūnd	S. m.	coughing.
s'ū : r	S. m.	large numbers.
sāōgrā	Adj.	narrow.
sλd:ər	S. f.	desire.
sarmola	S. m.	a small piece of cloth used to collect flour from hand mill.
sian	S. m.	master cook.
səntər	S. f.	gesture with eye.
samərtak:ə	Adj.	visible.
sak: hm sak: həna	Adj.	empty.
sirə:hi	Adj.	pernicious.
sat : ē savelē	Adv.	early in the morning.
saornā	V.	to improve.
suarnā	V.	to accomplish.
sλŋ:əelə	S. m.	evening time.
sāō	Particle	although.
sik : ər	S. m.	bark.
səkhāl:ə	S. m.	comfort.
si:lbecən	S. m.	blessing Skt. <i>ajir vacane</i> —
sabu : n	S. m.	soap.
sab karpj	S. m.	slough.
samjan	S. m.	preparation, goods.
sāləonkəna	V.	to give in charity.
səl'a	Adj.	green.

sāṇar	S. m.	monday.
suatəm	S. m.	habit.
sænthā	S. f.	lesson.
	S. m.	a kind of bush.
səmu : lca	Adj.	whole.
sud : ərna	V.	to get right.
sod : əna	V.	to search.
su : t : ərna	V.	to girdle up.
sukhəl : a	Adj.	easy.
saokha	Adj.	easy.
sij : əna	V.	to get wet.
səmvāla	S. m.	invitation.
sugər	S. m.	thanks. Persian <i>jukər</i> .
saṭ : hē	S. m.	half of the produce of land given by the tenants to the owner.
	Adj.	sixty.
sæl pat : hār	Adj.	petrified.
si : kēna	V.	to raise the wick of an earthen lamp.
sakhal : ə	S. m.	convenience.
sangud : əṛa	Adj.	unfiltered liquid.
sərm	S. m.	shame.
sərambər	S. m.	festival.
suc : əm	S. f.	purity.
sərtan	Adv. }	headway.
sərdan	Adv. }	
sənvār	Adj.	impregnated cattle.
səkhəl : əna	V.	to poison one's ear's.
sot : ərna	V.	to swell.
səmiār	S. f.	finish.
sim : əna	V.	to ooze.
suk:hən	S. f.	dedication.
sud : á	Adj.	much.
sanvəon	S. m.	curd for washing head.
saor	S. f.	scarcity.

sarkār	S. m.	a heap of dried cowlung cakes
saræg : a	S. m.	anxiety.
sālxær	Adj.	glutton.
sval : əna	V.	to extinguish.
sabkal	S. f.	palanquin Skt. s'ibikā.
sarkā'nda	S. m.	root of hair.
sag : osar	Adj.	rich.
saxær	Adj.	literate.
serəna	V.	to wet.
samærtək : ə	Adj.	present.
ʃaʃ	S. f.	small hair on the body.
ʃika'ru ʃika'ku	} S. m.	a notorions smoker.
ʃva'na		
ʃənəka	S. m.	sprinkling.
ʃəmakəl	S. m.	shy.
ʃa'buhari ʃa'bənu : ʃi	} S. f.	profession of a banker.
ʃek : əna		
ʃin : a	S. m.	ex (communication)
ʃanda	S. m.	request, solicitation.
ʃo'	Adj.	too much rubbed.
tarkā'n : ə	S. f.	obnoxious smell.
tos : a	S. m.	food for guests; a colour.
tarak	S. m.	an uninvited guest.
ʈhaīṭhuī	S. f.	miscellaneous work.
tāni : n	S. f.	full stretch
ṭ'i : ŋgā	S. f.	individuals.
ṭak : al	S. f.	manner.
thərnāparnā	Adj.	at sixes and sevens.
ṭok : əni	S. f.	jar of brass.
tārpīn : ə	Adj.	wet.
taokəra	S. m.	niche.
ṭi'si	S. f.	top.

təko'd : a	Adj.	conspicuous, prominent.
təor	S. m.	tail.
tigəra	S. m.	a loaf of bread.
trik : həna	Adj.	pungent.
trup : ənī	S. f.	needle.
tal : a	S. m.	clothes.
thar	S. f.	curd of boiled milk.
timəkəra	S. m.	speck.
thinda	S. m.	oil.
tettər mettera	Adj.	spotted.
təra'g : e	S. m.	circumambulating the shrine of one's elders after marriage.
tri : mət	S. f.	wife.
tær	S. f.	mare.
tut : ərī	S. f.	part of ear.
thələ'rn	S. f.	lees.
tasmæi	S. f.	rice cooked in milk.
trimb	S. f.	blade of grass.
tap : i	S. f.	jumping over a horse.
təməra	S. m.	daily offering of meals to a priest in the month of Har.
tək : ə	S. m.	prisoner. precipice.
thvona	V.	to get.
tə'na	V.	to shampoo
traonkəna	V.	to sprinkle.
thviana	V.	to get.
talvop'həna	V.	to grope.
thvAlag : əna	V.	to get.
thəbok : a	S. m.	patting.
tos : ənā	V.	to search.
tup : ənā	V.	to search.
thuātənā	V.	to pluck.
thu' : ni	S. f.	finish of a roll of cotton.
thuar	S. m.	eight days.

takada	S. m.	dispute.
təli : f	S. f.	trouble.
tajb	S. m.	wonder.
təfak	S. m.	union.
thuak	S. m.	union.
tubk	S. f.	gun.
ṭʌoria	S. m.	patroller.
tə : rikh	S. f.	date
tər phæn	S. m.	party
tər caoli	S. f.	rice and sesamum mixed with sugar.
ṭə	S. f.	conceit.
tadū	Adj.	then.
thor	S. m.	scarcity.
tuā'	Adv.	that side.
t'ā	Adv.	this side.
ṭhar pʌn : ə	Adj.	lukewarm.
thət : hopʌn	S. m.	confusion.
thurthakrə ʔe	S. m.	reaching a place and returning immediately.
təmam	S. m.	vigour.
trət : ə	S. m.	house.
tʌtʃiu'li	S. f.	lapwing.
trəp : ənə	V.	to jump over.
ṭhak : ənə	V.	to forbid.
trəvəkənə	V.	to tremble.
tāda	S. m.	membrane under the tongue.
tori	Adv.	up to.
ti : kər	Adv.	as for as.
tvop : ha	S. m.	treachery.
træia	S. m.	intermittant fever after every third day.
ṭhiani	S. f.	eight anna piece.
ṭoa	S. m.	pit.
ṭak : ə	S. m.	bite.
tə'lū	Adv.	then

ṭhum : əna	S. m.	support.
tadgæ	Adv.	then.
tāgæ	Adv.	therefore.
tad : æ	Adv.	therefore.
tatu : ni	S. f.	fire stick.
ṭickəoli	S. f.	joke.
ṭəduali	S. f.	nourishment.
uvəra	Adv.	upward.
u'ā	Adv.	in that manner.
uræ	Adv.	near.
û : nda	Adv.	face turned downwards.
ûb : i	Pronoun	he also.
uḍ : ərneali	S. f.	fly.
uk : amuk : a	Adv.	totally.
uvṇḍərī	Adj.	schemy person.
ul : i	S. f.	rust.
uc : a	S. m.	tongs.
up : pərotali	Adj.	high.
	Adj.	one after another.
uvṭ : ən	S. m.	fatigue.
uḥkal	S. f.	plot.
ut : alor	S. m.	loafer.

Words beginning with nasals.

ṇunṇuna	Adj.	one who speaks through nose.
pianā	S. m.	baby.
ṇu : ra	S. m.	response.
ṇu : rna	V.	to sprout.
ṇuana	V.	to dose.

PERSIAN LOAN-WORDS.

Persian words which have long been used by the people speaking Ḍogrī are very good instances showing the phonetic changes they have undergone to adapt to the speech organs of their speakers—

P.	D.	
mizaj	məjaj	temperament
kagəz	kagət kakəl	paper
təqaza	təkada	dispute
mazdu : r	maju : r	labourer
vazi : fa	ju : pha	scholarship
nazdi : k	najik	near
darkhwast	dargaf(s)	application
muft	muxt	gratis
məsnəd	məsland	carpet
avaz	uaz or uaj	sound
nəmaz	nuaz or nuaj	prayer
nəvaz	nuaz as in gəri:b nuaj	— to say prayers.
tajvi : z	tavi : j	..... plan
be-faedah	be-phəōda	..... useless
mu'iyad	maneād	by analogy for buneād also, limit; foundation.
bugəca	buška	— load
ʃəoki : n	ʃənvak	— dandy
deqəci	deʃki	..... a pot
tʌ'j : əb	təjb	— wonder
peʃwaz	pəsuaj	— a garment
tamga	təkma	..... medal
fəreb	phəvej	..... cheating
masjid	masi : t	..... mosque
məd : əd	məjt	— help
mudə : t	mujt	..... long time
zi : adəti	jasti	— by analogy kəmti great, little.
khidmət	khijəmət	..... service
təkli : f	təli : ph (f)	..... trouble
ləgaet	ləgat	..... up to
bəkħəʃ	bəʃki : s	..... gift

Strange change of meaning in the following words is interesting.

bepħəju : l	..... unnecessary
nəkhələs	..... pure
ləjəru : ri	..... necessarily

Phonetic Treatment of Persian Sounds in Dogri.

Initial **h** in borrowed words is elided with, and generally imparts, to the following vowel a low-rising tone—

sahib	—	saʼb	gentleman
hameja	—	mveʃə	always
haveli	—	bveli	mansion
haki : m	—	kvi : m	physician
hathiar	—	thvīar	weapon
hazar	—	ʃvar	thousand
hojīar	—	ʃvīar	alert
haləvāi	—	lvuāi	confectioner
hunər	—	uvndər	art
hakəm	—	avkām	officer
hazəm	—	avzəm	digestive
həlāl	—	lvāl	prescribed
hisab	—	svab	accounts
həki : kət	—	kviɡət	reality
hal	—	avl	condition

Final **h** gives a rising tone to the latter—

məlah	—	mlá	boatsman
səlah	—	slá	advice.

Medial **h** also gives a low tone to the latter and sometimes rising tone—

ihəsan	—	svan	obligation
bəhana	—	bvana	pretext
ʃəhaz	—	ʃavʃ	ship
nahəq	—	nʌk : ə	uselessly
məhi : n	—	mvi : n	thin
məhəl	—	mʌæʼl	palace
məhman	—	mʌəman	guest
ʃahana	—	ʃvana	kingly
mərham	—	mʼəlm	ointment
behəf	—	bəʌf	senseless
əʼləhdah	—	ləʼda	separate

Medial **a** after the first letter becomes short **ə**—

sabu : n	səbu : n	soap
taki : d	təki : d (t)	urging
qanu : n	kənu : n	law
daroga	dəroga	warden
ta'li : m	təli : m	education
tari : kh	təri : k	date
saman	səmjan	goods

Medial **æ** and **əu** become short **ə** and **ae** becomes **æ**—

mædan	mədan	plain
ʃætan	ʃtan	satan
məukūf	məkūf	dismissed
məuru : s	mru : s	inherited
ə'jaeb	jəb	wonderful
qaem, Jaed	kəm jæt	existent, perhaps
faeda læk	fæda, læk	benefit, fit.

q, **kh** become **k, kh**

khəfa	khafə	angry
qanu : n	kənu : n	law
khərab	khərab	bad
ʃəri : q	sri : k	partner
qhu : n	khu : n	blood
khufiah	gufia	detective
aj, ia	> a	
riajət	riat	'less'
ziada	jada	'much'
fərmaej	phərmaj	order
nihajt	nihat	very much, extremely
	z > j	
zulm	julm	cruelty
zəra	jəra	a little
mərzi	mərji	wish
tez	tej	sharp
zila	jila	district

nəzər	nəj : ər	accountant
v > b		
vaqif	bəkəb	acquaintance
tasvi : r	tasbi : r	picture
vəza' vəjə	bəjə	countenance, cause,
vaqət	bəxt	time
ʃ	> s	
ʃəriq	sri : k	partner
ʃəri : ni	sri : ni	sugared flour
d	> t	
rasəd	rast	requisites for cooking
jal̥di	jal̥ti :	paste
ʃəd	ʃət	perhaps
v	> l	
muhər : ər	muhər̥l	clerk
muhər : ər	mukər̥l	fixed
g	= k	
dəmag	> dəmak	brain
kh	> f	
bəkhia	bəfa	sewing the edges
f	> p > b	
vəsəf	bəsəb	demeanour
sifərəf	spərəf	recommendation
vaqif	bəkəb	acquaintance
fəsəd	pəsəd	riot
f	> k with metathesis	
bənəfja	bən̥fka	'flower banafsha
kh	> k	
zəkhəm	ʃəkəm	wound
f	> t	
juft	— just	even
k	> g	
ʃukər	> sugər	thanks

Initial **u** followed by **a** consonant with long vowel is dropped and the following long **a** is replaced by the diphthong **ua** in Dogri.

udas	.....	duas	Adj.	sad.
utar	.....	tuar	V.	to bring down.
usar	.....	suar	V.	to take up.
urar	.....	ruar	N.	this side.
ular	.....	luar	Adj.	flinging.
uṭhal	—	ṭhual	V.	make one stand.
ugah	.....	guh	N.	witness.
ugalna	.....	gual	V.	to chew.
uchar	.....	chuar	N.	cover.
ujar	.....	juar	N.	desert.
udhar	.....	duar	N.	loan

English Loan-words.

Words borrowed from English which have been adapted to Dogrī pronunciation are given below:—

M. denotes words used in Military orders.

Attention	.....	tenjan (M.)
Act	.....	ikt, ikəṭ
Aim	.....	jəm (M.)
Appeal	.....	pil
Allowance	.....	lāūs
American	.....	markin (cloth)
America	.....	mri:kā
Africa	.....	phri:ka
Agent	.....	jənt
Assembly Officer	.....	sandəli afsər (M.)
Assistant	.....	jtənt
As you were	.....	æ juər (M.)
Adjutant captain	.....	ji:tən khəjtan (M.)
Bamboo cart	.....	bambu kaṭ
Banyan	.....	bənær
Barracks	.....	bærəkā
Barrack master	.....	bark maṣṭər
Barrister	.....	bəliṣṭər
Bearing	.....	brəŋg

Bat	— bæṭ
Bench	— baṇc
Bicycle	— baɪsɪkəl
Billet	— bilṭi
Boarding	— boḍiṇ
Boot	— buṭ
Bottle	— botal
Box	— baks
Breeches	— birjiḷ
Brush	— burḷ
Bugle	— bigəl
Brigade	— brigeṭ
Canister	— kaṇastər
Chain	— cæn
Card	— kaṭ
Chance	— canəs
Castroil	— kaṣṭæl
Certificate	— saṭifikəṭ
Cheque	— cik
Catching house	— kǎjɪhaud
Cease fire	— si:spħær (M.)
Confinement to the line	— kvæṇṭumæṇṭu di læn (M.)
Command	— kaṃan
Commence	— kaṃi:z (M.)
Commanding Officer	— kaṃan aḷsər
Cuff	— kaḷḷ
Cricket	— kirkɪṭ
Colonel	— kaɾnæl
Commander	— kuṃedan
Commission	— kaṃi:ʃən
Committee	— kaṃeṭi
Company	— kaṃpəni
Cork	— kaḷk
Decree	— diqri

Deputy	—	dipti, divəti
Duty	—	divəti
Diamond cut	—	dæms kət
Diary	—	dæri
Doctor	—	dakdär
Double	—	dabbəl
Dozen	—	därjən
Drawers	—	draj
Defence	—	divens (M.)
European	—	jörpi:n
Entrance	—	træns
Engine	—	i:n
Even number	—	im:ən nambär (M.)
F. A.	—	ep:hə
Fashion	—	phæ:fən
Fall in	—	phälən (M)
Fire	—	phær (M.)
Firealarm	—	phærlarm
Flannel	—	phələlən
Fatigue	—	phətik
Frock	—	phrək
Form	—	phərma
Gallowses	—	gæləs
Girder	—	gədər
Gentleman	—	jəntħermən
Gaiters	—	gætəs
Gross	—	gurs
General	—	jərnəl
Guard	—	gəd (Railway)
	—	garəd (Military).
Guard Turn out	—	ga tənəut. (M.)
Holder	—	əvldər
Hands down	—	hinds dəun (M.)
Halt	—	əvlt

Inspector	..... inspittər
inch	— æŋci
Lantern	..... laltæn
Lord	— lat
Lamp	..... lʌmp
Lieutenant	— lɛftæn
Lecture	..... læʃkɛr
ma'm	— mem
mark	..... markə
mate	— met
magazine	— mexæsi:n
member	..... mimbər
mile	..... mi:l
monitor	— mənɪtər
N. C. O.	..... 'læn kʌmɪʃən (M.)
Number	..... lʌnbər
Orderly	..... ɔ:dəli:
Platoon	..... plʌtən
Parade	..... pleɪ
Police	..... puls
Platelayer	..... pleɪtər
Poultice	..... pulʃəs
Peppermint	..... pippələmʌnt
Primary	..... præməri
Practice	..... prætɪ : s
Point	..... pɔɪnt
Pencil	..... pɪlsən
Pension	..... pɪlsən
Quarantine	— kvɔ:ti : n
Quinine	..... kʌnæn
Quarter	..... kvɔ:tər
Report	..... rapət, ravət
Reportee	..... rɒbɪ
Round	..... raʊnd

Rifle	— rɹfəl
Repeat fire	— rɹpət phær (M.)
Route march	— rorɹu marc (M.)
Stool	— tɹ : l
Signal	— sɹŋgəl
Second	— sækɹn (Adj.)
Second	— skɹnt (Time)
Session	— si : jən
Slipper	— sli : pət
Stamp	— ftam
Slope arms	— slophɹm (M.)
Shoulder arms	— ʃldr hɹm (M.)
Sick leave	— si : kh rəjɹ (M.)
Sword	— sort (M.)
Superintendent	— supridənt
Stand at ease	— tɹndə ti : (hi.)
Ticket	— tikət
Trumpet	— turəm
Twill	— tɹ : l
Tunnel	— tɹndəl
Trump	— turp
Time	— tem, tæm
Tax	— tiks
Training	— tɹrniŋ (M.)
Waist coat	— baskət
Warrant	— bərænt

ECHO-WORDS IN DOGRİ.

In echowords the sense of *et cetera* is implied, e. g.

(i) pani-tvani	water.	ræd khæd	remnants.
təmaku-təpā	'tobacco.'	nik : ər fuk : ər	small things.
		ug : ər dug : ər	'ill-arranged.'
ɕʌgərə-ɕʌpja	'quarrel.'	tvū-tvə'char	'smoke.'
ʃarβət-ʃira	'syrup.'	raola-gaola	'noise.'
rā-ri : t	'custom.'	puch-gich	'enquiry.'
chəpa-chāt	'lonely person.'	āḍ-guāḍ	'neighbours.'
tvīē-tvruṭ : ē	'perf. rec.'	raji-baji	'all right.'
jak : o-tak : ē	'hesitation.'	r'at-b'æt	'mode of living.'
sæl-səbat : a	'picnic.'	navā-nəkor	'new.'
ləta pəta	'bag and baggage.'	nəra-nəroa	'healthy.'
ləta-guṭa	Do.	ræd-khæd	'remainder.'
pʌvukha-pʌna	'hungry.'	ṭhai-ṭhūi	'preparation.'
us : ər-pəs : ər	'device.'	jilə-mils : ə	'unwillingness.'
ruk : ha-sukha	'dry.'	mən : eā-tərmən : eā	'respectable.'
neṛə-treṛə	'near.'	dal-dəbal	'pulses.'
kacho-kolē	'near.'	mūḍa-khūḍa	'boy.'
ḍaor-pʌaor	'perplexed'	kuṛi-ciṛi	'girl.'
cheṛ-char	'teasing.'	akhəna-bekhəna	'saying.'
bəllə-bəleva	'bag and baggage'.	cik : ər-cær	'mud.'

tvon tvan

ṭhao pəta 'address.'

khər khak : həṛ 'goods.'

khak : həṛ pʌak : həṛ. "

In this group of echowords the idea of alliteration and assonants is predominant.

- (2) The regular formation of echo-word in Dogri is by interchanging the initial sound of the echo-word into *j*, *m*, or *u* e.g.

caol-jaol pani-jani
 khi : r-ji : r
 dal-jal

Sometimes the connective *j* is dropped and we have caol-ol;
 khi : r-u : r dal-ol. pani-u : ni.

INTENSIVE WORDS.

Intensive forms of adverbs and adjectives are formed by repeating the first word with a connective *-m-* generally, *e. g.*,

ris-m-rīsi	.....	'by imitation'
nher-m-nhera	.....	'in darkness'.
ukka m-ukva	.....	'at all'.
ikk m-ikk	.....	'united'.
kvāri-muṛi	.....	'repeatedly'.
khull-m-khulla	.....	'openly'.
sak : h m sak : hna	.....	'empty'.
ikkla m-ukkla	.....	'all alone'.
kallē-m-källa	.....	„
piṭ : o guṭ : a	.....	bewailing.
ṭaṭ : u ṭær	.....	pony.
tvu tvəbak : hær	.....	smoke.
sat : ē tandu	.....	at last
sat : tarphæn	.....	stranger.
sat : bəgana	.....	„
jia jənt	.....	members of a family.
næn præn	.....	strength.
sərd - bənəda	.....	whatever can be procured.
pani - kanji	.....	water.
səttē - savelē	.....	very early.
sá tərən	.....	strength.

Along with this list may be noted intensified adjectives.

ciṭ : a	dud : ə	.....	white as milk.
ciṭ : a	səfed	.....	white.
lal	surkh	.....	red.
lal	bimb	.....	red.

pi : la	jərd	—	yellow.
kala	siáh	—	black.
bag : a	pu : ni	—	white.
sæla	kacu : r	—	green.
həra	kacu : r	—	green.
miṭha	ʃæd	—	sweet as honey.
khaṭ : a	coʻr	—	sour.
kaora	ʃær	—	bitter.
phik : a	goʻa	—	tasteless as cow-dung
luno	lu : n	—	saltish.
lal	suʻa	—	red.
suʻa	kvuṭ : ə	—	red.
pi : la	ḍidd	—	yellow as frog.
patla	pəṭaṅg	—	light as kite.
ṭhaṇḍa	ṭhar	—	cold.
tatta	tel	—	worm as soil.
lal	simkhar.	—	red as <i>shingrif</i> .
kalakə	luṭa	—	black.
lis : a	phaṅg.	—	thin as feather.

COMPOUND WORDS.

khé pvas : ə	S. f.	ashes, dust.
mūʻ nvera	Adv.	early in the morning.
pvar dəpʻærī	Adv.	right in the midday.
sat : ē səvelē	Adv.	very early.
khare khərote	Adv.	while standing.
sac : ē muc : ē	Adv.	truly.
vu : ṭhēmu : ṭhē	Adv.	falsely.
cvato cvat : ə	Adv.	presently.

CALCUTTA HINDUSTANI :

A Study of a Jargon Dialect

(*Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor, Calcutta University*).

The first Hindustani Grammar that came to my hands was a limp little book written by an Englishman professedly for the British soldier coming out to India. It was over twenty-five years ago when I was a boy at school that I had picked it out of a lot of second-hand books heaped on the roadside and selling at four pice each. I had never troubled myself before that about the grammar of Hindustani, for like every other Calcutta boy I had a stock of *Bazar* Hindustani which was enough for life in that town. But the grammar gave me the shock of a linguistic discovery. The little book was very lucidly written, the analysis of the speech and its forms by means of the hyphen and other devices was very easy to follow; and it was printed entirely in the Roman character, which was a great blessing, for at that time I was not very much at home with the Nagari character, and had not as yet acquired the Arabic Script. From this little book I learnt the difference between *kā*, *-kī*, *ke* and *-ko*, and I found out that there were in Hindustani pronominal forms like *maī* and *tū* (which are never used in our *Bazar* Hindustani, but which struck me as being very much like our Bengali *mui* and *tui*), that in Hindustani the correct thing to say was *merī bāt* and not *merā bāt* or *hāmārā* (i.e., *hamārā*) *bāt*, and that the verb in the future was conjugated like *maī jāūngā—ham jāenge*, *tū jāegā—tum jāoge*, *wuh jāegā—we jāenge*. The shock of discovery was all the greater, because, just a day or two before, on my way home from school I had stopped to see a number of coolies digging a trench in the street and laying pipes under the direction of two *sahibs*, and incidentally also to hear how and what the *sahibs* talked. The coolies were Biharis and Hindustanis—‘Westerners’ (*paścimā*) and ‘Upcountry-men’ as we call them in Bengal—and of the *sahibs*

one was a red-faced Englishman and the other a dark Eurasian. They were all talking Hindustani; and I heard the Englishman say to the coolies in a very decided manner—*ham jāegā, tōm jāegā, uo jāegā, ie jāegā, ham-lōg sab jāegā* (I shall go, you will go, that man will go, this man will go, we shall all go). This I heard without the context. We Indians are said to be prone to philosophising: perhaps this is true: for at the moment, I remember that (although I was a boy of twelve or thirteen), I wondered where all of us should be going; and for the moment this set me thinking, whether one could ever know where we would be going, or where coming from either. But after I had the grammar in my hands for some time, and had seen the paradigm of root *jā*, in the future, I recalled the sentence I had heard, and thought it strange that like the Englishman we should all be using that solitary form *jāegā* alone for all the various forms like *jāūngā, jāenge, jāoge* given by the grammar; and then I realised that without caring to learn it properly we were picking up in the streets of Calcutta a sort of Hindustani which everybody employed, gentlefolk, and coolies, and *sahibs*; and this Hindustani was perhaps incorrect from point of view of usage among cultured people in Upper India, but it was nevertheless a very living language in Calcutta, better known and seemingly more natural than the correct or grammatical Hindustani taught in the grammar, which was too 'high-flown', complicated, and peculiar, from our point of view.

This Hindustani of the streets and *bazars* is indeed a very living speech, and a great deal of the transactions of life are carried on in it over the greater part of Aryan India. As a great *Verkehrssprache*, the position of Hindustani is unique in India; and the unifying bond of this language (not in the highly Persianised and Arabicised form affected in present-day Urdu) is a great gift of Mogul rule to India. Hindustani had its beginnings as a makeshift language on a Panjabi and Western Hindi basis in the 13th-16th centuries. It had vocables from a wide range of dialects, speakers of which met in the capital

city of Delhi. To start with, it was a garrison language. There were, among the speakers of Indo-Aryan dialects who helped to build it up, the people of the home districts, in the first instance, whose 'Vernacular Hindustani' and Jatu or Bangaru dialects formed the basis of the language; there were men from Western and Central and Eastern Panjab; there were people who said -dā instead of -kā for the genitive; people from Western and Central districts of the present-day United Provinces and from Central India Agency, who spoke Brajbhakha, Kanoji and Bundeli; there were Mewatis and Rajputs speaking the various dialects of the Rajasthani group—Jaipuri and Marwari, for instance; and there were also some Easterners—Purabiyās—men speaking Awadhi and Bagheli and the Bihari dialect Bhojpuriya. Hindustani was quite in a fluid state for the first few centuries of Turki and Afghan rule. But by the 15th century it attained a definite character in Northern India, agreeing in essentials with the speech of the Panjab side of the present United Provinces and of the U. P. side of the Panjab. Already by the end of the 14th century it is, of course in an archaic form, used in literature from the Panjab to Bihar, side by side with Brajbhakha and Awadhi. The oldest MS. of Kabir, dated Samvat 1561 (=1504 A. C.), as edited by Pandit Shyam Sundar Das from the Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā of Benares (1928), shows this archaic Hindustani, which is also in the main the language of the *Adi Granth*. The soldiers from Northern India who used to go to the Deccan, either in the wake of Mohammedan conquering expeditions from Delhi or as adventurers and soldiers of fortune, seem mostly to have been men from this tract, besides some Rajputs who understood and used the language growing up in Delhi. These North Indian soldiers and fortune-seekers, mostly Mohammedans, found themselves in a strange land among Marathas and Telugus, Kannadas and Tamils; and it was these settlers in the South who laid the foundation to a literature of Mohammedan inspiration in Hindustani in the 16th century, using the Perso-Arabic alphabet.

It was during this century that Miranjī Shāh and Sultān Qutb Shāh of Golconda flourished, and the foundation of Urdu literature may be attributed to them: these 16th century Deccan poets, more than Amīr Khusrau of Delhi (1253-1325), were the real founders of Urdu—the extant Hindustani verses attributed to Khusrau being extremely problematical. During the rule of the Moguls, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Mohammedan culture of India took shape. In art and architecture the enlightened policy of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān brought about a most remarkable development. The spirit of Persian Mohammedan art was wedded to that of India, and we have as a result the magnificent Mogul architecture and the most exquisite Mogul school of painting. In language and literature the same thing was happening. Tentative attempts were made by the Deccan poets in the 16th century to bring in both the form and spirit of Persian poetry into an Indian language. These attempts continued in the 17th, and by the end of that century, the purpose—possibly it was unconscious—was achieved. The works of the Deccani poets usher in the Persian spirit in Hindi for the first time. But the language they have used is not yet the Hindustani which took shape in the later centuries; it is a closely allied dialect with some leanings towards Panjabi, and native Indian or Hindi influences especially in vocabulary are still strong.

The 17th century was one of close communication between the North and the South, especially through the campaigns of Aurangzeb. The language of Qutb Shāh (d. 1611) with its forms recalling Panjabi, as representative of the earlier group of North Indian dialects established in the Deccan, gave place to that of Walī, in the fourth quarter of the 17th century, at least as the standard literary language. The speech of Walī is substantially the same as present-day Hindustani; and the *Rekhta* of Walī was evidently the speech of the court and of the *e'lite* of Delhi, which was freshly established in the South by the officers and troops of Aurangzeb. The speech of the court and capital city

and of the imperial camp profited by the example of its sister-dialects already established in the South and flourishing among the North Indian colonies settled there. The latter had already obtained a literary position, while the former, the court speech of Delhi, was but essaying its first steps. The earlier dialects which preceded the speech of the imperial Moghal capital are still current as 'Dakanī' forms of Hindustani, in Haidarabad, in North Kanara, in Sawantwadi, and in the the Telugu and Tamil districts, with their marked archaic, Panjabi-like character. The literary prestige of Dakani was assailed in the 17th and 18th centuries when the speech of the Mogul army and the Mogul court emulated the former in being seriously used for literature. The earlier stratum appeared provincial, if not actually rustic, and the forms of a real 'Bādsihāhī Hindūstānī' were easily accepted as superior to these of the former. The name **urdū-ě-mu'allā**, 'the language of the exalted camp', seems to have been used with special emphasis to distinguish it from the other and less exalted forms of Western Hindi which had filtered down to the South; and it is not unlikely that the name **urdū-ě-mu'allā**, or **zabān-ě-urdū-ě-mu'allā**, originated first in the South, or came to be largely used there, probably in the 17th century, during the Mogul campaigns. The language was usually known as **Hindī** or **Hindawī** in the North. In Northern India, the camping days of the first Mohammedan conquerors, the Turks and Pathans, Persians and Moguls, from Afghanistan and Central Asia, were already long past; and for some centuries it was the permanent court of the Mohammedan sovereign established in the country, and not the camp of the foreign invader, that was focussing into itself the Mohammedan culture of medieval Hindustan. The spread of Hindustani seems to belong really to the end of the 17th century. Some sort of unity for nearly the whole of India was achieved under the highly centralised administration of the Moguls, especially under Aurangzeb. In Northern India there was no rival dialect which could compete in prestige with the speech of the court, which officers from the

capital city introduced everywhere. The formal official language—the language of state documents like orders, reports, proceedings of the courts of law and general legal documents—was Persian, since the time that Todar Mall first established it in all the administrative departments in the place of Hindi. Persian in addition was the language of high culture among the Mohammedan upper classes, and among Hindu officials and others who had to learn it. For every day use, however, Persian did not have much scope, as it was after all a foreign language. The various dialects had only a local employ, and only in the case of a few there was a literary importance, like Brajbhakha, Awadhi, and Dīngal (Marwari). But being vehicles of Hindu literature, and strange dialects at that, these did not interest the Mohammedan court at Delhi, unless some nobleman or prince who fell under the spell of Hindu literature cultivated or encouraged them. The old Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa, the language of the Mīdiand or present Western Hindi area, served as a bond of union among the people of North India before the Turki conquest, and was cultivated almost everywhere as a literary language. But it was already, in times before 1200, an archaic speech, and slight modifications came in during the 13th and 14th centuries, altering it to a Śaurasenī Avahatṭha (Apabhraṃśa). This Śaurasenī Avahatṭha continued to carry on the Apabhraṃśa tradition, but it became contaminated with local speeches, and broke off into some very artificial literary dialects like the Maithilī Avahatṭha in Mithila and as the Pīngalā dialect in Rajputana; and these artificial speeches became restricted as old-fashioned languages which looked back to the past and could not keep pace with the spoken dialects. New spoken dialects were coming into prominence—Brajbhakha, Kanauji, Bundeli, and some forms of Rajasthani, all of which originated out of the Śaurasenī Prakrit. But none of these attained to what may be called the inter-provincial position of Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa. The Delhi dialect, which grew out of a congeries of closely-allied dialects, steadily went on increasing in importance in the meanwhile. It

became the speech *par excellence* of Hindustan, among both foreign and native Mohammedans; it became the most important language of Hindustan—the Hindustani. Already the influence of this speech has permeated the Panjab patois of Nānak and the Sikh *Gurus* from the 16th century onwards. And in the 17th and 18th centuries when civil and military officers from Delhi went with their followers and their establishments to the distant centres of government, the language they habitually or formally spoke, the Delhi dialect, became the fashionable norm, whether at Lahore or Lucknow, Benares or Patna, Ahmedabad or Daulatabad, Maqṣudabad (Murshidabad) or Dacca; and the Dakani dialects current at Daulatabad and Golconda also accepted the superiority of the Delhi *Rekhta*. A succession of such officials meant the gradual establishment of the Delhi speech, *Hindustani*; and even when during the 18th century and later many Mogul provinces gave up their allegiance to Delhi, the language of Delhi continued to retain its place in the various Mohammedan courts, *e. g.*, in Oudh, in Haidarabad, in Patna, and in Bengal.

From court circles it spread among the ordinary people who came in touch with the government; and in this way the language obtained a footing in a province like Bengal. The Bengali who wanted to enter government service had in the first instance to learn Persian. He had, especially in the 18th century, to learn Hindustani also. Persian would be acquired by a rigorous application to the classics in the language, beginning with the *Pand-nama* and the *Gulistan*, under a *Munshi*; and Hindustani would be picked up as best as the aspirant to distinction in the court could manage to do so by personal contact with its speakers, as literature in it was as yet meagre, and could not yet be taken seriously. The English took part in politics in Bengal, and finally became the rulers of the province in the 18th century. They had to take into account not only Persian and Bengali, in dealing with the government and the people of Bengal, but also Hindustani, to communicate directly with the Mohammedan

officialdom of Bengal, which spoke or affected the Upper Indian language. Important trading houses in Murshidabad, the capital of Bengal, with connexions with Upper India and with a large control over the banking system of the province, were owned by merchants and bankers from the Panjab and Rajputana and elsewhere, who were all more or less users of Hindustani. A good many Hindu officials were also members of Rajput, Brahman and other families from Northern India, which had settled down in Bengal and were not yet wholly Bengalised. Through all these agencies, Hindustani (in its Hindi and Urdu forms, as yet not wholly divorced from each other) had acquired a certain position in Bengal. Peoples of North India speaking at home Lahndi, Panjabi, Rajasthani, Brajbhakha, Kanauji, Bundeli, Awadhi, Bhojpuriya and Magahi had already found in Hindustani a common *Lingua Franca* which they all gladly recognised. There has all along been a steady influx of North Indian settlers into Bengal, not only of people in the high ranks of society but also in the humbler walks of life who came in search of a living as petty traders, soldiers, watchmen, domestic servants, and religious mendicants; and Hindustani was reinforced by each such immigrant or sojourner.

When the English government founded the College of Fort William at Calcutta in 1800, provision was made there for a professorship of Hindustani as an indispensable language of the land. Before this other Europeans had also recognised the value of the language and tried to make it better known by writing grammars of it. The German Ketelaer is believed to have composed his Hindustani grammar in Latin as early as 1715, which was published in 1743 from Leyden. The language treated by Keteiaer is the kind of *Bazar Hindustani* which he found in use both in Surat and in the home districts of the Mogul empire, in the early part of the 18th century; and it is not very different from the present-day Hindustani. After Ketelaer, the Englishman George Hadley published his handbook of the language for the first time in 1772 ('Grammatical Remarks on the Practical and Vulgar

Dialect of the Indostan Language called Moors', London, 1772: subsequent editions 1774, 1784, 1797, revised by Mirza Mohammed Fitrut of Lucknow in 1801, also further editions in 1804, and 1809); and J. Ferguson brought out his 'Dictionary of the Hindostan Language, with Grammar' from London in 1779. The language treated by the above authors was the Hindustani of the streets and *bazars* and not the grammatical, polished speech of the educated or Mohammedan aristocratic circles in Bengal, much less of the court of Delhi. It was in fact condemned as 'Jargon Hindustani' by J. B. Gilchrist, who was a great admirer of the language and first taught it in its correct and cultured form in the College of Fort William, writing grammars and dictionaries and other works in it with a view to popularise this great speech of Modern India.

Hindustani of the kind treated by Hadley and other first writers on the language, and branded as 'Jargon Hindustani' by Gilchrist, has had its uninterrupted career as a *Lingua Franca* in Bengal, especially in Calcutta. The influx of people from the Upper Gangetic plains and from Rajputana and the Panjab has continued unabated. The railway has been instrumental in making the number of immigrants, sojourners as well as permanent settlers larger and larger with the passing of decades from the latter half of the 19th century. As these Hindustani-using settlers grew more and more important through their control of labour and a great deal of the smaller business, native Bengalis had to familiarise themselves with the language as a matter of course, especially in Calcutta and the larger towns. The 'Jargon Hindustani', as used (without the least regard for Delhi usage) by a Bihari or a Purabiya or a Marwari was bad enough; and in Bengali mouths it took a further colouring from the Bengali speech — in pronunciation, in vocabulary, in idiom, and at times even in morphology. A certain attempt at accommodation with the Bengali language also unconsciously affected the *Bazar* Hindustani of the up-country people to whom the accent and words and forms of Bengali were becoming more and more

familiar; and in this two-fold way a Bengal norm for *Bazar Hindustani* may be said to have been gradually established—through the Bengalis' attempt to speak Hindustani and through the Bihari and other up-country people trying to adapt their Hindustani—itself bad enough—to the understanding of Bengalis by frequently adopting Bengali vocables slightly altered to look like Hindustani, and also employing Bengali turns of expression.

The population of Bengal proper, according to the census of 1921, is 47,592,462, of which over 43·7 millions are Bengali-speakers, and nearly 2 millions gave their language as Hindi and Urdu, not counting some 35,000 Rajasthani, Gujarati, and Marathi and Panjabi speakers, who almost all use Hindustani. The presence of these Hindustani-using immigrants in any appreciable number whether in a town or on the country-side becomes an instrument for the spread of Hindustani. Then, again, with the Bengali Mohammedan, Urdu has become a culture language (the University of Dacca has given it the status of a classical language), and a village *maktab* or *madrasa* is always a centre of Urdu studies, and this fosters the spread of *Bazar Hindustani* in the neighbourhood. A half-educated Bengali Mohammedan who will not like to be classed as a rustic will be quite ready to sport the little *Bazar Hindustani* or something slightly better which he has acquired. The Europeans who have to confine their activities to the towns can get along very well in any part of Bengal with a smattering of Jargon Hindustani—their servants whether Bengali Mohammedans, or Aracanese or Chittagongese Buddhists, with a Bengali dialect as their mother tongue, or Oriyas, or Up-country men, will all understand and speak this *Bazar Hindustani*: with the exception of servants from Madras, who speak English to their masters, but who very quickly pick up *Bazar Hindustani*.

Calcutta with its suburbs, including the town of Howrah on the other side of the Bhagirathi river, has a population of over

1,300,000. It is a most cosmopolitan city, with people from all parts of the world. Bengali-speakers present only slightly over a half of the entire population, *viz.*, 53·3 per cent.; professedly Hindustani-speakers from Bihar and U. P. form 37·2 per cent.; and besides there are over 7,000 Rajasthani-speaking Marwaris, over 3,000 Panjabis (Hindus, Sikhs and others), over 6,000 Gujarati-speakers, and some 1,500 Nepalis, who are all more or less Hindustani-using in talking to others. Leaving aside the home languages of some of the permanent or fluctuating groups of Calcutta inhabitants (*e.g.* Armenian, Arabic of the Baghdad Jews, Greek, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Canton Chinese, Hokkien or Fu Chien Chinese, etc.), and judging from the languages heard in the streets and from those featuring on signs and notices, (excluding English), Calcutta may be described as a bilingual city, Bengali and Hindustani being its predominant native languages. A great deal of Bihari (mainly Bhojpuriya) is also heard, as the policemen, the carters, the porters, the bearers and the coolies, are mostly from Bihar districts. But the dominant languages are Bengali and Hindustani. In many parts of the city, in its very heart, in the business quarters and in the markets (except in Bengali shops), it is more Hindustani than Bengali. A great many up-country people cannot speak Bengali, although they may understand it; but nearly all Bengalis resident in the town have a smattering of *Bazar* Hindustani. A Bengali person will habitually address an Oriya in Bengali, and be generally understood; and he will also understand a great deal if the latter speaks his own tongue. There is a sense of linguistic community between Oriya and Bengali. But a Bengali speaker will habitually address a Magahi or Maithili speaker in *Bazar* Hindustani. The language of Delhi must act as a medium of intercourse between the people of Calcutta and those of Bhagalpur, Gaya, Patna, Darbhanga and Benares: and this in spite of the fact that Bengali and the Bihari dialects structurally agree with each other more than they agree with Hindustani, and are

members of a group or sub-family which does not include Hindustani. In a rich Bengali Hindu household in Calcutta at the present day, one may find people speaking half a dozen or more dialects, with *Bazar Hindustani* as a common medium among them. The master of the house and his family will speak probably the Standard Colloquial Bengali of Calcutta; his manager and clerk may be an Eastern Bengali; the maid-servants in the family generally will be women from West Bengali districts like Midnapur or Bankura; the men servants will not often be Bengalis—if Bengali, they would usually hail from Midnapur or Bankura, otherwise they will be Biharis or Oriyas; the gardener will be an Oriya; the servants in charge of the cattle (if cows are kept) will be Oriyas or Biharis; the cook a West Bengali or Oriya Brahman, or sometimes a Maithil Brahman; the grooms for the horses, low-caste Bihari or Eastern U. P. Hindus; the coachman, an Eastern Hindi speaking Mohammedan; if a motor-car is kept, the chauffeur would a Bengali Hindu or a Sikh; and the house-porter and watchman generally a Bhojpuriya Brahman, or a Sikh, or at times a Gurkha. All of these excepting the Bengalis and the Oriyas in talking to each other will use *Bazar Hindustani*. A groom or a servant from the interior of a Bihar District, a newly arrived rustic, may for a while speak only his village *patois*, but in that case he will not be wholly understood, and he will be forced to pick up the common speech. The situation would seem to parallel what obtained in Ancient India, as we can surmise from the Sanskrit drama.

Foreigners in Calcutta have to learn *Bazar Hindustani*, and they acquire it as a matter of course. A Bengali, a Gujarati, a Sikh, an Afghan, a Chinaman, a Tamilian, an Armenian, a Baghdad Jew, and an Anglo-Indian might find themselves in a crowd in Calcutta, in the foot-ball ground or in the race-course, in a tram or bus, and it is *Bazar Hindustani* they would use in talking or joking or wrangling amongst themselves. None of them would care about the grammatical purity of the

Hindustani employed, not even a Delhi man who might find himself there. Hindustani, and that of the jargon type, is unquestionably *the* language of a democratic India. We find it used in all sorts of places, wherever people who have had anything to do with India are to be found. I had occasion on board a steamer at Penang to interpret between a Cantonese and a Shanghai Chinaman, the former knowing English and the other a little Hindustani. I was accosted in it by a Malay sailor and a British soldier from India in the streets of London, by a Scotch Engineering Overseer at Oban in the Scottish Highlands, and by Greeks in Greece itself who had served in Calcutta with the Greek house of Messrs. Ralli Brothers. Outside India, wherever I found an Indian, my query, **kyā bhāī, Hindūstānī ho?** has invariably met with a response in Hindustani if the person was a Northerner; occasionally a Southerner would also reply in Hindustani, but usually there would be apology for inability to speak the language, from an Indian from the South, or from a Ceylonese, who would be indistinguishable from an Indian.

When a language is really a language of the masses, a jargon speech of the street and the market-place, which is democratic in its nature in not demanding an exclusive culture, and has been current for some two centuries at least, it cannot be expected to show a rigid uniformity or standard, in pronunciation or forms or vocabulary or idiom. There must be a certain character about it connecting it with the original speech, and this is the vital thing. The *Bazar* Hindustani of Calcutta has been living largely on a background of Bengali. At times it may be described as just a compromise language between Bengali and Hindustani. It is, to start with, the ungrammatical Hindustani of the masses, mostly illiterate, of Eastern U. P. and Bihar, already coloured by Eastern Hindi and Bihari, and further modified in Bengal under the influence of Bengali vocabulary and idiom. Eastern Hindi and

Bihari elements are found in the morphology and vocabulary; the influence of Bengali is more on the side of vocabulary.

Bazar Hindustani varies in both its degree as well as kind of corruption from the standard norm of the speech, according to the native language or dialect of its speakers and the extent of their proficiency in it. The Bengali, the Englishman, the Oriya, the Chinaman, the Tamilian—each naturally colours this pidgin dialect in his own way. But there is a link which binds them all when using this speech—a basis which is common to all, which makes for intelligibility, and which prevents extreme forms of it from defeating the very purpose of the language. This link or bond of unity is the **ABSOLUTE MINIMUM OF GRAMMATICAL FORMS** and the **ABSOLUTE MINIMUM OF COMMON WORDS OF AN ELEMENTARY AND NON-TECHNICAL CHARACTER, AND OF COMMON IDIOMS AND EXPRESSIONS.**

It must be admitted that Hindustani in its correct and idiomatic form is not an easy language to acquire; what with the the complexity of its grammar and the varied character of its vocabulary, and the richness of its idiomatic expressions, it has remained far more difficult than, for instance, Persian, which is simplicity itself as a language. In Bengal in the former days in cultured and highly-placed Mohammedan families, it was Persian which was used in intimate correspondence, and not Urdu. Unless one is born to it, it is only with some care and application that one can aspire to use it to the satisfaction of those who speak it habitually. As the Urdu poet has declared—

bāzō-kā gumā hai, ki, 'ham ahl-ē zabā haī':

Dillī nahī dekhī, zabā-dā ye kāhā hāī?

(Others brag, 'We are the people of the language'; they have not seen Delhi: how can they be acquainted with the language?)

A language with its not very simple system of declension, its two grammatical genders, and its awkward verbal constructions not to speak of the Persian and Arabic words and forms bringing in new complications in the Urdu form of it—is bound to have some difficulties in being in practice, and not merely in theory or sentiment, the real National Speech—**Rāṣṭra Bhāṣā** or **Qaumī Zabān**—of a vast country like India in a pronouncedly democratic age. Simplification is bound to come in. Hindustani, since it is supplying the demand for a popular or democratic speech, must perforce lend itself to the needs of the case. King Demos of the East and the South and of the West and the North, more than of the Midland, will have a hand in whittling down and shaping the language to his own capacities and his needs. For the honour of becoming the national speech of India, Hindustani will have to sacrifice a great deal of its specially peculiar or provincial features which are not appreciated in the outlying tracts. It will have to yield to some extent to its jargon forms. Groups of people are growing up, whose home language and sometimes whose only language is this jargon or *Bazar* Hindustani—in the *bustee* slums of Calcutta, in the coolie lines in our jute mill areas, in the railway labourers' lines, in the convict settlements in the Andaman Islands, and among the Indian emigrants in Fiji, Trinidad and British Guiana, and elsewhere. Armenian and Jewish immigrants from Mesopotamia who are settled in Calcutta become habitual speakers of *Bazar* Hindustani in the second or third generation. Certain Mohammedan working classes settled in Calcutta, originally hailing from Eastern Hindi or Bihar districts, have gradually come to the position of having the jargon dialect as their habitual speech. In fact, up-country people both Hindus and Muhammadans, when they are gradually forced to abandon their proper dialect, adopt this *Bazar* Hindustani as a matter of course. Some Bengali Mohammedans in Calcutta have similarly taken to this jargon

dialect, abandoning their Bengali speech through influence of environment. These people are all more or less *deracine'*, being cut off from their village surroundings and society: and they are forming a new and an ever-increasing city proletariat, cultureless, and often rowdy.

A simplified Eastern Standard of Hindustani in fact may be said to be in existence. In it, grammatical gender is ignored; and the passive and neuter constructions of the transitive verb in the past tense, which is so characteristic of Western Hindi, have been done away with. There are other simplifications also. Although it would be heresy against High Hindi and Urdu to countenance in writing such a form of the language, it is nevertheless used in daily life by even educated classes in Eastern U. P. and in Bihar. This Eastern Standard of Hindustani has a vigour and charm of its own, and the absence of the complications of Western Hindi grammar brings about a simplicity which adds not a little to its vigour and its beauty. As yet, no serious literature has been attempted in it, although here and there conversations and fragments of verse and stories in it have been written down. Dialectal differences have always been keenly felt in India, and have been made use of in the Indian drama ever since the beginning of the theatre in the country. At the present day, it is common to find Bengali dramas in which in addition to the Standard Colloquial of Calcutta, the Rāḍha or West Bengali dialect, the East Bengali dialect (there has also grown up what may be called the Calcutta Stage East Bengali, which is an attempt to imitate the speech of Dacca), Oriya and Hindustani feature; and a quaint mixture of Bengali and Hindustani, a sort of stage 'little language' with many affectingly 'innocent' touches, is commonly used in the drama as the speech of aboriginal jungle tribes, to emphasise upon their character as a simple and unsophisticated folk, living an idyllic life, and in their innocence speaking a childish mixture of Hindi and Bengali: the mixture of Bihari, Hindi, and Bengali,

used by the sweepers and labourers of aboriginal affinities from Chota Nagpur, is the basis of this stage speech. The Hindustani used is the *Bazar* form of it, the Bengali writer usually not being conscious of the existence of a purer type of the language. In some popular Bengali farces and comedies, songs and sometimes whole scenes are in this dialect, or in an artificial blend of Bengali and Hindustani. Such scenes are common enough in the writings of authors like Girish Chandra Ghosh and Amrita Lal Bose, the two most famous names in the history of the Bengali stage and drama. Scenes and passages from the printed works of these writers will furnish good specimens of this dialect. This practice the modern Bengali drama took over from the popular *yātrā* plays: these usually had comic preludes and close-ups, called *saṃ* (pron. *shōṅg*) in Bengali (= *swāṅg* of Hindustani), as well as comic scenes, in which some of the characters might use Hindustani. Thus a common scene, as a *prastāvanā* to a *yātrā* play of the old type, on a theme from the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata* or the *Purāṇas*, would introduce the king's sweepers (*methar* or *jhāṛūdār*) named *Kāluā* and *Bhuluā*, who would exchange repartees with the king's officials: there would be dancing and singing, and the conversation would be in Hindustani as well as Bengali. In the city of Calcutta formerly there used to be an annual carnival, called also *saṃ* (= *swāṅg*) organised by the caste-guild of the Bengali *Kansaris* or brass and bell-metal workers who are an old and important community in the city. This institution was discontinued for some decades, but about 12 years ago it was revived by another caste-guild, that of the Fishermen and Fishmongers (*Jaliyas*). The carnival takes place on the last day of the Bengali year, and consists of a huge procession in which members of the Bengali *Jaliya* caste dressed up in costume and character move along, either singly on foot, or in groups on decorated buffalo carts or lorries representing a scene or a dramatic situation. They sing and act and repeat verses satirising the events of the year as well

as the various aspects of social life in Calcutta through its types and its professions. *Bazar Hindustani* is freely used, for instance where the up-country cobbler (*mocī*) or the Marwari trader, the Kabuli money-lender or the up-country washerman (*dhobi*) speaks. Booklets giving the songs and the scenes are published in the Bengali character, and these Hindustani songs form typical specimens of this dialect. Rarely, commercial leaflets, advertisements and catalogues in the Devanagari character written in this *Bazar Hindustani* are found. The above forms what may be said to be the published material for the study of this dialect. Depositions in the law courts, examination of witnesses and others, are usually in *Bazar Hindustani*; and police reports and records taken down by Bhojpuriya-speaking writer-constables, who cannot boast of any education other than ability to write in Kaithi or Devanagari, would afford good specimens of the dialect, if these could be made available.

I have noted that native Urdu speakers from the home districts of Hindustani (*e.g.* Delhi shop-keepers) when they have stayed in Calcutta for some time do not use their correct speech but usually descend to the jargon when talking to people outside of their own community. English people similarly use Pidgin English when talking to Chinese and South Sea Islanders and African Negroes, when these foreigners can use some local pidgin form of English. Panjabis and Rajasthani speakers, as well as Gujaratis and Sindhis, whose dialects agree with Western Hindi in having grammatical gender as well as the neuter and passive constructions for the verb, are found to be quite careless in these matters and to follow the simplifications of the Eastern Standard of Hindustani when using the *Bazar Hindustani* of Calcutta.

Bearing in mind that, as a popular transformation of a living speech used as their home language by several millions, with a literary tradition, *Bazar Hindustani* presents infinite

varieties—from the perfect Urdu of the Delhi Maulavi and the perfect Hindi of the Delhi Pandit through the mixed Hindustani and Brajbhakha of the Mathura paṇḍā or priest, and the mixed Hindustani and Bhojpuriya of the Benares shop-keeper or constable in the Calcutta police, to the Bengali-Hindustani of the Bengali clerk—we may lay down the following points in describing the basis of Calcutta Hindustani.

SOUNDS.

§ 1. In the matter of Sounds, Calcutta Hindustani has a wide range, the speakers (unless making a conscious effort) using the sound-system of their own speech. A few typical sentences, actually heard, will illustrate this range. An Englishman—[deɪkəʊ tʃoʊkɾə, us ædmikhəʊ dʒɔldi həməɾə phəs beɪdʒ doʊ]=dekho chokrā, us ādmī-ko jaldī hamāre pās bhej do ‘Look here, boy, send that man to me quick’; a Canton Chinese shoemaker—[pout, phala tʃuta, atʃha tʃamla, lam lu lupia pala ana]=bahut bhalā jutā, acchā camṛā, dām do rupyā bārah ānā ‘very good shoes, excellent leather, price two rupees and twelve annas’; an Oriya coolie—[səɾədaro ai kiri sobu adomiku ie kamo jɔɔɔdi šəʃo kəɾəneku kɔfi dia]=sardār ā kar sab ādmī-ko yah kām jaldī šəʃ karne-ko kah diyā ‘the headman came and asked all the men to finish this job quick’; a Tamil ‘boy’—[industani am takkəɳeme sika:, toɖa toɖa am boɪ sakta æ, utʃe kaɪm salta æ]=hindūstānī ham dakan-mē sikhā, thorā thorā ham bol saktā hai, us-se kām caltā hai ‘I learnt Hindustani in the South, I can speak a little, with that I can manage.’ In each of the above sentences the sound system of Hindustani has not been followed: the substitutes for the Hindustani sounds intended do not however prevent mutual understanding, after a little experience.

· Vowels.

§ 2. The vowels attempted to be pronounced are the proper ones of Hindustani :

a=[**ʌ**, **ə**], always short;

ā=[**a**], short and long;

i, ī=[**i**], short and long;

u, ū= [**u**], short and long;

e, o : these occur in Calcutta Hindustani as both long and short : in Standard Hindustani they are either long or half-long, and are short only as the second element of diphthongs: [**e**ː, **e**ˑ, **æ**ɛ; **o**ː, **o**ˑ, **ɔ**ɔ].

ai : the Standard Hindustani value of this diphthong is [æɛ]; in Calcutta Hindustani it occurs as [æɛ, ʌɛ, ʌi, əi, ei].

au : St. Hind.=diphthongal [ɔɔ]: Cal. Hind.=[ɔɔ, ʌɔ, aɔ, ʌu, əu, ou]: sometimes it is simplified to [o].

§ 3. Bengali and Oriya speakers normally use [ɔ] or [a] for [ʌ, ə]=**a**, and sometimes [e] and [æ] are also found: *e.g.*, Beng. [ʃʒɔŋgɔl], Oriya [ʃʒɔŋgɔɔ]=jāngal ‘jungle,’ [renɔli]=raṇḍī ‘a prostitute,’ [lerka]=larḱā ‘a boy,’ [nefi]=nahī ‘is not, no,’ [fiam]=ham ‘I,’ [khabɔr]=khabar, xabr ‘news,’ [ʃʒaɦaɦʒ]=jahāz ‘ship,’ [nɔmaɦʒ, namaɦʒ, nəmāɦʒ, nemāɦʒ]=namāz ‘Mohammedan prayers,’ [mæramɔt]=marammat ‘repair’; etc.

In Bengali transcription of *Bazar* Hind., **अ** = **a** and **आ** = **ā** are both written for the Hindustani a=[ʌ, ə]. Cognate or identical words, if they are pronounced with [ɔ] in Bengali, determine also the pronunciation of the Hind. word with [ɔ].

§ 4. In Bengali mouths, the Hindustani vowels—**a**, **ā**, **i**, **u**, **e**, **o** do not keep their original quantity; [i] and [e] interchange with each other, also [u] and [o], as in Bengali: [etna, otna]=itnā, utnā ‘this much, that much.’

§ 5. The number of diphthongs is greater than in Standard Hind. : **yah, wuh** 'this, that', *e. g.*, become [ie, uo]. The various pronunciations of **ai** and **au** have been noted before: [fiæě]=**hai** 'is, are,' also [fiæě, fiæě]; **bhaiyā** 'brother'=[bfiēia]; **aisā** 'thus,' **jaisā** 'like what,' **taisā** 'like that'=[æěsa, ʒæěsa, tæěsa] or [eisa, ʒeisa, teisa]; **jauhar** 'jewels'=[ʒʒoufiar], **daulat** 'riches'=[doulət], **aurat** 'woman'=[aorət, aurət], **maujūd** 'present'=[mouʒud, moʒud], **naukar** 'servant'=[noukar, nokar], etc.

§ 6 Intrusive vowels are exceedingly common: [ɔ, ʌ, ə]=
a: **zaxm** 'wounded' [ʒɔʌkhəm, ʒɔəkhəm]; **šahr** 'town'=[ʃɔʃɔr,
ʃʌʃɔr]; **mard** 'man'=[mərəd, mared], etc. In Skt. words this
anaptyxis, or intrusion of vowel, is equally preferred: **candar**,
sūraj, **dharam**, **bhakat**, **rakat**, **sakat**=śakta 'hard, strong' (for
Pers. saxt); **kisim**=qism, **buruj**=burj, etc.

§ 7. The Bengali habit of vocalic harmony is also introduced: **kuṛhi** for **koṛhī**=‘leper’, **juṛi**=**joṛī** ‘pair,’ **jhuṛi**=**jhoṛī** ‘basket,’ etc.

§ 8. Nasalised vowels are found, and in some cases Bengali speakers introduce their own words with nasalisation, even though the Stand. Hind. may not have it: thus **hũś**=hoś 'sense,' **hũkā**=huqqa 'hookah,' **kũdnā**=kũdnā 'jump', etc.

Consonants.

§ 9. Stand. Hind. consonants are attempted to be used, but speakers substitute equivalents from their own languages and dialects:

k kh g gh ñ ($=[\eta]$); **x q q'** ‘

c ch j jh

t th d dh ; r rh

t th d dh n

p ph b bh m ; f

$$\mathbf{y} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{l} \mathbf{w} \text{ } (= [\mathbf{v}]) \text{ ; } \check{\mathbf{s}} \mathbf{s} \mathbf{h} \text{ } (= [\mathbf{h}]) \text{ ; } \mathbf{z}$$

§ 10. East Bengali speakers, some Rajasthani speakers, and Nepalis often substitute **ts s** (or **ts-h**) **dz** for **c ch j**.

§ 11. Standard Bengali speakers tend to deaspirate in terior and final aspirates. Many East Bengali and Rajasthani speakers use the glottal stop [Ɂ] for h, and [g' dz' d' d' b'] for gh jh dh bh; and Panjabis frequently change these voiced aspirates to [k ɕ t t p] with high tone.

§ 12. ñ occurs only before k(h), g(h); ñ does not occur in Stand. Hind., although Sanskrit influence has been successful in imposing it on Hindi and in bringing in a substitute ण [~ɽ, ɽ~] in High Hindi pronunciation of *tatsama* words. The presence of ण in the Devanagari alphabet has helped this. Rajasthani and Oriya speakers, as well as Panjabis, who have ñ in their own languages, use ñ frequently, in both *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words.

§ 13. The *anusvāra* of Skt. words, which becomes the dental n in Stand. Hind., is heard as ŋ among Bengali speakers, following the Bengali habit.

§ 14. s—the dental sibilant—is the only hissing sound which is native to Stand. Hind. It has borrowed š [ʃ] from Persian, and it uses this š as a substitute for both श ङ (traditionally pronounced s) and ष ङ (traditionally pronounced kh) in Sanskrit *semi-tatsama* words: thus, शेष *śeṣa* is pronounced now as šeš [ʃe:ʃ], but the older way to pronounce it as a Skt. word in Hindi would be [se:khə]. Bengali speakers normally use their ङ for s and ङ of Hind., and some times ch is employed. Bihari and Eastern Hindi speaking masses—in fact, all uneducated people in Upper India—use only s—even in Persian words with š.

§ 15. y and w (and i, ī and u, ū) in connection with low vowels are reduced to e and o : e.g. *doā* = dū'ā 'prayer'; *peār* = pyār 'love'.

§ 16. Post-vocal and final h is frequently lost, especially among Bengali speakers: else the neutral vowel e is added:

e.g. [sonʌhəri]=**sunahrī** 'golden', **pahelwān**=**pahlwān** 'wrestler' (pron. [pʌʃelwan] or [pæʃelwan]).

§ 17. [z, f, x, g, ʔ, '] of High Urdu are rare or unknown: **z** may be heard, but **j** (= [ʒ]) is usually substituted; so also **f** may be heard, but commonly it becomes **ph**, or [f'], the bilabial spirant; [x] and [g] become [kh] and [g]; and ['] and [ʔ]—the **'ayn** and **hamza**—are ignored. And [q] of Urdu becomes [k].

§ 18. In English loans, English **t d** normally become **ṭ ḍ**; rarely—in earlier borrowings—we have dental **t, d** in both Bengali and Hindustani: **haspatāl**=hospital, Bengali [ḥāʃpatal]; **ardālī**=orderly; **ṭikaṭ**=ticket; **ḍaṅgdār, ḍagdār**=doctor, Bengali **ḍāktār**, etc. English [θ] and [ð]—**th** as in **thin** and in **then**—become respectively **ṭh** and **ḍ**. The English group **st** become **ṣṭ** in Standard Hind., but in Bengali pronunciation this frequently changes to **ṣṭ**, though **ṣṭ** is heard commonly enough. (The Bengali spelling writes only **ṣ ṣṭ**).

Length.

§ 19. Vowel length is not strictly adhered to; the Bengali habit of ignoring length as a significant element of speech is often in vogue. Differences between Stand. Hind. **kal** and Eastern Hindi, Bihari and Bengali **kāl**='yesterday, tomorrow', **rakhe** and **rākhe** 'keeps', **caddar** and **cādar** 'sheet', help to bring about this laxity.

§ 20. Length of consonants—the so-called doubling of them—is significant, and is strictly adhered to: though dialectal forms bring in a certain amount of confusion (*Cf.* **pakkā** and **pākā**, **sac** and **saccā**, **būṛhā** and **buddhā**, **salāh** and **sallāh**, **nadī** and **naddī**, etc.)

Stress.

§ 21. In this matter the norm may be said to be the Bihari accent system, which does not seem to be much different from that of Eastern and Central U. P. This accent is not so strong as in Bengali, and is usually on a long syllable from the end. But this is a point about which the speakers of jargon Hind.

do not care much. Thus, 'āp-ko pās ham 'giā thā 'I went to you', ū 'bolā ki ū ham-ko 'nei degā 'he said he wouldn't give me' would represent the usual style of stressing in a sentence from a Bengali speaker.

FORMS.

The Article.

§ 22. The noun by itself is both definite and indefinite according to context, as in Stand. Hind. For the indefinite sense specially intended to be conveyed, the numeral **ek** or **ek-ṭho** (see below) is used before the noun, and the indefinite pronoun **koī** (the oblique of which, **kisī**, is frequently substituted by the nominative—e.g. **binā hukum se ie kām karne ko koī ādmī ko ikhtiyār nahī** 'without orders no man has authority to do this'.)

§ 23. The definite article is denoted by the demonstratives used adjectivally: e.g. **yeh, ye, ie, ī, e, ehi, and woh, wo, uo, ū, o, ohi**; generally it is the far demonstrative which is used as an equivalent of the English *the*.

§ 24. *Bazar* Hind. is marked specially by the enclitic **ṭho**, which, when used after a noun in the *singular*, makes it definite: but, curiously enough, when **ṭho** is added to a numeral, it makes the noun referred to by the numeral indefinite, both in singular and in plural. Thus—**rājā** = 'a king, the king', but **rājā-ṭho** 'the king, that king'; **ādmī-ṭho** 'the or that man'; **lerkī ṭho** 'the or that girl'; **bahī-ṭho** 'the book'; **bārī-ṭho** 'the house'; **chokrā-ṭho** 'the boy'; **mem-ṭho** 'the European lady'; but **ek-ṭho rājā** = 'a king, a certain king'; **do-ṭho chokrā** 'two boys', but **uo do chokrā** 'those two boys, the two boys'; **tīn-ṭho bahī** '(any) three books'; **pāc-ṭho lerkī** 'five girls'; etc. For the plural, the definite sense cannot be evoked by **ṭho**: one must say, **uo sab rājā** 'those kings, or the kings'; **uo pāc lerkī** 'those five girls, the five girls'; **ohi tīn bahī** 'the three books, those three books'; etc.

The affix **ṭho** is not used with names of honoured or respected beings: it is better and more polite to say **uo paṇḍit bolā** 'the Pandit said', instead of **paṇḍit-ṭho bolā**.

§ 25. The enclitic **tho** can be used absolutely, or with numerals, or with the pronominals (used as adjectives) **jo**, **so**, **i**, **ū** (ie, **uo**), **kaun**, and along with adjectives which specify something to mean 'piece': thus—**paisā-mē kai-tho lemū?** 'how many limes for a piece?' **tin-tho** 'three'; **āp-ko cār-tho degā** 'I shall give you four'; **nīce jo-tho hai, ohi-tho ham legā, ūpar-kā-tho (ūpar-ko-tho) nahī cāhī, o-tho bahut choṭā hai** 'I shall take the one that is below, I don't want the one on the top, that one is very small'; **ie joṛī-kā (or ko) do ghoṛā-mē ḍahinā-tho jāsti tejī hai, aur bāewālā-tho bahut ṭhanḍā hai** 'of the two horses in this pair, the right-side one is more spirited, and the left-side one is very quiet'; **kocwān-kā tin-tho bakrī hai, ek-tho sādā, dūsrā-tho kālā, tīsrā-tho lāl, uo lāl-tho bikrī karnā cāhtā hai** 'the coach-man has three goats, one is white, the second one is black, and the third one red, he wants to sell the red one'; etc., etc.

§ 26. Similar to **tho** is **go**, which is used for inanimate objects, and with numerals only: *e. g.*, **pāc-go andā** 'five eggs,' **kai-go jāmun ānā-me degā?** 'How many *jamoon* fruits will you sell for one anna?'

§ 27. **tho** I have heard in Hindustani in the U. P. in connexion with the numerals, but this enclitic article may be said to be foreign to Hindustani (Western Hindi), and its occurrence in the colloquial Hindustani of Benares and Allahabad may be said to be due to *Purab* or eastern (*i. e.* Eastern Hindi and Bihari) as well as Bengali influence. **tho** is exceedingly common in the Bihar dialects, in Bhojpuriya and in Magahi. The wide use of **tho** in Calcutta Hind. is unquestionably on the model of Bengali -**ṭā**, -**ṭī**. Bengali -**ṭā** (in its diminutive sense -**ṭī**) seems to be from a pleonastic -**vr̥tta** (*cf.* S. K. Chatterji, 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language', pp. 684-686, 780), and it is exceedingly likely that this -**vr̥tta** > Prakrit -**vaṭṭa** > vernacular -**āṭa**-, -**ṭā**-, -**ṭī** was first added with the force of an article to the numerals, whence it was extended to nouns, then became even a detached word, as in Bengali **nīcer ṭā theke**='from the one below,'

where *-tā* has practically become a pronoun of reference. Calcutta Hind. *tho* would seem to be the Skt. (Old Indo-Aryan) *-stha*: e.g., **eka-stha-* = 'standing as one, conjoined,' whence the sense of 'a united piece' might easily come: **eka-stha-* > **ekkaṭṭha-* > *ek-tho* 'one piece, one', and then *tho* could be extended to other adjectival and pronomial forms, especially with the strong influence of Bengali on *Bazar Hindustani*.

go is found in Bihari also: it can be from a similar pleonastic use of *gata*: **pañca-gata-* 'gone in fives or five', 'five' > **pañca-gaa-* > *pāc-go*.

§ 28. The Bengali pleonastic *khānā* (< *khaṇḍa*), to mean a rectangular or thin and flat object, also features in Calcutta Hind., though it is not so common as *tho*: thus, *ek rupiya- mē tīn-khānā kāpar* 'three *dhotis* a rupee' (street cry); *muṛhir-cāk cūrā-cāk cholā-cāk, paisā -mē do-khānā* 'puffed rice and flattened rice and fried gram mixed with treacle and made into flat round shapes—two for a pice' (street cry: these are Bengali cakes for the children, *muṛir cāk, cīr cāk, choīār cāk* in Bengali); one bricklayer (Mohammedan) from the Bhojpuriya area to another — *aji, is-mē itā pūrā tīn-khānā lagegā, aṛhāe-khānā-se na hoī* (= *hoegā*) 'I say, it will require three whole bricks here, two and a half pieces won't do'. That this *khānā* has not been naturalised in *Bazar Hind.* is seen from the fact that it is found only with numerals, and unlike *tho*, and also unlike the use of *khānā* in Bengali, neither does it attach itself to nouns, nor is it used as an independent word of reference.

Gender.

§ 29. In Cal. Hind., grammatical gender is entirely wanting, and this indeed is a great simplification. *bhāt* 'boiled rice' is masculine in Stand. Hind., and *dāl* 'pulses or lentils (eaten with the rice)' is feminine; *kāgaz* 'paper' is masculine, *kitāb* 'book' is feminine: these peculiarities often beat a person who is not a born speaker of Hindustani. In Cal. Hind. the adjective and the

verbs need not, and ordinarily do not at all change when referring to a noun which is feminine according to natural gender : thus, **ek rājā-kā** (**koī rājā-kā, kisī rājā-kā**) **ek leṛkī thā, uo leṛkī baṛā khūb-sūrat thā** 'a king had a daughter, the daughter was very handsome'; **us-kā bahin bidhwā ho giyā** 'his sister has become a widow'; **uo to bewā aurat hai, ū kyā kahegā** 'she is but a widow, what will she say?' etc.

§ 30. Gender—*i. e.* natural gender—is indicated preferably by periphrasis and composition than by affixation, *i. e.* by using a word meaning 'wife' or 'woman', and by adding a word meaning 'male' or 'female', rather than by adding a suffix for the feminine, like **-ī**, or **-an**. For the latter suffix, Cal. Hind. prefers to use the earlier and fuller forms **-anī, -inī** or **-nī**. There are different words for the two sexes, and there are stereotyped cases with the **-ī** and the **-n** affixes: thus **marad—aurat, janānī, istrī; rājā—rānī; bādśāh—begam; sāṛ—gāe**; etc., and cases with **-ī** for the feminine like, **buḍḍhā—buḍḍhī, māmā—māmī, dādā—dādī** (rather rare among Bengali speakers), **ghoṛā—ghoṛī, ghuṛī**, etc. Calcutta Hind. would prefer to say **beniā-kā** (or **beniā-kī**) **janānī** (**aurat** or **istrī**), **nāī** (or **nauwā**) **kā** (or **kī**) **bahū**, and **dhobī-bahū**, instead of **baniānī**, for Standard Hind. **baniā-in** or **baniyāyan, nā-in**, and **dhoban**. Cases of **-nī** affix: **ahīr—ahīrnī, ḍom—ḍomnī, hāthī—hāthinī, šer—šernī, bāgh—bāghnī, camār—camārnī, rājput—rājputnī, paṇḍit—paṇḍitānī, mēthar** 'sweeper'—**mēthranī**, etc. Gender by composition is found generally with names of lower animals : *e. g.*, **nar-kabūtar—mādi-kabūtar** 'male and female pigeon', **nar-** or **mardā-kauwā—mādi-kauwā** (crow), **mardā-cil—mādi-cil** (kite), etc.

Wrong use of feminine forms—especially in the affected language of those who do not habitually use or know the grammar of Stand. Hind., is at times heard : *e.g.*, **tumhārī bhāī, us-kī kām merī hukum, merī nām**, etc.

Number.

§ 31. The inflected plural of Stand. Hind.—**ghoṛā**, pl. **ghoṛe**, **bāt—bātē**, **laṛkī—laṛkiyā** — is practically unknown. For the nominative, the plural is not at all found, and ordinary speakers of the dialect (unless they hail from the Western Hindi area, or have specially learned it) have no notion that the plural can be formed in that way. For the oblique, the affix **-ō** of Stand. Hind. is at times found, but its proper plural force is not usually understood. The sense of plurality is left to the context, or it is expressed by composition, by adding an adjective of number or by affixing a noun of multitude: thus, **tīn sādhu** ‘three mendicants’ (or, elegantly, **tīn mūrat sādhu** ‘three images [of] mendicants’); **pacās pahārāwālā** ‘fifty policemen’; **āṭh ghoṛā-kā gāṛī** ‘carriage and eight’; **sab ādmī**, **ādmī sab**, **ādmī log** (**log** as a noun of multitude is always post-positional, and is used for both masculine and feminine nouns) = ‘men’; **aurat sab**, **sab aurat**, **aurat log**, **janānī log** ‘women’; **samucā ādmī** ‘all men’, ‘men’; **ham tumhārā wāste jo das-ṭho rupiyā bhejā thā**, **uo tum-ko milā ki nei** ‘the ten rupees I sent for you—have they reached you or not’; **deotāō-kā** (or **deotā-kā**) **lilā-kā bāt chor do** (or **deo**) ‘don’t talk of the doings of the gods’; etc.

Bengali speakers of Cal. Hind. usually employ the Skt.-Bengali word **lok**, rather than **log**.

Plural is also expressed by the help of the relative and demonstrative pronouns, and pronominal adjectives used appositionally: *e.g.*, **jitnā ādmī** (or **jo-sab ādmī**) **hūā hai**, **ū-sab-ko** (or **ū-log-ko**) **hiā bōlāo** ‘call here all the men who are there’.

The force of plurality being always present in the plural by composition, the singular use of the plural as an honorific is unknown in Cal. Hind.

§ 32. To indicate the plural idea of ‘etc.’ ‘and things like that’, the usual New Indo Aryan practice of employing ‘echo words’ (*cf.* ‘Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,’

p. 176) obtains, Cal. Hind. using **u-** for the repeated word as in Stand. Hind. : *e. g.*, *lerkā-urkā* 'boys etc.', *gāī-urī* 'carriage etc.' *jal-ul* 'water etc.', *dekhā-ukhā* 'saw etc., saw and observed,' etc.

Case.

§ 33. Nominative and oblique : this differentiation is not usually noticed in Cal. Hind., the base (=singular nominative) being usually the only form. Speakers with a knowledge of Stand. Hind. may use the oblique forms, but in talking to persons knowing only the *Bazar* Hind., it would be considered an affectation.

Case is indicated as usual by means of *post-positions*. The agentive **-ne** may be said to be absent, and its employ will be regarded as affected, the speaker posing as one who considers himself superior to those who do not use the **-ne**. The usual declension of a noun is as follows :

ādmī 'man'

	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative	ādmī	ādmī, ādmī-log, ādmī-sab
Accusative (and Dative)	ādmī-ko	ādmī-log-ko, ādmī-sab-ko, (rarely, ādmīō-ko)
Genitive	ādmī-kā, ādmī-ko	ādmī-log-kā, -sab-kā, -ō-kā; also -ko.
Ablative (and Instrumental)	ādmī-se	ādmī-log-se, ādmīō-se
Dative of intent	ādmī-ke wāste ādmī-kē-liye; ādmī-kā, ādmī-ko liye, -wāste	ādmī-log-kā wāste, etc.
Locative	ādmī-par, -mē	ādmī-log-par, mē (ādmīō-par, etc.)

The plural of an *-ā* noun (masculine) like *ghoṛā* will be simply by adding **sab** or **log** : thus, *ghoṛā*, plural *ghoṛā-sab* (never **-logō**) : and the Stand. Hind. plural *ghoṛe* would be practically unemployed ; the oblique form would be the same as the nominative

for the singular; and for the plural, **ghoṛō** may be heard, but **ghoṛā-sab** would be preferred. So **lerkā** 'boy', **loṭā** 'brass vessel', etc.

lerkī, plural **lerkī-log**, **lerki-sab** (not **lerkiyā**), **bāt**, plural **bāt-sab** (not **bātē**); so **bahnē**, **mātāē** 'sisters, mothers' are not found.

The vocative plural in **-o** is not heard: **bhāi-sab**, **bhāi-log**, **bheiṃ-sab** etc., rather than **bhāiyo**. So, **ādmī-log**, **kārīgar-log**, **mistrī-log**, **gārīwān-log** (or **gārīwān-sab**) etc., in the vocative.

§ 34. The post-positions for the genitive are interesting. **-ko** is almost as common as **-kā**: the use of **-ko** for the genitive seems to be partly due to the influence of Kanauji, Brajbhakha and Rajasthani speakers, many of whom are found in Calcutta, who say **-ko** or **-kau** instead of **-kā**; and partly it is due to an extension of the dative to indicate the locative of possession in Standard Hind. (*e.g.* **ham-ko yah 'ādat hai**, and **us-ko tap ho ga'ī hai**, for which Calcutta Hind. would say **ham-log-kā aisā ādat hai** and **us-kā bōkbār hūā hai**). The oblique **-ke** is very seldom used, and then only in compositions like **-ke pās**, **-ke liye**, **-ke khātir** (= 'for the sake of'), **-ke wāste**: we have with the above, with equal frequency, **-kā** or **-ko pās**, **sāth**, **liye**, **khātir**, **wāste**, etc. The Bengali dative affix is **ke**: this is probably to some extent responsible for the sparing use of this oblique or plural form of the possessive.

The use of the feminine **-kī** is rare, and the use of it with inanimate nouns will be looked upon as an affectation. Even with names of animate objects or persons in the feminine gender **-kā** would be employed more commonly.

A few examples of the absence of the oblique and of the feminine: **us-kā aurat mar giyā** 'his wife is dead'; **itnā choṭā kapṛā-se kyā kām** 'what will you do with such a small piece of cloth?'; **sāb** (= **sāhib**)-**kā ghoṛā-par us roj kaun caṛhā thā** 'who rode on the *sahib's* horse that day?'; **tumhārā-sāth phir kab hamārā mulākāt hogā** 'when shall I meet you again?'; **-kūā-mē-se**

loṭā-kar-ke pānī uṭhāo ‘draw water from the well in the brass vessel’; **apnā jībh dekhāo** ‘show your tongue’; etc.

§ 35. The following are among the post-positions commonly found with the genitive (as **-kā, -ko, -ke**): **ūpar, nīce; khātir; bāhir, andar, bhītar; sāth; liye; wāste; pās; māfik; mōtābēk** (=like); **nazdik** or **najik** (=near); **taraf; tarah; barābar** (=equal, or straight on); **jāgāh; tale** (=down below); **bābat** (=for, because of); **or** (direction); etc.

The post-positions **binā**=‘without’, **begar**=**bagair** ‘without’, and **siwāe** ‘without’ can be used without the genitive (**binā** especially); and they are also used as prepositions: thus, **hukum binā, binā hukum**=‘without orders’; **begar hāthā kursī** ‘chair without arms’; **siwāe kām kuch nafā nehī** ‘no gain without work’; etc.

The Adjective.

§ 36. Feminine Adjectives in **-ī** are optional, and as a rule they are not used with names of inanimate objects, since grammatical gender is not known: *e.g.* **māstar bābū acchā acchā kitāb parhāyā** ‘the master taught good books’; **andher rāt** ‘dark night’; **adhā rāt** ‘mid-night’; **ūcā koṭhī** ‘high house’; **kālā gāe** (or **kālī gāe**) ‘black cow’; but **bhāgmānī kanyā** ‘fortunate girl.’

§ 37. The oblique or plural form of the adjective is rare, almost never used: *e.g.* **āj nayā gāṛī-mē kālā ghorā ko joto** ‘harness the black horse to the new coach to-day’; **aisā lambā lambā bāt mūh-se nikālne-mē šaram nehi ātā** ‘don’t you feel ashamed to make issue from your mouth such tall talk?’; **tum(h)ārā ie jūācorī-ka kām-mē ham nehī rahegā** ‘I shall not be a party to this swindling affair of yours’; **bahut sā ādmī aisā hotā hai ki nimak-harāmī-se darta nehī** ‘there are plenty of such men as are not afraid of faithlessness’; **apnā kām choṛ ke dūsrā kām-kā phandā-mē mat giro** ‘don’t fall into the trap (lit. noose) of some other (unfamiliar) job leaving your own proper work’; etc.

§ 38. Comparison is done in the usual Hind. way: comparative—**uo donō bhāī-mē baṛā bhāī choṭā-se acchā hai** ‘of the two brothers the elder is better than the younger’; **hamārā nayā koṭhī-se us-kā purānā koṭhī acchā hai** ‘his old house is better than my new one’; **tumārā kālā ghoṛa-se lāl ghoṛā-ṭho jyādā tej caltā hai** ‘the red horse goes quicker than you black one’; etc.

Superlative: **iskul-mē jitnā leṛkā hai, hamārā bābū-kā leṛkā sab-se acchā hai** ‘my master’s son is better than all the boys at school’; **Gāmā pahalwān tamām pahalwānō-se** (or **pahalwān-se**, or **pahalwān-log-se**) **jorwār hai** (or with the locative in **-mē** instead of the ablative in **-se**) ‘the wrestler Gama is strongest of all wrestlers’; **sab janāwar-mē bāgh sab-se nirday** (or **be-raham**) **hai** ‘the tiger is the cruelest of all animals’; etc.

Numerals.

§ 39. Cardinals—**ek, do** (intensively **donō**), **tīn, cār, pāc, che** (**chay, chey**), **sāt, āṭh, nau** (**nao**), **das, igārah, bārah**....; **unais** (**unnīs, utīs**), **bīs** (also **kuṛī**), **ekīs** (beside **ekwis**), **bāis**....; **tīs, ěktīs, battīs, tetīs** (beside **tētīs**),....**aṭtīs** (besides **aṛtīs**),....**cālis**,....**pacās, ěkāwan, bāwan, tippan** (**tirpan**), **caupan** (**cowan**), **pacpan, satāwan, aṭhāwan**;....**tesaṭh** (beside **tirsatṭh**),....**satsatṭh** (beside **sarsatṭh**)....**unsattar** (beside **unhattar**); **ek-hattar, bahattar, tihattar, cuhattar, pachattar, chihattar, sathattar**....; **asī** (**assī**),....**unnabbai**;....**sao** (**sau**)....**hajār**....**lākh**....**karor**.

§ 40. Ordinals—**pahilā** (**pahelā**), **dūsarā, tīsarā, cauthā** (also **cauṭhā**), **pācwā, chaṭhā** (or **chawā**)....etc.

§ 41. Multiplicatives—formed by adding **gun** or **gunā** (the latter with the compound form of the numeral): *e.g.* **cār gun** ‘four times’, or **cau-gunā**; **do gun** besides **dūna** = **du-gunā** = ‘two fold’.

Cal. Hind. prefers **hajār hajār, lākh lākh** for Stand. Hind. **hazārō, lākhō**; **bahut sau ādmī** besides **saikaṛō ādmī** (the form **saikaṛō** or **saikṛō** would be rare).

§ 42. Collectives—words like **joṛā**, **joṛī** ‘couple’, **gaṇḍā** ‘four’, **koṛī**, **kuṛī** ‘score’ are used.

Note also—**fī hajār**, **fī das**, or **hajār-mē**, **das-mē**, or **hajār-par**, **das-par** = ‘for every thousand, for every ten’, etc.

§ 43. Numeral Adverbs are made with **bār** and **dafā**: **ek bār** ‘once’, **tīn dafā** ‘thrice’; **martaba** is rarely heard. **pahile**, **dūsre**, **tīsre**, **cauthā-mē**, **daswā-mē** = ‘firstly, secondly, thirdly, fourthly, tenthly.’

§ 44. Fractionals: **pāw**, **pauwā**, **cauthā hissā** (or **bhāg**) = $\frac{1}{4}$; **tihāī**, **tisrā hissā** (or **bhāg**) = $\frac{1}{3}$; **adhā** = $\frac{1}{2}$; **sawā** = $1\frac{1}{4}$; **ādh**—adjectival: **ādh ser** = ‘ $\frac{1}{2}$ seer’; **sāṛhe**+numeral = ‘plus $\frac{1}{2}$ ’; **paune**+numeral = ‘minus $\frac{1}{4}$ ’; **deṛh**, **deṛh** = $1\frac{1}{2}$; **aṛhāī** = $2\frac{1}{2}$ (**ḍhāī** is not heard).

Pronouns.

§ 45. (i) First Person.

Nominative and Oblique **ham**———**ham-log**

Oblique **ham**———**ham-logō**

Genitive **hamārā**——**ham-log-kā**, **-logō-kā**.

Stand. Hind. **maī** is extremely rare, and may be said to be wanting in Cal. Hind. **merā** is some times heard, in some poetic expressions, *e. g.*, **merā jān** (**merī jān**). **mujh** is also extremely rare.

§ 46. (iia) Second Person—Ordinary.

Nominative and Oblique—**tum**———**tum-log**.

Oblique—**tum**———**tum-logō**.

Genitive—**tum(h)ārā**——**tum-log-kā**,
-**logō-kā**.

The contemptuous **tū** (**taī**) are not as a rule found: so **tujh**.

terā, **tere**, **terī** are found in poetical expressions, and frequently in abuse.

(iib) Second Person—Honorific.

Nominative and Oblique **āp**——**āp-log**

Oblique **āp**——**āp-logō**

Examples: **āp to mae-bāp hai, āp ham-ko rakh saktā aur mār bhi saktā** 'you are my father and mother, you can save me and kill me'; **āp dekhiye, jadi āp-kā man-mē aisā hogā ki ham-se kām nehī calegā, to āp ham-ko jawāb dijiyegā** 'please see, if you think in your mind that your work will not be done properly by me, then you will dismiss me.'

Addresses of respect are some times used instead of **āp**: **hujūr (huzūr) ke naokar hai** 'I am your honour's servant'; **sāb = sāhib**, and **mahārāj**—the latter for a high-caste Hindu—are also common in the same way.

§ 47. (iii) The Demonstratives.

(a) The Near Demonstrative.

Nominative (and Obl. adjectival) **ī, ie**—**ie-sab, ī-sab, ie-log, ī-log, ī-samucā**

Oblique—**is**—**in, in-log** (ordinary plural, as well as honorific singular and plural).

(b) The Far Demonstrative.

Nominative (and Obl. adjectival) **ū, uo**—**ū, uo, ū-sab, uo-sab, ū-log, us-log**

Oblique **us**—**un, un-log** (ordinary plural and honorific singular and plural).

Examples: **un-log-se (or uo-log-se) ie kām nehī calegā** 'they won't do for this work'; **ie-log boltā hai ki kal nehī āegā** 'these people say they won't come to-morrow'; **ie-log-ko (or in-ko) bolo ki parsō ā jāe** 'tell these people to come day after tomorrow'; **un-mē-se (uo-log-mē-se) ek pakkā ādmī bolā le āo** 'go and call a capable man from among them'; **ie samācār-patra-mē kyā likhā hai** 'what is written in this newspaper?'; **is-ko to abhī parhā nei** 'I have not read it yet'; **us (uo) bābū-kā nām kyā** 'what is the name of the gentleman?' etc.

§ 48. (iv) The Correlative: rather rarely used, **uo** being more common.

Nominative—**so, taun**—**so, so-sab, taun-sab.**

Oblique **tis**—**tin, tin-log** (ordinary as well as honorific.)

§ 49. (v) The Interrogative:

Nominative:—**kaun**—**kaun-sab** (also oblique when adjectivally used).

Oblique:—**kis**—**kin**, **kin-sab** (ordinary as well as honorific).

kaun āyā 'who came?'; **kis ādmī-kā** (or **kis-kā**, or **kaun ādmī-kā**) **ṭopī** 'whose cap?'

kā, **kyā**='what?' **kāhe-ko**, **kāhe wāste**, **kis wāste**, **kis liye**, **kis khātir** 'what for?'

§ 50. (vi) The Relative, as well as Correlative:

Nominative—**jo**, **jaun**—**jo sab**, **jaun-sab**, **jaun**.

Oblique—**jis**—**jin-sab**, **jin-log** (=ordinary plural as well as honorific singular and plural).

The Bihari forms for the genitive of the above pronouns are also found: **mor**, **tor**, **hamār**, **tohār**, **ekar**, **okar**, **tekar**, **jekar**, **kekar**, etc.

§ 51. (vii) The Indefinite Pronoun: **koī**, oblique **kisī**: adjectivally, **koī** is also used for the oblique: *e.g.*, **koī ādmī-se puch leo** (or **lo**) 'ask from somebody'; **kuch** = 'some (quantity), a little.'

§ 52. (viii) The Reflexive: **āp**, genitive **apnā** (**apne**,* **apnī**; **āp-kā**, **apne-kā**); oblique **āp**, **apne**. Also **khud**, in the nominative alone. Also: **āpas** = 'among selves', **āpas-mē** 'among oneselves', **āpas-kā** 'of oneselves.'

Examples: **uo-log āp āegā** 'they themselves will come'; **ham khud dekhā hai** 'I have seen myself'; **āp khud to bolā** 'and you said yourself (honorific)'; **apnā kām karo** 'do your own work'; **apne-kā rastā dekho** 'see your own way'; etc.

§ 53. (ix) Compound Pronouns (Indefinite).

jo koī 'whoever'; **aur koī**, **koī aur** 'somebody else'; also **dūsrā koī**, **koī dūsrā** (**koī** comes first in attributive adjectival use); **sab koī** 'everybody'; **sab kuch** 'everything'; **jo kuch** 'whatever'.

§ 54. Pronominal Adjectives.

itnā, **etnā**, **ettā**; **aisā** (**aisī**), **eisā**, **eisan**;

utnā, **otnā**, **ottā**; **waisā**, (**waisī**), **oisā** **oisan**;

tetnā, tettā; taisā (taisī), teisā, teisan;
ketnā, kettā; kaisā (kaisī), keisā, keisan;
jetnā, jettā; jaisā (jaisī), jeisā, jeisan.

kaī, kai = 'some', also kaī-ek: cf. kaī (or kai-ek) ādmī āyā
'some people came.'

The Verb.

§ 55. The Cal. Hind. verb has been reduced to a very great simplicity. The distinction of number and person is not observed, one and the same form does for the singular as well the plural and for the first, second and third persons. The radical or aorist tense—the old present—being practically absent in the Cal. Hind., the matter is further simplified. Then, again, the characteristic Hind. passive and impersonal constructions in the past tense have been dropped, only the active construction remains; and for transitive verbs, the past base alone is used as an unchanging verb form in the regular active way. The modification of the past, future and present participle (or past conditional) bases for the feminine and the plural through the influence of the subject and of the object (the latter in case of the past tense of the transitive verb) is ignored. Transitive and intransitive verbs have both converged to the same conjugational methods. The following typical paradigms will give the forms used in Cal. Hind.: use of the others will be considered superfluous, and would usually be looked upon as artificial and affected.

§ 56. Forms for an Intransitive and a Transitive Verb Root.
Root—cal (go, walk), dekh (see)

Infinitive—calnā, dekhnā (also Verbal Noun).

Noun of Agency—calnewālā, dekhnewālā.

Present Participle and Present Tense Base—caltā, dekhtā.

Past Participle and Past Tense Base—calā, dekhā.

Progressive Participle—caltā hūā, dekhtā hūā.

Passive Participle—calā hūā, dekhā hūā.

Conjunctive—cal, dekh + ke (kar, kar-ke)

Conjunctive Adverbial—**calte hī, dekhte hī** = ‘immediately on walking *or* seeing’, or ‘while walking *or* seeing’; for the latter sense, **calte, dekhte** + **bakhat** (= **wakat**) or **samay**, are also found.

Conjugation.

§ 57. (i) The old radical tense—the so-called aorist—is practically obsolete or absent in Cal. Hind. Sometimes the subjunctive force of this tense brings it in use—by Bihari and Eastern Hindi speakers of Cal. Hind.—but usually a conjunction like **jadi** or **agar** is prefixed: and only one form—**cale, dekhe**—is used (rarely **calē—dekhē**; and **calū—dekhū** is unknown). Thus—**jadi uo cale to kyā hoe** ‘what happens if he goes?’ **aisā māfik karo ki ham na dekhe, hamārā kān-mē bhī is-kā khabar tak na pahūce** ‘do it in a such way that we don’t see it, and even the news of it does not reach our ears’. One or two rare forms are found in the present (or past) sense: *e.g.* **ham jāne ki do cār ṭho diā** ‘I thought he gave a good few (*lit.* two or four)’; **āre bhāī, sac hai yā jhūṭhai to khālī Nārāyanjī jāne** (beside **jāntā hai**) ‘Brother, only God (Nārāyaṇ) knows whether it is true or false’; **ehi rupiyā torāe, to ham harām-khor** ‘if I turn this rupee to small change, I shall be an eater of forbidden food.’ The base of the future—**cale-gā, dekhe-gā**—retains this tense in the **-e** form.

(ii) Present Tense (Simple Present as well as Progressive):

ham, ham-log	} caltā hai, dekhtā hai.
tum, tum-log, āp. āp-log	
uo, uo-log (ie, ie-log)	

(iii) Past Tense (Simple Past): **ham, (tum, uo etc.) calā, dekhā** (always active: **ham dekhā** = ‘I saw’, **uo dekhā** = ‘he saw’, **uo-log dekhā** ‘they saw.’)

Through Eastern Hindi and Bhojpuriya influence, we sometimes hear in Cal. Hind. forms in **-is** for the third person singular: **ū kahis, ū dis, ū āis** ‘he said, he gave, he came’; and through Bengali, Bihari and Awadhi influence, we get an honorific form for the third person in **-in**: **baṛā bābū bolin**

'the senior *babu* said', *rājā sāhab jā-ke mae-ko parnām kin* 'the Rājā went and saluted his mother', *jetnā brāmhan-log āyā thā, sab bhojan-ke liye baiṭhin* 'all the Brahmans we came sat down to eat', *hamārā wāste to aisā kabhī na kiye* 'you never did like that for me'; etc.

(iv) The Future Tense: *ham* etc. *calegā, dekhegā*. The plural forms *caleṅge, dekheṅge* etc. are in this case—in the future—common enough. In Bombay Hind., both in Bombay Presidency, and from Gujaratis and others in Calcutta, one frequently hears *ham āeṅgā, wōh jāeṅgā, mhārā* or *amārā bhāī āj āeṅgā*, etc. Example: *rājā-kā beṭī bolā, ham śādī nehī karegā* 'the King's daughter said, I won't marry.'

(v) Habitual (Present and Past) and Conditional (Past): *ham* etc. *caltā, dekhtā*.

tum dekhtā to hamārā kyā hotā 'what would happen to me if you saw?'; *roj (or har roj) uo bhikhārī-log-ko khilātā* 'he feeds beggars every day'; *āge ham roj gaṅgā snān kartā, ab chor diyā* 'formerly I used to bathe in the Ganges every day, now I have given it up'; etc.

(vi) Past Progressive: *ham* etc. *caltā (dekhtā) thā*. Past Habitual idea can also be expressed by this form: *us-ko ham sañjhā-ko afīs-se ghar ātā dekhtā thā* 'I would see him coming home from office in the evening.'

(vii) Present Perfect: *ham* etc. *calā (dekhā) hai*.

(viii) Past Perfect: *ham* etc. *calā (dekhā) thā*.

(ix) Future Perfect: *ham* etc. *calā (dekhā) hogā*.

Other compound temporal formations are found, but these of course are not so common. They follow Stand. Hind. with such modifications of number, person and gender affixes as have been noticed before. Thus—Future Imperfect: *ham caltā (dekhtā) hogā*; Present Potential: *ham caltā (dekhtā) howe*; Present Continuous (with subjunctive force): *ham caltā (dekhtā) hotā*; Past Perfect (with subjunctive force): *ham calā hotā*; etc.

(x) Imperative: only in the Second Person:

- (a) Ordinary, non-honorific: **calo, dekho** (both numbers).
(The familiar and contemptuous **cal, dekh**, like **tū, taī**, are rare).
- (b) Honorific: **caliye, dekhiye**.
- (c) Honorific, with Future or Precative force: **caliyegā, dekhiyegā**.
- (d) Non-Honorific, with Future or Precative force (a form fairly common, due partly to the influence of the Bengali future precative or imperative): **caliyo, dekhiyo** (this is a more polite form of (a)).

§ 58. The Substantive Verb.

Root **ho**: Infinitive **honā**; Noun of Agency **honeyālā**; Present Participle and Present Tense form **hotā**; Past Participle **hūā**; Conjunctive, **ho-kar, ho-ke, ho-kar-ke**; etc.

Tenses:—

Present Tense: **hai** (**ham hai, ham-log hai; tum, tum-log, āp, āp-log hai; uo, uo-log hai**; sometimes **haī** in the plural). (**hū** like **maī** practically unknown).

Subjunctive, 'aorist': **ho, hoe** (**howe**: sometimes **hō, hoē, howē** found: **hoū** practically unknown).

Present Progressive: **hotā hai**.

Simple Past: **thā** (rarely the: **ham thā, tum-log thā**, etc.)

Past Progressive: **hotā thā**.

Present Perfect: **hūā hai**.

Past Perfect: **hūā thā**.

Simple Future: **hogā, howegā, hoegā**.

Other tenses and combinations as in the case of regular verbs.

Imperative: **ho, hoo, howo, how; hoiye, hoiyegā**.

§ 59. The Passive is formed as in Standard Hind. with root **jā**: **dekhā jānā** 'be seen': **ham dekhā jāe** 'I may be seen'; **ham dekhā jāegā** 'I shall be seen'; **tum dekhā giyā thā** 'you had

been seen'; **ham-log dekhā giyā hogā** 'we might have been seen'; **uo log dekhā jātā thā** 'they were being seen'; etc.

§ 60. Derivative Verbs.

Causatives are formed in the usual way, with -ā- (-wā-after a vowel, sometimes -yā-, and in some cases -lā-): **samajhnā** > **samjhānā** 'understand > explain'; **baithnā** > **baithānā** (rather than **biṭhānā**) 'sit > seat, cause to sit'; **lenā** > **lēwānā** 'take > cause to take'; **khānā** 'eat' > **khiyānā**, **khilānā**; **pīnā** 'drink' > **piyānā**, **pilānā**; **denā** 'give' > **dilānā**; **sonā** 'sleep' (occasionally = 'lie down') > **sowānā** (**sulānā** rare); **dekhnā** 'see' > **dekhānā**, **dikhānā**, also **dikhlānā**; **nahānā** 'bathe' > **nahlānā**; **sikhnā** 'learn' > **sikhānā**, **sikhlānā** 'teach'; etc.

§ 61. Changing of intransitives into transitives, and *vice versa*, by bringing in alterations in the root vowels ("Ablaut"),—*e.g.* **pālnā** 'tend' > **palnā** 'be tended'; **kaṭnā** 'get cut' > **kāṭnā** 'cut'—is not strictly followed, especially by Bengali speakers, and non-Bengalis also follow suit. **nikālnā** is more common than **nikalnā**, in the sense 'get out, come out': the causative is now **nikāl denā** by periphrasis; **utārnā** similarly is most common in the sense of 'get out, descend', and **utarnā** is not so common; **khulnā**, **kholnā** both are transitive. In some cases, distinction is well-preserved: **marnā** : **mārnā**; but generally it is the consonant that definitely indicates the distinction between the reflexive and the active or transitive: *e.g.* **tuṭnā**—**torṇā**; **dekhnā**—**disnā** (= be seen); but **biknā** and **becnā** may both mean 'to sell' (they are connected forms, and **becnā** is more definite in the sense of 'selling'); **phaṭnā**—**phārnā**; etc.

§ 62. Compound Verbs are in common use, generally following the idiom and usage in Standard Hindustani. Some examples: **ie koṭhī gir parēgā** 'this house will topple down'; **bhaīśā-gāṛī-kā bhaīs sab pānī pī giyā** 'the buffaloes of the buffaloe-cart have drunk up all the water'; **ham nehi jā saktā hai** 'I can't go'; **chor deo (do)** 'let go'; **ham-ko jāne deo (do)**

'let me go'; āp to ciṭṭhi likh cukā, ab ḍāk-mō phik (or chor) ḍījiye 'you have finished writing the letter, now please drop it in the post'; tamām šahar ham dhūrtā phirā 'I moved about seeking in the entire city'; ū bol uṭhā 'he spoke out'; etc.

§ 63. Irregular Verbs have been regularised in some of their forms. Thus, beside *kiyā* as the past tense of *karnā*, we get also *karā*, and *kariye* beside *kījiye*; *mūā* as the past tense of *marnā* is not found, we get *marā*.

Indeclinables.

The indeclinables in commonest use are given below.

§ 64. Adverbs. Time—*āj*; *kal*, *kāl*; *parso*, *tarso*, *narso* (or with -ō); *filhāl*;

Place—*āge*; *pīche*; *ūpar*; *nīce*; *pīchū*; *sāmhne*;

Manner—*jhaṭ*, *jhaṭpaṭ* (= quick); *āste*; *turant*; *jaldī*; *dhīre*; *tej*; *hameša*.

Miscellaneous—*hā*; *nā*; *na*; *nehi*; *mat* (with imperatives); *albat*; *karīb*, *karīb-karīb*; *bilkull*; *yāne*; *šāyad*;

Phrasal—*phūrtī-se*; *khuṣī-se*; *jor-se*; *huṣyārī-se*; *khabardārī-se*.

Pronominal Adverbs.

Time—*ab*, *is wakat*, *is bakhat*; *us bakhat*; *kab*, *kis bakhat*; *jab*, *jis bakhat*; *tab*, *tis bakhat*; emphatic—*abhī*, *kabhī*, *jabhī*, *tabhī*.

Place—*hiṣ*; *hūṣ*; *kaḥṣ*; *jaḥṣ*; *tahṣ*; emphatic—*hī*, *hū*, *kaḥī*, *jaḥī*, *tahī*; also with post-position *par*.

Direction—*idhar*; *udhar*; *kidhar*; *jidhar*.

Manner—*kyō*, *tyō*, *kyō*; *aise* (eise), *oise*, *keise*, *jeise*, *teise*; also *is*, *us* etc. + *tarah*, *māfik* (to indicate likeness).

§ 65. Conjunctions: *aur*; *ki*; *bhī*; *par*; *lekin*, *leken*; *to*; *to bhī*; *kyō ki*; *kyā...kyā*; *na...na*; *athwā*; *jadi*; *jo*; *nehi to*; *phir*, *phin*; *agar*; *magar* (rare).

§ 66. Interjections: *hā*; *hū*; *acchā*, *bahut acchā*, *bahut khūb*; *jī*; *śābāṣ*; *bāh bāh*, *bahwāh*, *kyā khūb*; *are*, *are re*; *he*; *āh*; *āhā*; *hāe*, *hāe hāe*; *afsos*; *chī*, *chī chī*; *dūr*; *be*, *abe*; *e*, *ei*; *le*; *dhet*, *dhatteṛī*; *haṭ*.

Vocabulary.

§ 67. As a speech of the market place, this dialect necessarily has to have a cosmopolitan range in the matter of vocabulary and idiom. Common Hindustani words of course form the basis and back-ground, but the vocabulary is strongly coloured by Bengali, and also by Bihari and Eastern Hindi. Words with some common standard Hindustani affixes are not popular: *e.g.* the affixes like -aṭ, -āhaṭ, -āo, -āk, -ās. On the other hand, the long and redundant forms of Bihari (like **ghoṛā—ghoṛawā—ghoṛauwā**) are avoided. Every real Hindustani word of course can be used, but it may not be understood always; on the other hand, a Bihari or Bengali word, sometimes slightly altered, can be used and understood; also Eastern idioms.

There is no predilection for Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic or Persian words as such—the dialect is quite impartial in this respect. The speakers being largely Hindus, Sanskrit words have no difficulty in getting admitted into this dialect. Bengali exerts a tremendous influence in this respect.

A favourite affix is -wālā, often added without any special force: it seems this is due to Anglo-Indian influence: *e.g.* **nayā-wālā**, **acchāwālā** for *nāyā*, *acchā*; **gāne-wālā**, **nācne-wālī**, **likhne-wālā**, **bheṛī-wālā**, **Kābulīwālā** (=a man from **Kabul**, an **Afghan**) are preferred to **gawaiyā**, **nacaiyā**, **likhwaiyā**, **gaḍariya**, **Kābulī**.

If Bengali has received a great many of its Perso-Arabic vocables through *Bazar Hind.*, a good many Sanskrit and European words found their way into Hind. (esp. Hindi) from Bengali through *Bazar Hind.*, apart from Skt. words that got into High Hindi through literary influence of Bengali. Some popular Bengali words are heard in a great part of Hindustan: examples—**gamchā** ‘towel’, **rasgullā**, **sandes**, **pantowā**, **camcam**, names of sweet-meats, **jādū-ghar** ‘museum’, **pārḥā** ‘neighbourhood’, **banglā** ‘bungalow’, **kabirāji** ‘Ayurvedic system of doctoring’, **dāt-bandhāi** ‘fixing of false teeth’, **phālī** ‘slice of vegetable’, **gāch** ‘tree’, etc. These travelled via *Bazar Hind.* of Calcutta.

TEXTS.

[1]. Specimens of Early-Eighteenth Century *Bazar Hindustani*: from Ketelaer's Hindustani Grammar, in Davidis Millii *Dissertationes* etc. (Lugduni Batavorum, 1743: De Lingua Hindustanica, p. 485 and p. 488).

(In Original Spelling.)

(Proper Transcription.)

(a)

Tom koy bod oor usse
brabber mat benauw, sjon
asmaan me oepper he, oor
nietsje sjimien me he, oor
sjimienme telle he, oor panime
sjimienme nietsje he tom
inneka aggi issed mat disjoe,
oor inne gefmet mat karro,
waste me saheb tommara alla
he, we jo gonna ginte baabka
usse beeta kon, tisre oor tsjoute
kabila, we gonne karte, oor
delassa kar, hazaar se we Jo
ham peaarkarte oor mera
firmaas rakte.

tum koī but aur usse barābar
mat banāo, jyō āsmān-mē ūpar
hai, aur nīce jamīn-mē hai,
aur jamīn mē tale hai, aur pānī-
mē jamīn-mē nīce hai : tum
inhekā āge izzat mat dijo, aur
inhē xezmat (=xidmat) mat
karo: wāste, maī sāhib tumhārā
allāh hai, wa ye gunāh ginte
bāp-kā, usse betā-kō, tisre aur
cauthe kabīla, we gune karte,
aur dilāsa kar hazār-se we jo
ham pyār karte aur merā
farmā'īs rakhte.

(b)

Hammare baab, Ke who as-
maanmehe, Paak hoeé teere
naom. Auwe hamko moluk
teera: Hoé resja teera, Sjon as-
maan Ton sjimienme, Rootie
hammare nethi hamkon aasde.
Oor mafkaar taxier apne
hamko, Sjon mafkarte apre
karresdaronkon. Nedaal ham-
ko is waswæsje me. Belk ham-
ko ghlaskar is boerayse.
Teeræ he patsjayi, soorrauri,
alemgierre, keamat me.

hamāre bāp, ki wōh āsmān-
mē hai, pāk howe tere nām;
āwe ham-ko muluk terā; howe
rāj terā jyō āsmān tyō zamīn
mē. roṭī hamāre nathī, ham-kō
āj de. aur māf kar taksīr apne
ham-ko, jyō māf karte apne
karzdārō-kō. na ḍāl ham-ko
is azmā'īs (?) -mē: balki ham-ko
xalās kar is bure-se. terā hai
pātśāhī, zorāwarī, 'ālamgīrī
kiyāmat-mē.

[2]. A specimen of Calcutta Hindustani of the end of the 18th century.

Hadley's Romanised Text,
as given by Gilchrist (1800).

airbee huqueut hindoostanee
baut ma.

Paudshauee kau bettee auor
teen Sultaun jo oosee kau parr
kawausta eck musaufrut keea
t,hau.

Teen sou burrus gauea
Bengaleh ma eack paudshauh
t,hau bhote taulaiwur t,hau
oosko paus eck sou huzaur toork
souwaur nou sou oont auor
pundereh sou huttee t,hau oos-
kau naum Maun Sing.

Ooskau eck hkoob soorut
bettee t,hau oosee kau hkoob
sooruttee kau naum bhote paud-
shauhuttee pair oora.

Teen paukeezeh Sultaun
bhauee oosee ko parr kurka
shaudee kurna ko baup se
maungauea.

Paudshauh bettee ko kauhau
each teen sultaun se toom eck
khussum ka wausta pussund
kurrao.

Beebee baup ko juwaub deea
hum ko sub brauber hy jessau
tumaureau hkooshee hum essau
kurringa.

The same, properly Romanised.

'ar-bī haqīqat hindūstānī bāt-
mē.

pādśāh-kā beṭī aur tīn sultān
jo us-hī-kā pyār ke wāste ek
musāfirat kiā thā.

tīn sau baras gayā, bangāle-
mē ek pādśāh thā, bahut tālē'war
thā; us-ko pās ek sau hazār
turk-sawār, nau sau ūṭ, aur
pandrah sau hāthī thā; us-kā
nām mān singh.

us-kā ek khūb-sūrat beṭī thā.
us-hī kā khūb-sūratī kā nām
bahut pādśāhatī-par urā.

tīn pakīza sultān, bhāī, us-hī
ko pyār karke śādī karne-ko bap-
se mānge.

pādśāh beṭī-ko kahā : ye tīn
sultān-se tum ek khasam ko
wāste pasand karo.

bībī bap-ko jawāb dīā : ham-
ko sab barābar hai, jaisā
tumhārā khūśī ham aisā karenge.

Paudshauh aupna munsoo-
beh se eah hickmut bunauea.

Sultaun loge ko bola toom
loge humaurau bettee ko pearr
kurta hy oooo oosee kau pussund
hum ko dilauea humaurau
ruffai ko sun.

Toom loge eck musaufrut
kurringa teen meinah ooah jo
aucha-sa-aucha nuzzur oosee
kawausta kapm kau loauinga
oosee ko shaudee kurringa.

Juwaun paudshauh ko
sulaum kurka bauhira gauea aur
eck surauee ma p,hoonch ka
qubbool keea ka jud mheina
hkalauss ho gauea t, hau ooah
surauee ma milna ko aur eck
eck kau nuzzur eck eck ko
deckhlaouna ko.

Jessau qubbool essau keea
aur surai ma p,hoonch ka
burra bhauee eck doorbeen
deckhlauea aur aungh ko
lagaou ka khauhau auggur
humaurau peearee hum aubhee
deckhseckta hy kessau hkoosh
hurna hoga.

Tud auchanuck pokaurra
auee wauee wauee hum loge
kau hkraub nusseeb kea hy
jibtuck dill eah aijeeb beebie
ko lugaouta hy oooo aubhee
such murta hy.

pādsāh apnā manstūbe-se
yeh hikmat banāyā.

sultān-log-ko bole : tum-log
hamārā beṭī-ko pyār karte hai;
wuhī usī kā pasand ham-ko
dilāyā; hamārā rafāī ko sun.

tum-log ek musāfirat karenge,
tīn mahīne; wōh jo acchā-
se-acchā nazr us-hī ke wāste
kām-kā lāwenge, us-hi ko śādī
karenge.

jawān, pādsāh-ko salām
karke bāhir giyā, aur ek sarāī-
mē pahūc ke qabūl kīe ke jad
mahīne khalās ho gayā thā wōh
sarāī-mē milne-ko, aur ek ek kā
nazr ek ek ko dikhlāwne-ko.

jaisā qabūl aisā kīā; aur
sarāī-mē pahūc ke baṛā bhāī ek
dūrbīn dikhlāyā, aur ākh ko
lagā-ke kahā, agar hamārā pyārī
ham abhī dekh sakte hai, kaisā
khūś karne hogā.

tad acānak pukārā : hāe hāe
hāe, ham-log-kā kharāb nasīb
kyā hai! jab tak dil ye ājīb bībī
ko lagāwte hai, wōh hī abhi sac
martā hai.

Doosrau bhauee bolau eah sheeshee isma jaun kau paunee hy auggur oosee ko paus is-wuqt jaou-sekta hy aulbutteh oosee ko chungau kurringa.

Is pur choota bhauee ruh-sauta bolau eah quau-leecheh deckho auggur hum loge oos pur bheitinga kidher chulna maungta auggur dus huzaur koss chul-sekta hy.

Tud teen sultaun quau-leecheh pur bheitka beebie kau koathereee ma auea pulluck marna kau wuqt mean.

Shauh-zaudee jaun-paunee nigulka auor chungahoo joauka beechauneh se oot,hau.

Tud teen juwaun jhaugrau lugaouna ko shuroo keea auor rauee rooburoo ko gauea t,hau auor mussaufrut auor peechlau kaum kau keifeeut oosko jaunauea.

Rauee t,horau chup hoka soocha auor khauhau jeissau hikoobee eissau tumaaurau nuzzr hyng.

Auggur doorbeendaur hum-aurau bettee ko deckha t,hau ny kisturreh oosee kau sumachaur ko mauloom toom loge pauea t,hau?

dūsrā bhāi bolā; yēh šīšī, is-mē jān-kā pānī hai; agar us-hī ko pās is-waqt jāw sakte hai, albatā us-hī-ko cangā karenge.

is-par choṭe bhāi rasāte bolā : yēh gālīca dekho : agar ham-log us par baiṭhenge, kidhar calne māngte, agar das hazār kos, cal sakte hai.

tad tīn sultān gālīce par baiṭhke bīlī kā koṭhārī-mē āyā, palak mārne-kā waqt-mē.

šāh-zādī jān-pānī nigal ke aur cangā ho jāe ke bichāne-se uṭhā.

tad tīn jawān jhagrā lagāne ko šurū kīā, aur rāe rū-ba-rū ko giyā thā, aur musāfirat aur pīchlā kām-kā kaifiyat us-ko janāyā.

rāe thoṛā cūp hoke socā, aur kahā : jaisā khubī, aisā tumhārā nazr hai.

agar dūrbīn-dār hamārā beṭī-ko dekhā thā nahī, kis tarah usī kā samācār-ko ma'lūm tum log pāyā thā?

Auggur qualeecheh-daur
oot,ha-laugauea t,hau ny kis-
turreh aou-sec'ta?

Aur paunee choorka tu-
maurau dauhkil kumquddur hy
is wausta toom loge beebē ka
wausta puna marna hoga.

agar gālica-dār uṭhā lā gīyā
thā nahī, kis tarah āo sakte?

aur pānī chor ke tumbārā
dākhil kam-qadar hai : is wāste
tum-log bībi-ke wāste panā
mārne hogā.

Gilechrist, who quotes the above as a specimen of bad Hindustani ('Official or Common Moors taught by Fergusson and Hadley', and 'Jargon of Hundoostan'), gives his own version as follows (transliteration modernised):

tīn sau baras āge ek barā daulat-mand pādśāh, Mān Singh, nām, Bangāle-mē thā; us-ke lākh sawār, nau sau ūṭ, pandrah sau hāthi rahē; us-kī ek barī xūb-sūrat beṭī thi, jis-kī xūb-sūratī kī dhūm bahōt mulkō-mē pahōcī. tīn bhāī śāhzāde bahōt acche us-par 'āšiq hūe, aur us-ke bāp-se us-kī śādī-kī darxwāst di. pādśāh-ne apnī larṅgī-se kahā—in tīnō śāhzādō-mē-se ek apne byāh-ke wāste pasand karo. śāhzādī-ne bāp-ko jawāb diā, we sab mujhe barābar hai, jis-se āp-kī marzi ho us-hī-se maī śādī karūngī. tab pādśāh-ne apnī 'āql-se yah mansūbā ṭhahrāyā. śāhzādō-se kahā, tum to merī beṭī-ko cāhte ho: par us-ne apnī pasand ham-par mauqūf rakhī hai; merā hukm suno: tumhē tīn mahīne kā safar karnā hogā; is-mē jo koi us-ke wāste bahōt acchā tōhfa lāwegā, aur wōh tōhfa us larṅgī-ke liye fā'ida rakhe, soī us-se śādī karegā. xair, tīn jāwān pādśāh-se mujra karke bāhar nikle; kisi sarāe-mē jāke āpus-mē yah qarār kiā: jab mahīna tamām ho, to isī sarāe āwē, apnā apnā tōhfa āpus mē dikhāwē. jo kahā, so kiyā: phir us-hī sarāe-mē ek-jāge hūe; bare bhāī-ne ek dūrbīn apnī ākh par rakh ke kahā: jo maī apnī pyārī-ko dekh saktā, tau kyā xūš hotā! itne-mē acānak pōkār uṭhā, hai hai, kyā burā nasīb hai hamārā, jis śāhzādī-par ham-ne muhabbat-se dil lagāyā thā, so wōh tau isī dam martī hai!—tis par mājhilā bhāī bolā, dekho yah šīši, is-mē imrat hai, ya'ne

āb-i-haiyāt ; jo is waqt-mē wahā pahōc saktā to use maī bhalā kartā. phir choṭe bhāī ne xūši-se kahā, lo dekho, yēh gālica hai, is-par jo ham baiṭhē aur jahā kahī jāyā cāhē, agar lākh kos ho, tau bhī jā sakē. tīnō śāhzāde gālica-par baiṭh kar pal mārte us-ke xilwat-xāne-mē ā pahōce: śāhzādī-ko imrat kā ghūṭ pite hī āram hūā, cār-pāī-par ūṭh baiṭhī. tab ye tīnō āpus mē jhagarne lage, aur pādśāh-ke rū-bā-rū gaye, apne safar-kā ahwāl aur pichlī haqīqat sab kah sunāī. pādśāh koī dam cūp rahā, phir soc kar kahā, sac hai, jaise tumhāre tōhfe waise hī tumhāri xūbiā hāī, kyū kē dūrbīn-wālā jo merī beṭī-ko na dekhtā tau us-ke hāl-kī xabar kyū kar tum-ihā miltī; agar gālica-kā mālik tum-ko ihā na lātā, to kis tarēh āte: aur imrat-binā tumhārā ānā bhī ihā kuch kām-kā na thā; is liye tumhe pāsā ḍālnā hūā, śāhzādī-ke wāste.

[3]. A Notice from a Bengali Newspaper of June 17, 1867: spelling and forms in the Roman transcription as given below have been slightly altered from the original Devanagari (for the original, see G. F. Nicholl's 'Manual of the Bengali Language', London, 1885, pp. 225-226).

istāhār.

sab koi (=kisi)-ko khabar diyā jātā hai ki śāhar *kalkattā-kā uttar ḍibizan (=division)kā śāmil mōkām *amṛātallā *gobin-cāddhar-len mē igārah nambar-kā jamīn, blāk nambar igārah, holding nambar ek sau tirānabbe, uo jamīn-kā nāp pāc kāṭhā, us-kā kuch kamī hoy aur beśī hoy, uo jamīn, aur *surti-bāgān-ke rahne-wālā us-kā mālik- *bābū hari-nārāyan cakkarbartī becne māngtā hai. e bi (=yah bhī) istāhār diyā jātā hai, jo koi (=kisi)-ko kuch kelem (=claim) yāne dāwī rahe, yāne agar uo jamīn kisi-kā pās bandhak rahe, uh saks (=šaxs)-ko cāhiye je (=ki) nīce sahīkarne-wālā logō-ko das roj kā bic-mē is-kā hāl janāwe. ye miyād jāne-se kuch dāwī nehi (=nahī) sunā jāegā, aur uo adālat-mē bi (=bhi) manjūr nahī hoegā.

[4]. From the Collection of Verses etc. in Bengali and Bazar Hindustani sung or acted by members of the Fishermen's Guild

of Calcutta at their annual carnival (*Jāliyāpārā Swāng*—published in the Bengali character as “Jelepārār Saṃ” for Bengali Year 1322=1916, edited by Jyotish Chandra Biswas).

These are not given in exact transliteration, but in a slightly modified romanisation.

(a) **The Kabuli Moneylender loquiter.**

merī nām Gāphur Miyā : ham jab muluk-se āyā, sāthe lāyā thoṛā-se hing |

Barē-bājār-kā ṣarak-mē baiṭh ke, din-bhar ohi cīj bec-ke, nafā-se pāc paisā le ke, gujrāte (=guzarte) ham din || 1 ||

jo roj ek ṭho rupiyā hūā, ohi roj ham kasam khāyā, “ehī rupeyā thoṛāe, to ham harām-khor” |

ek ādmī nām Rāmū Kahār, rupiyā-ṭho us-ko diyā udhār, roj du paisā sūd diyā ū baris-bhor — (baras-bhar) || 2 ||

sūd-mē sab milā jetnā, udhār ham diyā utnā, sūd liyā rupiyā-mē cār ānā |

abhi ham mahājan hūā, mahīna-nē sūd miltā tīn sao rupeyā; jis-ko detā, letā us-ko gorū, jorū, dhotī aur uṛānā || 3 ||

ie sālā badmāš, rupiyā liyā nao mās, sūd diyā thoṛā-bahut dū sao rupeyā—

aur nehi sūd detā—ohi-wāste sālā-ko gālī detā, aur ḍaṇḍā-se ṭhaṇḍā karne ehi dost-log-ko lāyā: leāo sālā rupiyā || 4 ||

My name is Ghafur Miyan: when I came from my country, I brought with me some asafoetida.

Squatting on the street in Burra Bazar, selling that stuff the whole day, I would take only five pice from my profit and live on that for a day. || 1 ||

The day that I made a rupee, that same day I took an oath, “I shall be an eater of forbidden food (*i.e.* no Mussulman), if I turn it into small coin.” |

(There was) a man, by name Ramu Kahar: I gave him the rupee on loan; he gave me interest on it for a whole year, two pice every day. || 2 ||

All that I received in interest I lent out, and I took interest at the rate of four annas for the rupee.

Now I have become a banker, every month I receive three hundred rupees in interest; I take away from the man whom I lend his cattle; his wife, even his *dhoti* and his covering sheet (*oṛhnī*). || 3 ||

This fellow is a bad one, he took money from me nine months ago, and interest he paid some two hundred rupees;

No more interest he pays now: that is why I abuse the fellow; and I have brought these my friends to quiet him with the big stick: come, fellow, pay down my money. || 4 ||

(b) The Chamār from Hindustan loquiter.

āo jhaṭke le ke jutī, silāi kar ke denge |
ei kām jarūrī, mat karo derī, baṛī dūr-mē jānge || 1 ||
Bhabānipur-mē hai merā swasur, ghoṛā-kā sāj banāti |
merā jāṭ khoṭṭā camār, koī koī ghoṛā-kā ledī uṭhāti || 2 ||
koī muluk-se ātā, kuch nei jāntā, kharac karke rupiyā khali
ṭikī (=cotī) rakhtā, mālā partā (=pahirtā), ban jātā gosāi
|| 3 ||

jorū miltā, fāeda detā: phoṭṭā kāṭ ke 'mālsā-bhog' bhī mārta—
khā ban ke paisā le ke gor-kā dhūlī bhī detā || 4 ||
koī sūti pin ke šahar-mē ā ke, hoṭēl-mē kām kartā |
cap, kaṭlet, kormā, kabāb, bhājti hai paraṭā (=paraṭhā) || 5 ||
koī gaṇak hotā, hāth guntā (=gintā); kartā khānsāmā-gīrī—
koī muṭiyā hotā, moṭ le ke bhāgtā, kartā hai dikk-dārī || 6 ||
koī jhāru detā, bhūsiwālā hotā, bectā kābulī canā |
koī hajām banātā, kutte-kā kām kartā, corī kartā us-kā
chānā (= bacca) || 7 ||

eisā bhol phirāy ke, hari hari bol ke, hotā hai bābū mucī |
sēlāi kar ke hāf-sūl mār ke, hotā tab bhī sucī=8=

'Come quick, bring your shoes, I shall mend them up':—

'This is urgent work, don't delay, I shall go very far'. || 1 ||

My father-in-law lives at Bhawanipore, he makes harness for horses—

My caste is up-country (Khoṭṭā) leather-worker; some of us also remove the dung of horses (*i.e.* act as stable-boys). || 2 ||

One comes from home, he knows nothing, (then) he only spends his money (in coming): |

He keeps a long hair-tuft, he wears beads, and he becomes a religious man. || 3 ||

He gets a wife who is of service to him; he puts on caste-marks (phōṭā=patch marks), and participates in the feasts of the Vaishṇava monks (mālsā-bhog)—

Sometimes he becomes a Khān (Mohammedan religious man), and takes coppers and gives dust from the shrine-tombs. || 4 ||

One puts on the (Brahman's sacred) thread, comes to the city and serves (as a cook) in a hotel: |

He makes chops and cutlets and *karma* and *kabab*, and fries *parathas* (wheat cakes in layers baked in *ghee*). || 5 ||

One becomes an astrologer, he reads (lit. counts) the (palm of the) hand; some does the work of a butler. |

One becomes a porter, and runs away with the goods, and thus gives trouble. || 6 ||

One sweeps (the streets and houses), becomes a seller of fodder, or sells (boiled) Kabuli gram: |

One becomes a barber; one looks after dogs, and steals its pups (*chānā*, a Bengali word = *bacca*). || 7 ||

Changing his ways in this way, calling 'Hari, Hari' always (*i.e.* with impunity), a Moci flourishes, sir: |

He sews (leather), and he nails 'half-soles,' and still he becomes pure and holy. || 8 ||

(c) and (d) Calcutta Manners.

The Pardesī (Up-country Sojourner) loquitur.

(c) *dil-mē ek bhāvnā-se Kalkattā-mē āyā* |

kaisan kaisan majā ham hiyā dekhne pāyā || 1 ||
 Ārī-samāj, Brāmha-samāj, girjā, mahjīd |
 ek loṭā-mē miltā—dūdh, pānī, sab cīj || 2 ||
 choṭā baṛā ādmī sab, bāhar kar ke dāt |
 jhapat mār ke boltā hai, Angrejī-mē bāt || 5 ||
 Uṛiyā ādmī-log Angrejī-mē boltā hai—‘kam hiyar, bābū’ |
 Kalkattā-ke kām dekh ke ham bhī hūā kābū || 6 ||
 gājā, golī, caras, caṇḍū, śarāb, koken mē hai bhor |
 Kalkattā-ke panarah (=pandrah) ānā ādmī-naśā-khor || 7 ||
 hiyā kālij, hūā kālij, kālij bhī ṭhāe-ṭhāe |
 kālij-kā phal to bheiyā kuch bhī milā nehi || 8 ||
 bhītar dekhā ādat kacā, bāhar dekhā pakkā |
 bāt-mē sab ādat-nireṭ, kām-mē dekhā phākā || 9 ||
 jo dik-mē maī ākhi nikālā, dekhā jūā-cor |
 saccā bāt-mē nehi miltā hai, jhūṭā bāt-mē bhor || 10 ||
 aur ek bāt merā bhāī yād ho ke giyā |
 āp-kā dharam chor ke sab Jīsū bhajne giyā || 11 ||

With one idea (apprehension) in my heart I came to
Calcutta: |

And what entertaining things I could see here! || 1 ||

The Arya Samaj, and Brahmo Samaj, church and mosque—
In one vessel you get everything—milk and water and all. || 2 ||

All men big and small show their teeth, and are rough and
rude, and speak in English: || 5 ||

Even Oriya people say in English: ‘come here, Babu.’
Seeing the ways of Calcutta, I have become powerless. || 6 ||

Ganja, smoking-opium, *churrus*, opium again, and liquor and
cocaine; in all these (people have become) senseless. Fifteen
annas in the rupee (*i.e.* ‘*1/4*ths) of the people of Calcutta are
addicted to drugs and drink. || 7 ||

Here a college, there a college, and a college at many a
spot: but no fruit (benefit), my brother, has been obtained
from the colleges. || 8 ||

I have seen inside—the morals are weak; I have seen outside, (the manners are) sound; in their words, they are solid (or idiotic) at their base, and in deeds they are empty. || 9 ||

In whatever direction I turned (spread) my eyes, I saw cheats : you find them not in truth, — they are full of lies. || 10 ||

And something also I am just reminded of, brother: leaving their own faith they have all gone to worship Jesus. || 11 ||

(d) aīsā Kalkattā, bābū, kabhī na dekhā jī |

monḍā chor ke anḍā khātā, hoṭēl-mē sab koī jātā jī || 1 ||

Gangā-māi nagij-mē bahtā, kabhī na us-mē nahātā jī |

boltā—us ko mailā pānī badan mailā kartā jī || 2 ||

deotā brāmhān māntā nehī, boltā, bhūtnī Kālī Māi,

Hindūānī chor diyā sab, Khrīṣṭānī nahī saktā jī || 3 ||

dārū pīke pāt pāt, sab bābū-kā mējāj chotṭā lāt |

gorū-se kājiā, māi-ko lāthī, bāp-ko sālā boltā jī || 4 ||

kāpten bābū koī koī hai, 'hend-not' kāṭ ke jel-mē jāe:

sāt purus -kā makān bec ke renḍī-bāpī caltā jī || 5 ||

jis-ko nahī cāl-culhā, uo bhī dēkhāte amīr-kā sālā |

ghar-mē ā ke Kābulī ahsān do belā tagādā kartā jī || 6 ||

janānā-log-kā keisā hāl, marād-se caltā samān cāl |

māṭh-mē jātā, hawā khātā, bāesikal-mē caṛtā jī || 7 ||

Such a place is Calcutta, Sir,—one never saw the like of it: they leave sweets of cream, and they eat eggs, Sir, and every one goes to the eating houses. || 1 ||

Mother Ganga flows near by, Sir, but they never bathe there: they say, its dirty water makes the body dirty, Sir. || 2 ||

They don't honour the Gods and the Brahmans, they say that Mother Kali is a she-devil: they have all abandoned Hindu ways, Sir, but they can't (abandon or follow) Christian ways. || 3 ||

Drinking liquor by pint bottles, all your *babus* become little *lāṭs* (lords or governors) in temper: they quarrel with their wives, they kick their mothers, and they abuse their fathers, Sir. || 4 ||

And there are some 'Captain *babus*' (spendthrifts) who sign hand-notes and go to jail; they sell their ancestral homes (lit. homes for seven generations), Sir, and visit houses of ill-fame. || 5 ||

He who has neither a roof nor a hearth gives the airs of a brother-in-law of an *ameer* (lord): twice a day the protecting (*ahsān*) Kabuli moneylender comes to his house, Sir, and demands his money. || 6 ||

The state of the women is like this—they move in the gait of men; they go to the *Maidan* to take the air, Sir, and even ride on bicycles. || 7 ||

[5]. The Story of the Prodigal Son, re-told by a Bengali gentleman who never studied Hindustani or attempted to speak it correctly, but has to deal with Hindustani-speaking Biharis and others. The original was written in Bengali characters: extreme Bengali forms based on a Bengali pronunciation have been removed in this transcription.

ek ādmī-kā du-ṭho leṛkā thā. us-se choṭā leṛkā us-kā bāp-ko bolā: “bābā, hamārā biṣay-kā (biṣay = Skt. viṣaya, is the common Bengali word for ‘property’) hissā ham-ko de dījiye”. ohi bāt sun ke us-ko bābā dono leṛkā-ko bhāg-baṭwārā kar ke diyā thā. us-ko thoṛā dīn bād choṭā leṛkā us-ko biṣay-kā hissā ek sāth kar ke dūr des-par calā giyā thā. aur us des-mē bad-khiyālī kar ke sab biṣay kharac kar diyā. jab us-ko sab kharac ho giyā thā, tab des-mē bahut māngā (=mahāngā) yā durbhikkha (= durbhikṣa) hūā. us-se us-ko kharcā calāne pārtā (= saktā) nahī. tab ū choṭā leṛkā us des-kā ek ādmī-ko pās giyā thā, ū us-ko apnā khetī-nē sūār carāne-ko wāste bhej diyā thā. tab tak ū sūār kā khāne-ko cīj khāne milne-se khuṣ hoā, leken ū cīj koī us-ko nahī diyā. us-ko par (=us-ke bād) jab us-ko khēyāl hūā, tab ū apnā man-mē bolā thā—bāp-ko kettā talab-wālā (=paid) nokar-lok-ko darkār-se jāstī khānā miltā, aur ham bhūkhā-se (= bhūkh-se) mar jātā hai. ham

bāp-ko pās jāgā. aur bāp-ko bolegā, bābā, ham āp-ko aur bhagwān-ko pās kasūr kiyā; ham aur (= phir) ap-ko leṛka, bolne saktā nahī: ham-ko āp-kā ek talab-wālā nokar kar ke rakh dijiye. us-ko bād ū choṭā lerkā us-ko bāp-ko pās calā giyā. dūr-se us-ko bābā us-ko dayā ā giyā (=use) dekhā, dekhne-se us-ko dayā ā giyā, aur ū daur kar ke us-ko (= apne) laṛkā-ko galā pakaṛ ke cumā khāyā. tab leṛkā bolā, bābā, āp-ko aur bhagwān-ko pās ham kasūr kiyā, ham āp-ko leṛkā bolne-ko aur saktā nahī. lekin us-ko bābā, nokar-jok-ko bolā, sab-se acchā kapṛā le ke us-ko pinhāo, is-ko hāt (h)-mē ek-ṭho āngṭī (= angūṭhī) o pā (=pāw)-par jūṭī pinhāo. aur āj hamrā (=hamlog) khānā pīnā aur ānand karegā; kāhe—hamār ie leṛkā mar giyā thā, aur phin mil giyā hai: khoā giyā thā (=was lost), abhī is-ko phin phir ke pāyā. us-se sab-lok ānand karne surū kar diyā.

In spite of a rather a slipshod and and primitive construction, and a few Bengali words and forms as well as Bengali idioms, and Bengali pronunciation, the above will be universally understood, and can be said to be a fair specimen of Cal. Hind. as used by Bengalis not familiar with Stand. Hind.

[6]. The Story of the Prodigal Son: by a Bihari (Magahi-speaking) cook, an illiterate Brahman, who was told the story in his own *patois* and then asked to reproduce it in *Bazar Hind.*: taken down at his dictation by Mr. Alakhdhari Lal, M. A., formerly my pupil in the University. The Bihari forms are noteworthy, but they will all be understood.

ek ādmī-ko do laṛkā rahā. chōṭkā bāp-se kahā ki, hamrā hissā tum de do. bāp laṛkan-kā hissā bāt diyā. phir choṭā laṛkā apnā sabh kuch lekar pades calā giyā, aur ūhā nawābī-se sab urā diyā. jab kучo us-ke pās na rahā, to ek ādmī-ke ihā jākar ū naukri kar lel (= liyā), okar (= us-kā) mālik sūar-ke baccā carābe-ke kām delai (= diyā). sūar carawāte bhūkh-se uo barā byākul ho gayā, tab cāhā ki ham bhī thoṛā bhūsā khā lē. phir us-ko bahut pachtāwā āyā. aur tab socis (= socā) ki, bāp-ke ūhā laūṭ jaiti to acchā hot: hamrā bāp-ke ūhā to bahut naukar-cākar

kām kartā hai, kā ham-ko hī khāne bhar-kā nahī milegā? ī soc ke uo āpnu muluk laut āyā, aur bāp-ke ihā gayā. bāp dekhte us-ko galā lagā liyā. bāp baṛī (= baṛā) khūśī (= khūś) hūā, aur acchā acchā kapṛā māṅgā kar pahirā diyā. ekar (= is-kā) bād ū bachuru māṅgā aur us-ko mār ke khilāne cāhā: magar us-kā baṛkā (= baṛā) beṭā bolā ki, bābūjī, ham jo barābar tohar sāth rahat haī agar hamrā wāste to aisā kabhī na kiyen: ū to itnā din-se bhāgā rahā, to bhī okar (= us-kā) wāste etnā karte ho. tab bāp sab-ko samjhāyā ki ū laṛkā to barbād ho gayā thā, magar ab sambhāl gayā hai, isī wāste khūśī manāteḥaī.

[7] The Indian Museum at Calcutta: a Bihari servant gives an account of his visit to the Museum to his Bengali master.

kāl ham jādūghar dekhne ko "giyā thā. huā bahut ājab cīj ham dekhā. ham-ko sab se taajjab mālūm hūā, janāwar-kā ghar. ṭho. marā hūā janāwar, jētnā dūr dūr des-kā hai, sab sīsā kā almārī-mē rakhā hai, jaisā ki jīāl (= *living*) hai; ṭhīk jaisā cīṛīā-khānā-mē. pahilā hamār khiyāl hūā ki, ū sab janāwar jaisā mūāl (= *dead*) taisā hī lāke huā ārakṛ lagā ke rakh dihis; uhā ek-ṭho babū ham-ko bolis, ki marā hūā janāwar-kā cām utār letā, aur cām-kā bhītar māṭī-se bhar detā, aur bāhar se par-ur, bāl-ul marammat kar ke aur rang uṅg lagā ke rakh detā hai. ham to taajjab mānā, bāp re, ī kaisan hunar kā kām hai. ū bābū bolin ki, samundar-mē ek kisim (= *qism*) kā macharī (*fish*) hotā hai, hāthī-se bhī baṛā, okre-ke (= us-ke) duī hōṭh-kā haṇḍī ek ṭho darwājā kā do kinār-mē lambā khaṛā kar ke lagā kar rakh diyā hai. kamrā mē sab tūṭal-phūṭal (= *broken*) mandil-ka patthal, deotā, mūrat, ī sab bharā hai. aur dekhā, sīsā-kā baṛā almārī aur bakas-mē tūṭā-phūṭā khaprail, hāṇḍī, kaṭorā, ī sab rakhā hai: ī sab bahot purānā jamānā kā, māṭī-kā andar se niklā, aur ek kamrā-mē deknā, kētnā kisam (= *qism*) kā kapṛā-bastar lāke rakh diyā: sāb dāmī kapṛā: banārāsī, kimkhāb, ḍhakāl, kaśmīrī, sāl dusālā, sab jorī-kā kām kiyā-hūā, tarah-tarah-kā rangīn kapṛā-phir dekhā, bartan: sonā cāḍī-kā, pittal-kā, kā sāka, sab rakhā hai; aur lakṛī kā kāṛīgarī, aur ek lambā kamrā-mē sab putlī rakhā hai—ādmī-kā-sā barā

putlī- duniyā-kā des-des-kā ādmī-log-kā sūrat, jaisan-ke-taisan māṭī-kā banā ke lambā sīsā-kā kamrā-mē rakhā hai. aur us hī kamrā-mē jagah-jagah choṭā sīsā-kā bakas-mē choṭā choṭā putlī rakhā, māṭī-kā—ek gāō-kā ādmī-log-kā sab-kuch hāl ie putlī-ō-se mālūm hotā; idhar bangālā muluk-kā gāō, udhar pachim muluk-kā gāō, us-mē kisān raiyat-kā ghar, khet-mē khet-kā kām, mālik-kā kacaharī, aur sādī-byāh, bajār, iskul, aur us-mē lōg-kā-log paṛhtā hai, aur gurū hāth-mē chapī le ke baithā hai; bangalī bābū-log-ke bāpī-mē Kālī-māī-kā pūjā dēkhāyā hai, us-mē bhaīsā-ko balidān kiyā giyā, aur barāmhan log-ko khilāyā jātā hai—ie sab-kuch dēkhāyā giyā.

A SPECIMEN OF ṬHĀRŪ SPEECH.

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§. 1. During my investigations in Awadhī early this year (1928), I had an occasion to visit the borders of the Nepal Tarāī to find out the marginal line between Awadhī and Nepālī. Katarniāghāt is the last railway station in the district of Bahraich (Oudh) in the British territory. During the rains, the rails are flooded with the waters of the Sarayū and the temporary station has to be broken up. But for the rest of the year, particularly in winter, the place is very busy with the exchange of the goods between the Nepālī and British territories. Five miles to the north of this village-station is Kohilī. I could persuade with very great difficulty a Ṭhārū of this place to give me a story. It is being given in the following pages. I visited Bhimmāpur, another Ṭhārū village near about, and tried other Ṭhārūs but they would not give out anything. During my stay in Golāmaṇḍī (in the Nepal territory) I heard several Ṭhārūs talk casually and verified the conclusions I have arrived at. But I failed to persuade any other Ṭhārū to give me a story.

In this paper I propose to restrict myself to the philological aspect of the Ṭhārū and leave out the very interesting anthropological side.

§. 2. The following story was taken down from the lips of the Ṭhārū mentioned above. During his dictation he was not at all disturbed; I simply made signs to him with my hand to tell him if he was to stop after a sentence or to give me the next one. I hope, therefore, that the

transcription is correct as far as was possible. There are certain links missing in the chain of the story as will be clear by reading either the story or its translation, but as I was anxious to get the language as correctly as possible, I did not interrupt the speaker.

Ghōghawa Ka Kathā.

Ek thau rahē thārū. Okar sājjanī rahāī ta sātāu ke larikā nāī hōṭa rahā. Bahuṭ o kar jiu taun uḍās hoi gai. Ta ū gail phulwāri m ta ek thau bābā bhēṭa hōil. Kahē kāhēṭū ehar ohar ṭū ghummaṭa hau. Thārū kahī hamār sāt janī haī sātāu ke larikā nāī hōṭa hai. Bābā kahel jāu phulwār mē sāt ām kai ghaṭa pharal bā. Ta bāwā hāṭhai māreu ḍāhin hāṭh lūṭi liheu. Ta sātāu kēhḍ ek ek thau khawā ḍiheu. Tau choṭki k rahē bhansā rahē bhāṭ banāī nā rahē. Tau ū khāī nāī pailas ām ḍōsar janē khā lehalas ū ām biā bhar arawā par (bharkanē par) ḍhai ḍehāl. Pāchē ḍhaṇḍhā kai kai jab choṭaki sekal (samjhal) ām apan baṭahā tau herāl arawā par tau nāhī ḍēkhal. Tau wahē āme k biā rabel arawā par. Ta wahī khā lehal uṭhā ke. Tau chā jane ke ta hōil larikā au choṭakī janīwa-k taun hoil ghōghā. Tau chaeu janīwan taun ghar mē kai lihal choṭakī kēhḍ nikār ḍehāl jekar ghōghā jalmaḷ rahē. Tau jaisē ū larikā bārhaī ṭasahi-k oḍ ghōghā bārhai. Tau barā barā bhārī bhārī hoilaī saṭawau janē, ghōghawau bhārī bhail au chāu bhayawau bhārī bhailē. Tau okar bābā kahē lāgal ki jāu sapanā ku ḍesa lēhē tau ham bhāṭa khāb nāī tau na ' hāb na paniai piab, jo nāī naniau sapanā ku ḍesa tau mari jāb. Tau chawau bhayawai ghōṛā kasalaī au siḍhā bhukkā bāḍhalaī. Tau ū ghōghawau bāḍhala siḍhā bhukkā. Calē lagalaī ab bides. Tab jā kē biriyā birkh-āṇḍa ma basēr lehalē pēṛē tar. Tau chawau bhayawai jāī

ghorawak ghāsa kātai ghōghawā baiṭha ke hukkā piā
maciyā par. Jetarā manai rāha calawaiyā āwai tau ū
ghōghawai salām karaī. Tau ū kē dādun ka baṛā risihā
hoilaī tau ū kā bāṇḍi halaī. Tau wahi kā bāṇḍa ke chahau
dādun kē cali dehalaī ghōṛā ṭhokalaī cal dehelaī. Tau
ghōghawā jāe dehel apan dādun ke, bas ghōghawā ēk bē
bal kail, bas phaṭ de lasurī ṭuṭ gail. Baḍḍaurāṭa wahū
calal phiri. Kahū kerē pugau na pailal okar chahū dādū,
ghōghawā agārī pahūca gail huḥ. Tau baṛa bhārī pēr
rahel sapana ke duārē par. Tau chahau bhayawai nāhi
jānaī ghōghawā jān lehel ki ihē hō duār sapana kē. Tau i
pēra ukhārau tau bhiṭṭar jāu paṭālpuri au apanē baiṭha
ke lasurī baṭai ghōghawā. Tab ū chawau bhayawā ukharaī
perawā tau perawā hilāi na pāwai. Ta sab janē hār gailaī
chawau bhayawā. Perawā nāi ukharal. Tab ū ghōghawai
kahalaī chawau bhāya kī lēu bhāya ṭū ukhārau i pēra
hamarē nāi sekal. Ta ū ghōghawā kahel burcōda ṭoharē
nāi sekalau mai nāi sekām ukharaī wahi perawā. Tau
chawau bhayawai ghōghawai baṛā ciraūrī kailaī. Ta ū
kahaī lēu bhāi ghōghē ṭohē ukhārau hamarē nāi sekalī.
Ta ū ghōghawā uṭhal ekkai bē bal kail au bhakka de
ukhāl lehal perawai. Ta kahē jāu chahau dādū paṭālpuri
paṭāl-purīm bāy. Ta ū chahau bhayawai dekhalaī bhālā
bahuṭ adhikār rahē ū duāre m gāral. Ta hukarē nāi gailaī
chawau bhayawai. Ta kahē lagalaī chawau bhayawai jāu
ghōghē bhāi tū, hamarē nāi jāi sakal. Tab ū ghōghawā
kahel jab ṭoharē nāi jāi sakalaī tau mai phir nāi jāe sakam.
Mai tau jāi kē jāim manē i maciyā man lasurī bānhau ta
jab bhiṭṭar mai halam tab ṭak i ṭoharē haṭṭhe se na jāyeu.
Jab ṭak i dorī na hilaim tab ṭak maciā nā hīceu wahi m
lasurī rahē diheu. jab mai hilaim tab ṭāneu lasuri

ghōghawā kahel. Ṭa ū oṭarā kahe kai macia m baiṭhal ghōghawā. Ṭa gail ū paṭālpurī ghōghawā. Ṭa sonakī dār jhaluhā jhulāṭa rahī. Ṭa ghōghawā o ṭhai nukā gail. Ṭa ū nāi dēkhai ghōghawai, ghōghawā nukāil rahal. Ṭa ū sona ke dār baunī dēkhal ghōghawai. Ṭau kahē lāgal sonkē dār ki ṭai kē hōis baunī dēkke kahē lāgal. Mānukh hōis ṭa nikari ā nāi ṭau abhai maram bhasam kai dēm. Ṭab ghōghawā nikaral. Ṭau sonkē dār pūché lāgal ki ṭai kahē ailai. Ṭau kahē lāgal ṭoharē mai ehe ailū. Ṭau jaibō ki nāi. Ṭab kahel jāb, āō balahā jhūlī. Dūdū janē jhūlī ṭab jāb. Ṭau oṭarā bacan jab sonal ō kar bāp sonkī dār ṭau sonkī dār ker bāp bhōṛā daintur rahē. Ṭa ū bāsa pāil ṭau gharē calal khāi kē mārē—banawa ma carai gail rahal. Ṭa ū sonakī dār jhaṭṭa de mīs ke ghōghawā kahē mīs ke cilaṛ banā lehel. Ṭa ū daintur āil—ṭa muhu bailē āiṭa rahē daintur. Ṭau son ki dār kahē lāgal ki bābā ṭai muha capkā nāi ṭau mārām gajā muṅgura baṭisau dāṭa jhar jāi. Ṭab ū capkā lehel muha. Ṭa ū cali gail daintur banawa ma carē. Ṭab sonakī dār ghōghawai phir mānukh banāil. Ṭau khēlai lagalaī khūb majem balahā par. Ṭau bāt baṭuwāī ki tū lai jaibō ṭau kaisen kē kimit dākhaibō apan bāba ke. Ṭab ghōghawā kahal ṭoharē baṭāō jasahī ke ṭoharē baṭaibō ṭasahī ke mai kimit dēkhaibū. Ṭau sonakī dār apan dūnau bahinian bolailas. Ṭau kahē lāgal sonakī dār hamarē jāiṭi lahāi. Lahā ke jaba hamarē āb ṭa yahē ṭarawār ba ham kā barakī kēhē māreu chapaḍdehyō, ṭab māreu majhili kēhē wahiau chapaḍdehyō. Ṭab barakī ṭau banal sōnek khambha mājhili banal mōṭin kaṅkan. Ṭau āil sabhil choṭakī bahiniyā Ṭa wahiau mārāl kāḍdehal. Ṭa ū rūpan ki dār banal choṭakī. Ṭab lāgal ghōghawā dēkhē. Ṭab khūb khana khana cama cama karai ū pēṛa. Ṭab ū ghōghawā phir hirāman

ɖaɖɖā chuā ɖehel sonaké perawa ma. Ța ũ Ținiu bahiniyā
 bani gailaī. Țau sab lagalaī cāriu janē baiṭha ke baṭiāi.
 Țau kahē lagalaī aba kaisen kə lai jaibō hamār bāp nāi
 jai dēi. Țab kahel Țū baṭāō jaisen ke Țaisen ham lai jāb
 Țau barakī bahiniyā kahē lāgal ki phēr Țū cēlar banau
 ham jasi kə banailē rahaū Țasi kə banau. Phēr ũ cilar ban
 gail ghōghawā. Apan bār me nukuā lehel. Țab barakī
 gail apan bābā ṭhanē. Țau kahē bābā Țōr jiu kahā bāy.
 Țaī ehar ohar carai jaiṭhāe Țab mari jaibē Țau hamarē paṭā
 nāi pāb, jiu baṭā ɖe Țau paṭā pā jāb. Ța ũ baṭailas bhūrā
 ɖaintur. Mōr jiu ajoṭṭhā samuṇdar me lōhe k khambha
 bāy. Bicau bic balareṭ me Țawahē hō mōr jiu. Țab oṭarā
 jaba sūnala barakī Țab ũ banal rainu macharī Țab ũ pānī
 pānī gail samuṇdar me Ța uhā bani gail lohār. Țab ũ chīnī
 banāil. Ța chīnī le ũ khambha kāṭ ɖehel. Ța jaisē ũ
 khambha giral Țaisei yahā ɖaintur mari gail. Phēr rahin
 macharī banal ũ barakī Ța phēr āil yahā gharē wahī pānī
 pānī. Țab phēr manaī banal. Țau ghōghawai phēr manaī
 banāil Țau phēr balahā jhūlai lagalaī cāriu jana. Țau
 jhūli jhāl ke jab sakalaī Țau kahē lāgal ghōghawā aba
 calau calī hamār gharē. ũ Ținiu bahiniai calolaī. Ța jā
 ke ũ maciyā ṭhanē baiṭhalaī. Ța ghōghawā kahē lāgal ki
 hirāman ɖaɖɖā bisar gail. Țoharē eṭhai baithau, i
 maciā par na baithau i lasuri nā hilāyeu mai jaiṭhū hirā-
 man ɖaɖɖā lehē. Ța ghōghawā ɖaurāṭa gail lehe. Utṭinau
 bahiniai Țaun kahē lagalaī ki nānō i maciyā par baiṭhī.
 Țau Ținau bahiniai baiṭhalaī maciā par. Ța ũ lasuri
 ɖehelaī ṭān, Țau hīci lehalaī chawau bhayawai. Ța chawau
 bhayawai lai kai cal ɖehalaī gharē. Ța ghōghawā ɖau-
 rāṭa āil, Țau ɖekhabai na kail, Țau lāgal rōē. Ța megghanāṭha
 sunlaī Ța wahi kē kahalaī mēghanāṭha Țaī kē hōis rōṭai.
 Ța ghōghawā kahē ki mai mānukh hō. Țab mēghanāṭha

kahelaī ʔaī kahā āil rabis ʔau ghōghawā kahil mai sapanā ku dēsa lēhē āil rahaū. ʔa hūkarē cal gilaī mai nāi jāi sakata ū, tab ʔare hoilaī pirawā mēgha uppar hoilaī khaṭa kerri mēghī. ʔāri kə uparā hoilaī mēghī ʔau wah par wahai ghōghawā caṛhal wahai mēghī par caṛha kai nikaral. ʔau kehū nahī dēkhal. ʔa ū phēr peṛawā uṭhā ke phēr wahai duārī par dhail. Phēr ū peṛawā jas kə ʔas hoi gail. ʔab calal ghōghawau gharē. ʔa āpan gharē jā kē wahau baiṭhal ghōghawau. ʔa ō kar bābā kahē lāgal āpan chəau puṭawan ki lēu aba jāsahī ke nanəlau ʔasahī ab dakhāo mōhi. ʔa ū nāi dēkhā pāwai. ʔau ghōghawai bolailas. ʔa ghōghawai kahē lāgal ki lē ghōghē pūṭa ʔaī dēkhā, chawau hikarē puṭawan nāi dēkhā pailaī. ʔau ghōghawā kahal acchā bābā ham dēkhāb. ʔa ū ṭiniu bahinian kahal ghōghawā jāu lahāi. ʔa hūkarē hāsaṭa gailaī lahāi. Lahā luhū ke ailaī. ʔau phēr mārāl ghōghawā baṛakī bahiniai, kāḍdehal. ʔau sōnakē khambha hoi gail ʔa mājhili bahiniyā āil wahiau mārāl ʔa ū hirāman pāṭ hoil. ʔa choṭaki bahiniyā āil ʔa ū rūpan ki dār hoil. Aba lagalaī khan khan cam cama rupaiwā. ʔau ghōghawā kahal ki dēkh bābā dēkhalē kahē. ʔa ōkar bāp kahel hā pūṭ dēkhalū. ʔa ū ghōghawā phēr hirāman ḍaṇḍā chūā dehel sonakī khambha me. ʔa ū phēr ṭinau bahiniai manaī ban gailaī. ʔa ōkar bābā baṛā khusī hoil. ʔa ū chawau puṭawan nikār dehel ū chawau ukaran ke mahāṭariyan rānin nikār dehel. ʔa ghōghawa ki mahāṭariyā bolāil phēr apan gharem karāil a ū ṭiniu bahiniyan phēr apan gharem karāil. Ghōghawai baiṭhāil apan gaḍḍī man. ʔab wahē rājā ban gail.

Aba aṭanai hai.

§3. The following is the literal translation of the story:—

The tale of a snail.

There lived a chief. He had seven women, then not one of the seven had any issue (son). So his mind was much dejected. Then he went to the flower-garden, then one saint met him. (He) said, "Why are you wandering here and there?" The chief said, "I have seven wives, not one of the seven gets a son." The saint said, "Go. In the garden a cluster of seven mangoes has been brought forth. Then you strike (at it) by your left hand and catch it by your right one. Then give (feed) one to each of the seven." Then the youngest was cooking, there was no cook (one who prepares rice). Then she could not eat the mango, another ate it up, she put only the mango-seed on the niche. Later when after doing the business the youngest came to know of the mango of her share, she searched for it on the niche but did not find (see) it. Then the mango-seed was on the niche. Then she took it up and ate it. Then a son was born to each of the six and to the youngest wife was born a snail. Then (he) kept the six wives in his house and turned out the youngest to whom a snail was born. Then just as those sons grew up similarly grows up that snail. Then all the seven people grew up very huge, the snail also became huge as well as the six brothers became huge. Then their father said, "Go to bring *Sapana ku Desa*, then I shall eat food (rice), otherwise neither shall (I) eat nor shall (I) drink water; if you will not bring *Sapana ku Desa* then I shall die. Then the six brothers saddled the horses and took (tied) with them provisions for eating. Then that snail also took (tied) the provisions for eating. (They) now began to go to foreign lands. Then after having gone they halted under a tree in the land of the Heroes (*Biriyā Birkhaṇḍā*).

Then the six brothers go to cut grass for the horses, the snail smokes (drinks) the pipe sitting on the chair. All those people who pass that way, salute the snail. Then his elder brothers got very angry, then they tied him. Then after having tied him the six elder brothers went away. Then the snail allowed the elder brothers to go, only once did the snail exert his force and the string broke in a smash. Then he also went running. His six brothers could not catch him—the snail reached the place before them. Then there was a very huge tree at the entrance to the *Sapana*. Then the six brothers did not know that it was the entrance to the *Sapana* but the snail came to know of it. Then (he said), “Uproot this tree and go into *Pātālapurī*” and himself the snail began to weave a rope, sitting down. Then those six brothers uproot the tree but cannot shake the tree. Then the six brothers—all people—were unsuccessful. The tree was not uprooted. Then the six brothers said to the snail, “Come, brother, you uproot this tree. We could not.” Then that snail said, “Fie! you could not, I shall not be able to uproot that tree.” Then the six brothers coaxed the snail very much. Then they say. “Come, brother snail, you uproot it, we could not”. Then that snail got up, (he) exerted his force only once and uprooted the tree with a dash. Then he said, “Go, all the six elder brothers to *Pātālapurī*, (she) is in *Pātālapurī*.” Then those six brothers saw that a large number of spears were planted at that entrance. Then those six brothers did not go. Then the six brothers began to say, “Go, brother snail, you go, we could not go.” Then that snail said, “When you could not go, then I shall not be able to go. I shall, of course, go, but you fasten the rope to this chair, then when I enter inside, till then

it should not go from your hand. Until I shake the rope you do not draw (back) the chair, let the rope be with it. When I shall shake it, then you strain (draw) the rope"—(so) said the snail. Having said so much, the snail sat down in the chair, then that snail went to *Pātālapuri*. Then the Gold Branch was sporting on the swing. Then the snail hid himself at that place. Then she did not see the snail, the snail was in hiding. Then the Gold Branch bent (dwarfed) and saw the snail. Then the Gold Branch asked, "who art thou?"—bent (as she was), having seen she asked. "If thou art a human being, come out, else I shall just now render you to ashes." Then the snail came out. Then the Gold Branch began to ask, "Where hast thou come?" Then (the snail) said, "I have come to take you. So will you go or not?" Then (she) said, "(I) shall go, come let us swing for play. Let both of us swing, then I shall go". Then when her father—the father of the Gold Branch—heard those words—the father of the Gold Branch was a fierce demon. When he got the scent, then he started for home—in order to eat, he had gone to the forest for grazing. Then that Gold Branch at once cramped the snail and made him a louse. Then that demon came—the demon was coming with his mouth wide open. Then the Gold Branch began to say, "Father, seal your mouth otherwise I shall strike the club and the mace, all the thirty-two teeth will fall off." Then he shut up the mouth. Then that demon went away to the forest to graze. Then the Gold Branch again turned the snail into a human being. Then (they) very gladly began to sport on the swing. Then (they) began to talk, "When you take me, then how will you show the marvel to your father?" At that the snail said, "You tell (me). As you

tell me so shall I show the marvel." Then the Gold Branch called her two sisters. Then the Gold Branch began saying, "We are going to take a bath. After bathing when we come, then with this sword you kill me, the eldest — cut (me) off, then kill the middle one, cut her off also." Then the eldest became a trunk of Gold and the middle one turned into a bracelet of pearls. Then came the youngest of the sisters. Then her also (he) killed—cut (her) off. Then that youngest became a silver branch. Then the snail began to see. Then that tree shines and jingles very much. Then that snail touched that Golden tree with diamond staff. Then they turned into three sisters. Afterwards all the four people began to talk. Then (they) began to say, "How will you take us, now. Our father will not let (us) go." Then (he) said, "You tell (me), as you tell me so I shall take you." Then the eldest sister began to say, "Again become a louse, of the sort of which I made you." That snail again turned into a louse. (She) hid (him) in her hair. Then the eldest went to her father's place. Then (she) said, "Father, where is your 'breath' (essence of life). You go here and there, there if you die we shall not know, if you tell (us of your) breath (we) shall know." Then that grey demon said, "My life is in the sea of Ayodhyā in the iron pillar. In the very centre of sands(?)—there is my life." Then when the eldest heard that much then she turned into a herring fish. Then she went to the sea through water and then there she became a blacksmith. Then she made a chisel. With the chisel she cut down the pillar. As soon as the pillar fell, the demon died here. Then that eldest daughter again became a herring fish, again she came home through water. Then again she became a human being. At that,

she again turned the snail into a human being. Then again all the four persons began to swing. When all finished swinging then the snail began to say, "Now, come, let us go to my house." Those three sisters started. Having gone they sat near the chair. Then the snail said, "The diamond staff has been forgotten. You sit here, do not sit on the chair, do not shake this rope. I am going to take the diamond-staff." Then the snail went running to take (it). Those three sisters said, "Come let us sit on this chair." At that the three sisters sat on the chair. Then they strained the rope, at that the six brothers drew it up. Then the six brothers taking (them) started for home. Then the snail came running, and did not see (them), and began to cry. At that *Māghanātha* heard, then he said to him, "Who art thou, crying?" Then the snail said, "I am a human being." Then *Māghanātha* asked, "Where did you come from?" Then the snail said, "I came to *Sapanāku Desa*. Then they have gone away. I cannot go." At that the yellow clouds came down and up went picturesque (?) she-clouds. Then up were the she-clouds; then the same snail climbed up that she-cloud and came out. And nobody saw (that). Then he took up the tree and put it on the same entrance. That tree again became just as it was. Then the snail also started for home. Then reaching home, the snail also sat down. Then his father said to his six sons, "Come just as you have brought (them), so you show to me." Then they could not show. At that (he) called the snail. Then (he) said to the snail, "Come, dear (son) snail, you show, these six sons have not been able to show." At that the snail said, "All right, father! I shall show." Then the snail asked those three sisters to go to bathe. Then they went laughing to take a bath. They came

after bath. Then again did the snail cut the eldest—cut her. Then (she) turned into a trunk of gold. Then came the middle sister, her also (he) killed—then she became leaves of jewels. Then came the youngest sister and she became a branch of silver. Then rupees showed and jingled there (on the tree). At that the snail said, “See father, you wanted to see.” Then his father said, “Yes, dear son, I have seen.” Then that snail put the diamond-staff again to the golden trunk. Then those three sisters again became human beings. At that his father became much pleased. Then he turned out those six sons and turned out their mothers—the queens—also. And (he) called the mother of the snail and put her again in his house and put (them) those three sisters in his house. And the snail he put on the throne of himself. Then he became king. It is only so much.

§4. As mentioned in the Linguistic Survey of India vol. V Part II Page 311, the speech of the Thārūs should not be called a language. They speak generally the language of their neighbours but since they lead almost an exclusive life, living in villages where there would be no non-Thārū families, they retain certain characteristics peculiar to them. They inhabit the whole Tarai area of Nepal and thus come in touch with various languages Bihārī, Eastern Hindi and Western Hindi according to their residence—area.

The specimen given above belongs to the Thārūs whose neighbours are Awadhī speakers on the south and west, probably speakers of some dialect of Bhojpurī on the East and Nepālī speakers on the North. The speech thus contains characteristics of all the three languages and should be classed as a broken dialect. The extent of the Bhojpurī influence, however, appears to be a

little inexplicable. Bhojapuri element is considerable when we regard that their immediate neighbours are Awadhī people.

§5. The most characteristic point to be noticed is the substitution of the dentals *t*, *th*, *d*, and *dh* respectively by *ʈ*, *ʈh*, *ɖ*, and *ɖh*. This is very remarkable and this was confirmed by whatever Thārū speech I heard throughout my stay in the area. It is strange that the L. S. I. does not at all mention this point. As to the exact nature of these sounds I am not very sure. Linguistically, as suggested by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, it appears that they are alveolar sounds but whether or not they are retroflex also is more than what I can say. The Awadhī *ʈ*, *ʈh*, etc. are pronounced by bringing the tongue's tip near the root of the teeth but they are retroflex also. Besides this the sound *r* is middling between ordinary Awadhī *r* and *ɽ*. The accent is not at all Bhojpurī, the final musical intonation on the last syllable in a sentence being particularly absent.

§6. The following are the important grammatical characteristics.

(a) *Noun*—Like Bahraich Awadhī there are two cases in the plural separately—Nominative in—*ai* e.g. *bhayawai*, *bahiniai* and accusative in—*an* e.g., *janiwan*, *bahinian*. The accusative singular sometimes has the direct form but occasionally it has the oblique in—*ai* e.g. *ghōghawai*, *perawai* *ukhār lehal*. Traces of old dative are found in *gharai*, (*calal*) and of the locative or instrumental in *sōnē*, *āmē*, *gharē*.

The gender of nouns is unstable as is shown by such expressions as *ghōghawa ka kathā*, *jīu udās hoi goi*.

(b) The pronouns are more or less common with Bahraich Awadhi. But a very remarkable point is the use of the genitive form of the personal pronoun as the subject of past participial verbs side by side with the direct form e.g. *hamarē nāī jāī sakal, toharē sekalau, hukarē cal gilaī*. These forms are sometimes used with the non-past-participial verb also as *hamarē āb, toharē baṭaibō, hamarē jāīni lahai*. The distinction of the singular and plural is found in all the three persons-*mai, ham; tai, tū; ū, ukarē* (otherwise absent in this person).

(c) The verb shows clear traces of the mixture of Awadhī and Bhojapuri in this broken dialect. We have awadhī forms and Bhojapuri forms side by side, sometimes of the same root.

Awadhī
rahā, gai, rahē, rahaū

(*taī*) *āyē, dekhē
piāi, rahai, rahaī*

Bhojapuri
rahal, gail, gailaī, (once
gilaī also), *rahalū*
(*taī*) *ailai, dekhṭē*

*pailas, lehalas, bolailas
dekhābū (mai)*

The future has mostly-*h* forms but for the 1st person singular certain-*m* forms which are neither Bhojapuri nor Awadhī are found e.g. (*mai*) *sakam, jāim, halam, hāim, dēm, māram*. These have to go to Nepali probably as also the forms *jāiṭh, sikaṭū, jāiṭū* which are of the present tense. Another characteristic of the future in certain cases is the absence of a vowel between the root and the suffix e.g. *āb* (Aw *āib*), *dekhāb* (Aw *dekhāib*).

(d) The post-positions are the ordinary Awadhī ones, *kar, se, -mē, Kahā*. We have also *mē* (loc) and *man* (Ins).

(e) The present participle is like Bahraich Awadhī (*ghummaṭa, hōṭa, ḍaurāṭa* etc.) while the past participle is Bhojapurī (*ḷamal, nukāil*).

(f) The conjunctive participle sometimes has the final *-i* in the verb and sometimes not e.g. *khāi lehel* or *khā lehel* but more usually without the *-i*. Both the forms are Awadhī however, though of different areas.

(g) The oblique form of the infinitive ends in *-ē* e.g. *kahē lāgal, ḍēkhē lāgal*.

December 1928.

Linguistic Society of India.

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OURSELVES.

We owe a word of apology to our readers and subscribers. Much delay has been caused owing to circumstances lying beyond our control. The article with the heading "Burushaski Texts" contained several new phonetic symbols the preparation of which took a good deal of time.

We find that some of our members have not paid up their annual subscription or arrears which have been long overdue. We request the gentlemen concerned to remit the same at an early date. The Society is badly in need of funds.

**SKR. INITIAL M FOLLOWED BY H OR ASPIRATION IN THE
NEXT SYLLABLE > INITIAL BH IN M. I. A. V.**

By Duni Chandra, M.A., Lecturer, Govt. College, Lahore.

Abbreviations.

M.I.A.V.	Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars.
Pkr.	Prakrit.
Skr.	Sanskrit.
Pb.	Panjabi.
H.	Hindi.
G.	Gujrati.
S.	Sindhi.
Mar.	Marāṭhi.
B.	Bengali.
Nep.	Nepali.
Pa.	Pali.
Per.	Persian.
N.	Neuter gender.
M.	Masculine gender.

Initial **bh** of Skr. has in most cases been retained in Pkr. as well as in its later descendants, as, Skr. **bhramara-** > Pkr. **bhamara** > Pb. **bhaur**; Skr. **bhajyate** > Pkr. **bhajjai** > Pb. **bhajje**. There are a few cases, however, in which the initial **bh** has descended from the initial **m** and the aspiration of the succeeding syllable. (See examples, given below). The fact that the retention of the initial **bh** was somewhat regular, and the change of the initial **m** combined with the **h** or aspiration of the following syllable was rare, has been responsible for the extension of the former phonetic change even at the cost of the latter. This note aims at restoring to **mh** a few of its own descendants.

Corresponding to Pb. **bhijj** we have H. **bhījnā**, Mar. **bhijṇē**, G. **bhijvū**, Nep. **bhij-**, B **bhijā**, S. **bhijaṇu**, all meaning "to be wet, damp or moist." In some of these vernaculars we also come across the verbal roots like Pb. **bhēṇā**, **bhiaṇṇā**, H. **bhigōnā**, **bhigāna**, **bhijānā**, **mihānā**, meaning "to make wet", "to moisten,"

H. **mihā**, **bhij**, and **bhigā**, all related to each other in sense and sound, point to a common origin. Through their form and meaning they seem to suggest that they are connected with and descended from the Skr. **mih-**, "to wet, to moisten." H. **bhij**, Pb. **bhijj**, could be derived from Skr. **mihyate**, H. **bhigo**, **bhigā**, (from ***meghaya**-causal of **mih**) and **mihā** also from Skr. **mih**. Pb. **bhē** could be connected with Skr. **mehati**, while **bhiaṇṇ** is the causal of **bhē**.

The phonetic change is already known to us through the following words. H. **bhaṭs**, G. **bhēs**, Nep. **bhaṭsi**, Pb. **maṭh**, etc., have been considered by most of the scholars as descended from Skr. **mahiṣī**. Mar. **bharai** has been traced back to Skr. **smarati** (*Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, P. 217). We know that the initial **m** in Skr. changes into **v** in Pkr., as Skr. **manmathaḥ** > Pkr. **vammatho**. We are also acquainted with the change of medial **hv** into **bh** as in the case of Skr. **jihvā** > Pkr. **jibbhā** to Pb. H. **jibh** and Pb. **jīb** and H. **jīh**. These examples show that in some cases the initial **m** with the aspirations of the following syllable shifted close to it has yielded **bh**, probably through **vh**. Whatever the process, the phonetic change is the same as has already been admitted to have taken place in the case of certain words.

It will be useful here to make mention of the descendants of Skr. **dah-**, to burn. In H. we have **dāh**, **dāgh** and **dājh**, corresponding to H. **mihā**, **bhigā** and **bhij**. In Skr., too, we find **dāgha-** and **megha-** (corresponding to Persian **dāg** and **meg**) along with **dah-** and **mih-**, the two latter having lost the soft guttural and retained only the aspiration,

Again, the connection of **bhij** with rain is clearly indicated by the Mar. words **bhij-pāūs** [Skr. **prāvṛṣ-**], well wetting or soaking rain, and Mar. **bhijāṇā**, soaked grain.

Not only this. The new derivation enables us also to offer a satisfactory interpretation of Pa. **abhijjamāno**, which has so far been considered difficult to explain (See **abhijjamāno** in Pa. Eng. Dictionary—Rhys Davids & William Stede, Surrey, 1925), in the contexts in which it occurs. For example, in **Dīgha Nikāya**, London, 1890, Vol. 1, page 78, we read a description of the psychic powers of a Bhikkhu. He is described as having the power of becoming invisible, as being able to plunge into and emerge from the earth as one can do in the case of water, as being able to pass (penetrate) through a mountain, a wall or a rampart without touching it. In this very text we read about him “**udake pi abhijjamāno gacchati seyyathā pi paṭhaviyaṃ.**” This **abhijjamāno** has been derived by some scholars from Skr. **abhid-ya-mānaḥ**, not being broken. It is just possible that others may be connecting it with Skr. **abhi-añj-**, to smear with oil etc. It is clear, however, that sentences like “he goes remaining unbroken even in water,” or “he goes getting smeared even in water” are meaningless in the passage referred to. On the other hand, if we connect Pa. **abhijjamāno** with Skr. ***a mih ya mānaḥ**, not being made wet, we at once get at the right interpretation which is “he goes into water without getting wet as one (goes without getting wet) on land.”

Against the etymology already holding the field and accepted by the pre-eminent scholars like Prof. Turner and Prof. Bloch, the following objections suggest themselves to us:—

1. **bhij**, **bhigo**, **bhē**, **bhiaṭi**, **mihā** of M. I. A. V., related to each other in sense and sound, point to a common origin. It does not seem so easy to derive **mihā** from Skr. **abhyañj-**.

2. We find that **bhij**, **bhigā** etc., mean to be wet, to moisten respectively. Skr. **abhyañj-**, however, has always been employed in the sense of smearing or anointing as with oily substances.

Its primitive sense is that of adorning or decorating. Scholars are all acquainted with the fact that Skr. verbs have, in most cases, retained their original meaning even if some secondary senses have cropped up in the course of semantic evolution. Such cases in which the original sense has altogether disappeared are very rare. It becomes necessary therefore for those upholding the view in favour of **abhyañj-** to prove that the evolution of the meaning has indeed taken place in the manner suggested by them.

Let us take another word. It is known to most scholars that Pb. **bhedū** is a descendant of Skr. **mēḍhra-**, so is also Pb. **bhēḍ**, a representative of Skr. **mēḍhrī**. Similarly in Hindi we have **bhēr**, a ram, from Skr. **mēḍhra-**, and **bhēr**, a sheep, from Skr. **mēḍhrī**, and also H. **mēḍhā** and H. **bhēḍā** from Skr. **mēḍhra+ka**. (By the way, the presence of aspiration in the second syllable of **mēḍhā** and its absence in the same syllable of **bhēḍā** lends support to the view that **bh** is a representative of **m** and aspiration), G. **bhēḍ**, a sheep, a goat, too, is to be traced back to Skr. **mēḍhrī**. Skr. **mēḍhra-**, n., is a primary derivative of **mih-** with the suffix-tra (**ṣṭran**) (Panini 3. 2. 182). We get **mēḍhra-** through **mēgh-** and **tra**. **Mēḍhra-**, mas., a ram, seems probably a product of false analogy with its n. **mēḍhra-**. The regular mas. stem should have been **mēḍhr** and its nominative singular would have been **mēḍhā**. It does not seem improbable that Mar. **bhēḍ** (poetical) timid, is but a figurative use of G. **bhēḍ**, in the sense of sheep or goat, the latter being always considered timid (cf. Per. **buzdil**—coward, lit. having the heart of a goat).

Even if there were any doubt with regard to the derivation of **bhij** from Skr. **mih-y-**, it should disappear now in the light of the similar phonetic change that has taken place in the case of a derivative of **mih-** itself.

Similarly we have Pb. **bhull**, H. **bhūl**, Nep. **bhul**, B. **bhulā**, Mar. **bhul**, G. **bhul**. Different scholars have derived them differently. Professors Turner, Pischel and Bloch derive them from Skr. **bhur-** through **bhulati***, Pkr. **luhai** through **lubhai***.

The very fact that Skr. **bhur-** has been used very rarely renders it improbable that Pb. **bhull** etc., have descended from it. It is the rarely used words that die a natural death and it is the active words, frequently employed, that go on living in one form or the other. Pb. **bhull** and H. **bhūl** can be derived from Skr. **mūḍha**, the past participle from Skr. **muh-**. The different senses in which Skr. **muh-** and its derivatives like **mūḍha-**, **mugdha-**, are used are nearly the same in which Pb. **bhull** and its derivatives like **bhōlā**, **bhulliā** are employed. In Skr. we have **adhvānam mōhayati** corresponding to Pb. **rastā bhulāda hai**. The meaning of a-**mōgha-**, unerring, not going astray, seems to support the new view-point to a certain extent.

That the root originates from a past participle need not surprise us. There are so many other roots in this and other vernaculars, for example, Pb. **naṭṭh** from Skr. **naṣṭa-**, H. **rūṭh** from Skr. **ruṣṭa-** etc. which have past participle as the root. (See in this connection art. No. 241 in *formation de la langue marathe*, Bloch, Paris, 1920.)

Again, if we compare Pb. and H. **bhir**, in the senses of uniting, colliding, coupling, pairing and its relatives in the other M.I.A.V. with the Skr. **mith-**, we find there is striking resemblance in their meanings. The phonetic change is the same as in the case of Pb. **bhijj**, Pb. **bhull**, H. **bhaīs**, etc. The change may be considered something like **mith-** > **mhit-** > **mhid-** > **bhir-**. The change of **t** in **mhit-** into **d** and subsequently into **r** is on all fours with the change of Skr. **pat-**, to fail, into H. **par**.

It is clear from what is given above that Pb. **bhijj**, **bhull**, **bhir** and other near relatives of theirs, one and all, owe their birth in reality to Skr. words with initial **m** followed by **h** or aspiration in the succeeding syllable. But Skr. words beginning with **bh** having a large and rich family and long list of descendants may be said to have succeeded in bringing certain others born of poor parents into their own fold. It is but proper to restore the lost children to their own parents in view of the points raised in this short note.

BURUSHASKI TEXTS.

I. Story of the North Wind and the Sun.

By Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M. A., D. Litt.

Informants :—

(1) Shun Khan, a blind Hāfiz. He said he had been Col. Lorimer's informant for some time. Age about 60 years.

(2) Hubbu Ali, of Baltit (**Hunza**). Age about 50 years. Employed for sometime in the army at Jammu.

(3) Faqīro, of a village about 8 miles from Nagar. Has been a shepherd-boy in the forests of Nagar. Employed for about 10 months at the Prince of Wales College Hostel, Jammu. Age about 13 years.

Hunza Dialect.

ju'male tiş ke sà

north of wind and sun

ju'male tiş ke sà 'gute 'cagate cal u'manibim, mi
north-of wind and sun this thing-on dispute they-had-had us
mēṭalīksum mēn 'ṣatilo bān. 'ite 'waxtulo
us-both-from who power-ful are this time-in

'garurum khōṭen nujōl hīn mu'saphirēn

warm coat having-put on a traveller

tēlum dus, dīmi. 'Iṣe ōltike ūimo

there-from coming-out arrived these both-of their-own

'caga 'ḡle dūāsīmi ke 'āmine 'khīne mu'saphirē

matter there remained that who this-of traveller-

khōṭ dē gus, 'mīke inē barēr ṣeṣen.

of-coat made put off if his talk-to (they) shall come

torumanēr tiş ho buṭ mānīmi. bērumēn tiş
this-much-for wind still great became so-much-the wind

zōreka mānī'mīke 'ine mu'sāphirē 'ise khōṭ

force-with became-though this-traveller this coat

jārumsum 'kōli 'ṣei 'dīmaṣume n'īmi. 'muṣaṭēr

before-than-than even behind folding went end at-towards

'ite 'tişē imo zōr 'phaṭetīmi. torumanēr sà

this wind its-own force leave-did this-much-for sun

buṭ zòr 'nɛtən dʊsɪmi. tɔrumanər mʊ'saphɪrɛ ɪmo
 great force doing came out this-much-for traveller his-own
 khòṭ hʊ'malkʊm dɪʊsɪmi tɔrumanər 'ɪtɛ 'tɪʃɛ 'sɛnɪmi kɛ
 coat immediately put off this-much-for this wind said that
 'gʊsɛ sà jàɛʊm buṭ 'ʃatɪlo bì 'sɛnɪmi.
 this sun I-than more power-ful is said.

Nagarī dialect.

ʃʊ'malɛ tɪʃ kɛ sà
 north-of wind and sun
 ʃʊ'malɛ tɪʃ kɛ sà 'khutɛ 'cagatɛ cɔb
 north-of wind and sun this thing-on dispute
 ʊ'manɪ bɪʊm, mɪ mɛltɛɪkɛʊm mɛnən
 they had had us us-both-from who
 'ʃatɪlo blɪ. 'ɛtɛ 'wɔqtʊlu 'garurʊm kòtən
 power ful is this time-in warm coat
 nɪjòl hɪn mʊ'saphɪrɛn 'tɛɪlʊm dʊs dɪmi.
 having-put-on a traveller there-from coming-out arrived
 ʊɛ ðʊtɛɪkɛ ʊɪmo 'caga ɛɭɛ dʊʊsɪmi
 these both-of their-own matter there remained
 kɛ 'ʌmɪnɛ 'khɪnɛ mʊ'saphɪrɛ kòṭ dɛ'gʊsɪ'mɪ kɛ
 that who this traveller-of coat made-put-off-if
 ɪ nɛ bʌrər ʒɔʊən. 'tʌʊrumanər tɪʃ ho buṭ mʌnɪmi.
 his talk.to (they) shall come this-much-for wind still great became.
 blʌrʊmən tɪʃ zɪrɛpʌtɛ mʌnɪ'mɪkɛ. 'ɪnɛ mʊ'saphɪrɛ
 so-much-the wind force-with became -though this traveller
 'ɛsɛ kòṭ jʌrʊmɛʊm 'kʊlu 'ɪɛɪ 'dɪma ʃʊmɛ 'nɪmi. 'mʊ.
 this coat before-than-than even behind folding went end-
 ʃatɛr 'ɛtɛ 'tɪʃɛ ɪmɔtɛ zɪrɛp 'phatɛtɪmi.
 at-towards this wind its-own-this force leave-did
 'tʌʊrʊmər 'ɛsɛ sa' buṭ zɪrɛp n'ɛtɪ dʊsɪmi.
 this-much-for this sun great force doing came out
 'tʌʊrʊmər mʊ'saphɪrɛ ɪmɔsɛ kòṭ hʊ'malkʊm
 this much for traveller his own-this coat immediately
 dɪʊsɪmi. 'tʌʊrʊmər 'ɛtɛ 'tɪʃɛ 'sɛnɪ'mɪkɛ
 put off this-much-for this wind said that
 'khʊsɛ sa jàɛʊm buṭ 'ʃatɪlo bì 'sɛnɪmi.
 this sun I-than more powerful is said

NOTES.

(i) Phonetics

Vowels.

I is very close. Burushaski sis "man" sounds almost exactly like French *six*, and in the transcription of 'ʃatɪlo "powerful" there is considerable difficulty in deciding whether it should be transcribed 'ʃatɪlo or 'ʃatɪlo. But in unstressed position the sound may properly be transcribed as I.

ɛ sounds like e in English "bed", but is closer and shorter. In the case of some speakers Buru. *dɛn* "year", *dɛl* "oil" sound like *dɪn*, *dɪl*. ɛ is also close, and sounds somewhat like French *ɛ*, though not so close. The front vowels are close, but the back vowels are comparatively open.

The final u of Nagari 'ɛtɛ 'waqtulu "at this time" is characteristic of the dialect, the corresponding final vowel in Hunza being often O. This correspondence occurs in adverbs like N. *mɪtu* "now", Hu. *mɪto*; N. *khɪltu* "to-day," Hu. *khɪlto*; N. 'hunzu "Hunza", Hu. 'hunzo. This correspondence does not occur in the genitive postposition *mo* as in *imo* "its own," *uimo* "their own".

The diphthongs *au* and *ɛi* are the striking characteristics of Nagari, the corresponding sounds in Hunza being the low-toned monophthongs *o*, and *ɛ*. Cf.

N.		Hu.
'taurumanər	"then"	tɔrumanər
aus	"my wife"	os

Hunza *bɛrumən* "so-much-the" for (Hindī *jitnā*) is a very unusual correspondent of N. *bɛrumən*: we had expected *bɔrumən*.

Similarly for *ɛi*, cf.

N.		Hu.
'tɛilum	"from there"	tɛlum
tarqɛi	"a wave"	tarəqɛ

N. is the abbreviation used for Nagari, Hu. for Hunza.

Sometimes, corresponding to the Nagari **ei** or **ie**, there occurs a Schwundstufe **i** in Hunza, which is pre-eminently a dialect of contractions, and manifests a later Vowel-system. Cf.

N.		Hu.
òltəike	"both"	òltike
'niə̃s	"having seen"	nĩə̃n

Sandhi is a common occurrence among these dialects. We have here internal Sandhi in

'cagə̃tə "on the thing" = **'cagə̃ + ʌtə** (post-position for "on")

ə̃'setə̃ (N.) "on this" = **'ə̃sə̃ + ʌtə̃**

ò·ruṭubam "had placed" = **ò· + hu'ruṭu'bam**.

External Sandhi occurs in

N. **imote** "its this" (neuter) = **imo + 'ə̃tə̃**
its own this

imose "its this" (active-animate) = **imo + 'ə̃sə̃**

Tones.

The high-falling tone and the low-rising tone, like those which occur in **Pañjābī**, are a very common phenomenon in Burushaskī. Thus Buru. **sà** "sun" sounds exactly like Panj. **sà** "breath". Similarly Hu. **khòt** N. **kòt** "coat," **bàì** "is" **dīmi** "arrived" have the high-falling tone.

The low-rising tone occurs in **dys** "coming out" **mānmi** "became," **tə̃rumanər** (Hu.) "then." Particularly striking is the low-rising tone after voiced consonants. These voiced consonants maintain the voice before this tone, so that with the tone these consonants sound somewhat like **bh**, **gh** and **dh**. But the first elements **b**, **g** and **d** are so distinctly apart from the succeeding tone, that it would be a mistake to transcribe them as voiced aspirated consonants. This is confirmed by the **Burushaskī** pronunciation of **Hindustānī** or **Panjābī** words. Thus these speakers can pronounce neither Hin. **bh**, **dh**, nor Panj. **ḃ**, **ḍ**, cf. their pronunciation in **bat** "cooked rice," **pun** "fry," **'tobi** "washerman"

'For this term, see below the discussion on gender.

These tones are, in several words, significant. Cf.

Monotone	High-falling tone
dà "again"	dà "(I) having arrived"
jàr "graze"	jàr "forward"
bàr "thing spoken"	bàr "large gorge or nullah"

In the following example the transposition of high-falling tone gives a different meaning:—

ḍḷoḍʌoḡʔtʌo "to prepare a hodge-podge
or *khicri*.

dʌoḍḷoḡʔtʌo "to stir a liquid with finger,
spoon etc."

Monotone	Low-rising tone
ḍiṛiəs (N.) "to bake"	ḍiṛiəs (N.) "to cook"

Low-rising tone	High-falling tone
ī "his son"	ī "(he) himself"
n̄ḡ "(I) pray!"	nà "(I) having gone" (N.)
b̄ḡ "really?"	b̄ē "no!"
ʌī "my son"	ʌi "my daughter"
	(in connected speech, otherwise the isolated form is ài).

These significant tones, however, are far from being universal. Buru. is not a tone-language like Chinese. The few significant tones seem to be the products of Sandhi. In many words the tones optionally occur, thus **n̄ḡtən** or **n̄ḡtən** "having done," **n̄imi** or **ʔimi** "went", **s̄ḡnimi** or **s̄ḡnimi** "said," the presence or absence of the tone depending either upon the peculiar mood of a speaker, or his personal habit.

Stress.

A peculiarity of the stress is the almost uniform intensity of syllables in a dissyllabic word, especially when both the syllables begin with a consonant. Thus in **b̄ar̄er** "to talk or conversation", **k̄oḡʔn̄**. "coat," the last syllables are not so weak. (The words

can be also broadly transcribed *baɽaɽ*, *kòɽan*.) The stress becomes particularly uniform in dissyllabic words like *dʌltʌs* "good", *hulja* "sit."

Consonants.

The presence of retroflex consonants as in but "very", *-ʌtɕ* "on" should be noted, as retroflex and dental consonants are separate phonemes. *cf.*

<i>tʌkɕ'tʌs</i>	"to crush, smash"
but <i>tʰʌkɕ'tʌs</i>	"to bind"
<i>thʌmɕ'tʌs</i>	"to make one king"
but <i>tʰhʌmɕ'tʌs</i>	"to sweep"
<i>dʌmɕ'tʌs</i>	"to magnetise by reading verses"
but <i>dʰʌmɕ'tʌs</i>	"to shake the branches of trees for bringing down fruit."

These consonants are not alveolar or merely "retracted", they are definitely retroflex, the tip of the tongue curling back and touching the region somewhere behind the teeth-ridge.

Besides the plosive retroflex consonants there also occur the palato-retroflex consonants *ʃ*, *ç* in *ʃuɕən* "they shall come." *ç* and *çz* are separate phonemes, as in

<i>'cukɕ'tʌɕ</i>	"to be quiet"
<i>'çukɕ'tʌɕ</i>	"to sew" (Hu.)
	"to eat with a pricking stick, as one does with a fork."

It should be noted, however, that *ç* and *ʃ* are affricates, and that in narrow transcription they may be symbolized as *tʃ* and *dʒ*.

The initial aspirated consonant *kh* in *Hu*, *khòt* (but *N·kòt*) "coat" is characteristic of some loan-words in Hunza with an initial plosive. *cf.*

Hu.		N.
'phulis	"Policeman"	'pulis
'phē:da	"born"	'pē:da

The retroflex *ṣ* and the palatal *ʃ* are separate phonemes, *cf.*

'təṣṣə'tʌs	"to take an oath"
but 'təʃṣə'tʌs	"to make a ceiling"
ṣəkṣə'tʌs (N.)	"to fill"
but ʃəkṣə'tʌs	"to hate"
ṣi	"eat"
but ʃi	"hearth"
'mʌṣṣə'tʌs	"to boil"
but 'mʌʃṣə'tʌs	"to rub or press"
'ṣʌṇṣə'tʌs	"to make a staircase"
but 'ʃʌṇṣə'tʌs	"to take care"
ṣu	"movement of gentle breeze" (used with the verb <i>məṇḍə</i> "to be")
ʃu	"a small piece or chip of wood carried by a stream"

The retroflex *ṣ* is also preserved in some loan words from Indo-Aryan. *cf.*

'cuṣṣə'tʌs	"to suckle." Shinā	cuṣoiki
bəṣ	"language" Sh.	baṣ
bɪṣkɪ'nʌs	(Hu. only) "to beg"	
hiṣ-məhiṣ	(Hu.) "buffalo" Sh.	māiuṣ
his-məjuṣ	(N.)	
muṣṭɪ	(N.), the handle of a plough.	

h is a strongly breathed fricative. In emphatic position this breath is so strong that *h* in the phrase *hən kə sɪs* "even a single (*hən*) man" is sometimes heard somewhat like *ṣ*.

Final *l*, as in English, is dark, *e. g.*, *cʌl* "fighting", *niðl* "wearing". Its narrow transcription would be *ɭ*.

(ii) Grammar.

Gender.

We owe the interesting discovery of a hitherto unexplored gender in Burushaski to Lt. Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, who, in his stimulating article on "A Burushaski Text from Hunza" BSOS Vol. IV part III (p. 506) uses the "non-committal label x" for this gender. I propose to call this the "active-animate" gender. It is true that this so-called "active-animate" gender includes a large number of inert and inanimate objects, and that no single principle consistently underlies the objects for which this gender is used. This language indicates a "verschmelzung" of the active inert, the vital and the sexual principles. A parallel phenomenon occurs among Algonkin and several other dialects; cf. Dr. G. Royen: "*Die nominalen Klassifikations-Systeme in den Sprachen der Erde*" (1929), pp. 239, 240, 253.

In spite of this confusion and the invisibility of a single universal principle, however, my investigations have shown that the **active-animate** principle is a prominent, if not the predominant feature of this gender. This is confirmed by the use of the "active-animate" verb even with neuter objects when they are spoken of as **doing** or producing something. Thus in both the dialects **shil** "water" is neuter, so that for "this water is good"

Hu. 'gute **shil** **ʃua** **br'la**

N. 'khote **shil** **ʃua** **dr'la**,

the neuter verb being **br'la** and **dr'la** respectively in these dialects. But when we have to say "this water **makes** him healthy", then we have

Hu. 'gute **shil** **in** **wʌrɛ** 'qɛbi
this water him healthy makes

N. 'khote **shil** **in** **wʌrɛ** 'qɛbi
this water him healthy makes

Here 'qɛbi "does" which must be used for "animals" is used in connection with a neuter subject, and the fact of its being

neuter is indicated by the retention of the neuter pronouns 'gute (Hu.) 'khute (N.) in the sentence. This indicates that when **action** is to be denoted, the activity of a neuter subject must be expressed by a verb in its "animate" form, *i.e.*, the form in which it is invariably used in connection with non-human living beings.

This is further confirmed by the following examples taken from actual original texts:—

həralt	sis	gu'chareəar	phatə'jocibi
rain	men	to go	allow does not

"the rain **does not allow** men to go." Here **həralt**, the subject is neuter, but the verb used is **ə'jocibi**.—an "active-animate" form. We had expected **əjocibi'la**, the neuter form.

'chrlə	han	bəltən	'dɪɹi	bim
water	an	apple	brought	had

"the water of the stream had **brought** an apple." The "active-animate" form **'dɪɹibim** "had brought" is again used here. We had expected **'dɪɹibi'lum**, the neuter form.

gè-tɹɛ	'mato	phar	gòtɹibi
snow-storm	brain	turning	thee-has-made

"the snow-storm has **turned** thy head." **gè-tɹɛ** "snow-storm" is neuter, but the verb for "has done a turning" is "active-animate." We had expected **gòtɹibi'la**.

Again,

'khute	dunjàte	mèn	əjaʃər u'ɹhucibi
this	world	somepeople	happiness-to-them-takes

"this world **leads** some people to happiness." Here the subject **dunjàte** "world" is neuter, but the verb **u'ɹhucibi** "leads (them)" is "active-animate." We had expected here **u'ɹhucibi'la**.

Generally speaking, if a neuter subject has a transitive verb, the verb is put in the gender used for animals, *i.e.* the "animate gender," which therefore may be called "active-animate." The

only exception that has come to my notice is the verb "to prick," e.g., *chaş je âlybîla* "the thorn pricks me." Whether *je* "me" has here a Quasi-Dative sense, is conceivable.

In the above examples we have words denoting inanimate objects which, although treated as quasi-animate in connection with transitive forms, retain the neuter pronouns, indicating that they are fundamentally neuter. But the Burushaskî treatment of the words signifying modern modes of conveyance indicates that one of the original psychological motives underlying the active-animate gender still survives in the mind of the Burushaskî speaker. For words for all modern modes of conveyance have the "active-animate" gender in its complete form, i.e. both the pronoun and the verb connected therewith have the "active-animate gender." Thus the following words have the "active-animate" gender throughout:—

'gađi "train" *moṭər* "motor" *'lari* "lorry," *'ṭaŋga* "Tonga."

The "active-animate" gender also seems to preserve some traces of pre-historic Animism. Thus not only do the words for the various kinds of spirits have the *aa.* (we shall use this abbreviation to indicate the "active-animate" gender), even the two words for "corpse" have this gender. These words are *'iltin*, *guṭəs*. Even the word for the body, *i'dim*, has the *aa.*, and seems to indicate the relics of Animism. cf. the various words relating to the world of spirits:—

<i>bəla</i>	"monster"
<i>rū</i>	"soul"
<i>phut</i>	"ghost"

The gender of the above words is *aa.* The following may be quoted from a *Nagari* story:—

izraile rūce don i'shucibi

Angel-of-death soul-to catching it-takes away. *izra'il* "Angel of death" is here "active-animate."

ʔse guʔes hart mʕi bi "this corpse rises up." Here both the pronoun **'ʔse** "this" and the verb **hartmʕibi** "rises up" are **aa**.

That there is an "elevation" of gender when an object, generally indicated by **aa**, is said to "speak," may be illustrated by the following:—

'Ine 'guʔase ke sʕibəi

"this corpse also says."

Here both the pronoun and the verb are changed. For instead of **'ʔse** (**aa**), we have **'Ine**, which is **masc.-fem.** and instead of the expected **sʕibi** we have **sʕibəi**.

On the other hand, if the verb is intransitive, and the subject neuter, the verb is neuter, *e.g.*

kɪ'tap bəlūcɪbɪ'la	(N.)	["the book is lost"]
„ bəlūcɪla	(Hu.)	
ʃɪl pɔ'pɔɔɪbɪ'la	(N.)	["water is boiling"]
„ bɔ'pɔɔɪla	(Hu.)	["water is invisible"]
ʃɪl sɪ'sɪbɪ'la	(N.)	["water is oozing"]
„ sɪ'sɪla	(Hu.)	
„ dɪ'ʔɔɔɔɪbɪ'la	(N.)	["water is getting hot"]
„ dɪ'ʔɔɔɔɪla	(Hu.)	
gʊ'jan dɔ'moqqɪɪbɪ'la	(N.)	["hair is falling"]
„ dɔ'moqqɪɪla	(Hu.)	

The above discussion, then, **indirectly** indicates that the Gender in question preserves the relics of an original active-animate principle. But as regards direct indication, there is not much. We have the consistent use of this gender only for animals, so that "animate" may be partly applied to it. That activity is also originally attached to the sense of this gender, has also been shown above. But we know that human phantasy has extended the various principles of gender to a large number of unconnected objects, so that a "Verschiebung" in the gender-system of many dialects has occurred, as Royen has pointed out in the above-mentioned work (pp. 439—443).

Coming now to our text (story of the North wind and the sun), we find therein the following three words with the "active-animate" gender:--

sà "sun"

kòt "coat" Hu. khòt

muf "end"

(1) That the sun is considered to be "active-animate" is obvious from its nature and from a parallel conception of its gender in many other primitive languages and cultures.

But the fact that **tis** "wind" is neuter, rouses our suspicion and curiosity. Is it because it did not strike these people as being constantly active? Or is it because possibly the original aa. has given place to neuter? At any rate, we have noted in the above examples that when **gè-tis** "snow-storm" "does" something, the verb concerned must be aa.

(2) **kòt** "coat" is another curiosity. All instruments and utensils, and all individual clothes, as the shirt, the scarf etc. have the aa. These things serve a purpose and **function**, like animals, for the execution of some intelligent or deliberate object in the mind of the possessor. That there is some "active" principle conceivable in instruments may be acceptable, and the "active principle" of instruments may have been extended to clothes. But all this "explanation" would be pure hypothesis, and the phenomenon as it stands at present is nothing more than a curiosity.

(3) That **muf** "end," commonly used for the skirt of a mountain, should have the aa., is a fact of which I am unable to conceive any explanation.

The "active-animate" principle, then, though prominent in this gender, is far from being predominant or universal. This label,

like the **chatri nyāya**¹ in Sanskrit, is only indicative and not expressive, but the conventional name proposed has some basis in it.

Number.

The final —n's in *hm mu'saphiræn* "a traveller" and —rk in *ðl'q̄i'æ* "both" are suffixes the occurrence of which has been noticed by previous writers on the subject. cf. Biddulph, JRS XVI, pp. 75, 76; Lorimer, BSOS, IV—3, pp. 513, 524.

As regards **n** (or **ən**), Biddulph speaks of it as being "used somewhat as an indefinite or definite article," while Lorimer calls it "the suffix of individualness." But according to my investigations, this **-n** is, primarily the suffix for specifying the singular number. This is confirmed by the fact that whenever the word for number **one** is used, the succeeding noun must end in the suffix **-n**. cf. **hm** (one) **mu'saphirən** "traveller" in our story. Similarly cf. **han** **hagurən** "one house." Secondly, however, the sense of the suffix is also extended to indicate

(a) the indefinite article. So that the above expressions, according to the context, can also mean "a traveller" a "horse" respectively. When once the **-n** has been used, it is, generally speaking, not used again. cf. the following beginning of a story:—

hin batʃan bam. 'ine ik 'qhaɲɲar

a king was his name Khanjar

batʃà di'lum. batʃà 'sənimi.

King was (the) king said

Note how the word for "king" starts with **katʃan**, but has no final **-n** when used later.

(b) "some," "in particular." cf. mənən duʃ'mənən dī

some enemy arriving

dəwà 'nəti 'ʃeci

claim making will devour (the property).

'A kind of synecdoche. If five men are going together and only one of them has an umbrella, we say "there! men with umbrella are going" (*chatrino brajanti*), although only one man has the umbrella.

"Some enemy will arrive, and laying claim to the property, will devour it."

Here the final **-n** of **mệnen** gives the signification of "some."

In our story, **mệnen** 'jatilo bai "who in particular is strong," the **-n** in **mệnen** "who" has the sense of "who-in particular."

(c) collection taken as a unity.

The word for hundreded is **thà**, but **thàn** means "a hundred." Similarly in **lto -iski thàn ru'paimus** "two or three hundred rupees" the **-n** suffixed to **thà** "hundred" indicates **one** collection of 2 or 3 hundred rupees, though the sense of "some" may also be present here.

The real origin of the suffix **-ik**, which occurs in **òltike** (Hu.) "of both" N. **òltike**, is obscure. It seems to be a plural correspondent of the suffix **-n**. Thus just as **-n** is used to specify the number **one**, **-ik** is used to specify the number **many** (cf. Lorimer's article, p. 524), e.g. **but 'sisik** "many men."

This suffix, however, is also used to indicate "some," as **təmà'kurk** "some tobacco," **nao'kərenjəkər** "for some services or posts." These two words are significant, because **-ik** would be pleonastic, if its sense be only plural, for both **təmàko** and **nao'kərenj** are already plural, and the latter word already ends in the plural termination **-əŋ**. It should therefore mean "some."

In the Hunza version of the story the use of the **bən** lit. "are" with **mện** "who" is very peculiar. The **Nagari** idiom also allows it. The question arises, when only **one** of the two was to be stronger, why is **bən** "are" used here? The explanation is that the word **mện** is always used in the plural number. It may mean "who?" or may mean "anybody (lit. somebodies)" if used affirmatively. cf. the following examples:—

Q. **khòle mện bəna bu'ruʃaʌki 'ətasər** "Is there anybody here who could speak Burushaski?" lit. "are (there) sombodies here?"

Ans. **jà khòlè mèn kàpàn** "no, there is nobody here,"
lit. "there are nobodies here."

The **-ən** in **mènən** in the **Nagari** text, then, is added to the plural **mèn** in order to convert it into singular.

Cases.

Strictly speaking, there are no cases in Burushaskī except the genitive and the agent case. All other cases, as in modern Indian languages, are formed by the addition of postpositions. Even these postpositions are not strictly used. Thus a sentence like

batjā wəzīr ɛrɪmɪ "the king sent the wazir" reminds one of a partly non-grammatical language like English.

Even the genitive does not occur in personal pronouns except the 2nd person sg. Thus **ja** means both "I" and "my," **mi** "we" and "our," **ma** "you" and "your."

ɛ is the ending both for the agent case and the genitive case. Thus in our text

'amine	'khine	mu'saphire	khòt
who	this-of	traveller-of	coat

dè'guor'mike

made to put off-if

the final **ɛ** of **'amine** indicates the agent case, the final **ɛ** of **'khine** and **mu'saphire** stands for the genitive. The **ɛ** stands for plural as well; cf. **'ɪɛ ɔltikɛ** (Hu.) "of both of these-of both-of

these," N. **'ue ɔltəike**.

'ine means both "he" and "his," but **mɛ'** in the text means "his," though sometimes it means "he himself."

Pronouns.

Both the texts contain a copious number of Demonstrative Pronouns.

	Hu,	N.
Mase,	'khine "this" "he" or "his"	'khine
	mè "his"	mè
Active animate	'guse "this"	'khuse

	'ise	"that"	'ese
pl.	'ise	"those"	('ese) ūe in
			the text is masc.
neuter.	'ite	"that"	'ete

In *imo* "its own," *uimo* "their own" we have the reflexive or intensive sense. cf.

ja "I" or "my"
but *jaimo* "my own"

The use of the Relative pronoun in Burushaskī is rare. It is confined to clauses which have a conditional or general sense.

Thus in our text *'amine khine mu'saphire khòt dè'gusi'mike*

who this-of traveller-of coat made to put off it
the Relative pronoun *'amine* "who" is used in a conditional clause. Otherwise the Relative is either entirely omitted or its place is taken by another Demonstrative pronoun. cf.

'uq akatum ue 'senumen

they me-with they said

i.e., "they, who were with me, said."

Here the Demonstrative pronoun is repeated twice, but the relative is entirely omitted. This is the normal Buru. idiom for the Relative pronoun.

Another example:—

'ete n'kirmen u'chicuban ete dıfer nımen

that having-written them (they) give that place-to (we) went

"we went to that place where they write (i.e. we went to the booking-office).

Adjectives.

In *'garurum* "warm," *um* is the common Buru. suffix for the Adjective. *'jatilo* "powerful" is an unusual form, and seems to be a loan-word from *Shinā*, which has *shatilu* "strong," *shāt* "strength," apparently an Indo-Aryan word.

The sense of "all-the" with a numeral following, corresponding to Hindī numerals ending in *ō*, as *'donō* "both"

tĩnō "all the three" **cārō** "all-the four" is expressed by a repetition of the pronoun, using the second pronoun as a pronominal prefix before the numeral. cf.

N.	Hu.
mĩ mēltəik	mĩ mēltəlĩk
"both of us"	Hin. ham donō
ma māl̥təik	(both of you)
ʷe òltəik	"both of them"
mĩ miski	"all the three of us" (tĩnō)
mi miwalto	"all the four of us" (cārō)

The Verb.

The Verb Substantive is formed of two roots. The present and the past are formed from some unknown root ***bə**, as in **b̥li** "is" of the text. The future is formed from the root **mənàs** "to be, become or have."

Hu. **ʷmanibim** "had had"

N. **ʷmanibium**

This form is past perfect of the prefixal Intransitive verb **mənàs**. Hu.-bim, N.-bium are aa. plural. In the pluperfect both the roots have to be used, **mənàs** (here **ʷmənàs**) as the main root, and ***bə** as the auxiliary.

ʷphatət̥as "to give up" in **ʷphatət̥imi** is a typical verb, as an enormous number of Buru. verbs is formed by the addition of **ʷt̥as** "to do" (and if the verb is intransitive, **mənàs**) to a word. This idiom occurs in **Shinā** as well, cf. **phăt thōki** "to give up."

The following are past indefinite forms:—

d̥əgusimi "made him put off"

d̥imi "arrived"

d̥ʷasimi "remained"

m̥animi "became"

ʷnimi "went"

d̥əgusimi is from **d̥əgus̥as** "to make one put off"—a causative from **d̥r̥uses** "to put off." cf.

kòt diùs "having put off the coat"

kòt dè'gus "having made him put off the coat."

This causative form is unusual, for the causative is normally formed only by strengthening the quality and the tone of the first vowel in a verb. cf.

'dʃinas "to open"

but **dè'ʃinas** "to make one open"

dəjəlas "to hear"

but **dè'jəlas** "to make one hear"

The appearance of **g** in **dè'gus** is unusual. There seems to exist a parallel in Hu. **dè'skarcəs** "to rain or pour down (trans.)" formed causitively from **drərəs** "to rain."

dʒimi "arrived" seems to be another irregular form. It is past indefinite tense of **ʃuəs** "to come" or to "arrive." Generally the past indefinite tense preserves the root in its original form, so that we had expected **ʃūmi**. But, what is more probable, it is the infinitive which has been irregularly formed, the root being intact in **dʒimi**.

duəsimi is the past indef. tense of the **neuter** verb **duəsəs** "to remain, abide, to be fixed up," the non-neuter parallel form being **'drwəsʌs**, cf.

'caga duə ʃibɪ'la (N) "the thing remains"

„ **duəʃila** (Hu.)

but **'hagur 'drwəʃibi** "the horse remains" the gender being aa.)

This difference between neuter and non-neuter verbs is fundamental in Buru. cf.

Neuter

ganəs "to carry"

ʃejəs "to eat"

Non-neuter

janəs

ʃies

mʌnɪmi "became" is the **neuter** form of **mənəs** "to be;" the non-neuter form would have been **ɪ'mʌnɪmi**,

Present Participle.

'dimaʃume "folding" is present participle of 'dimæʃəs "to fold." ʃ is the regular alternation (in the present and future forms) for the *ʃ* of a root. cf.

dɪʃəs	"to bring"	pres. part.	'dɪʃume
gɪrʃəs	"to run"	" "	gɪrʃume
'dɪphɪrʃəs	"to uproot"	" "	'dɪphɪrʃume

Otherwise *c* is the usual consonant occurring in the present and future forms. cf.

ɛtəs	"to do"	pres. part.	'ɛcume
ʃhujəs	"to carry"	" "	'ʃhucume

Conjunctive Participle.

The Conjunctive Participle *nɛtən* "having done" occurring in Hu. but *nɛti* in N. indicates a point of distinction between these dialects. In Hu. verbs ending in plosives or in vowels form their conjunctive participle by adding a final *-ən* to a plosive and *-n* to a vowel, but no such ending occurs in N. cf.

Hu.		N.
nɛtən	"having done"	'nɛti
nɪn	"having gone"	nɪ
nu'ʃən	"having eaten"	nu'ʃe

But cf. *dʊs* "coming out" occurring in the text. Here no *-ən* is added, though even this form is optional in Hu., the other from being *dʊsm*.

The conj. part. *nuʃəl* "having put on" occurring in Hu. is very peculiar. It was expected to be *nɪʃəl*, because there is a general rule that all non-neuter verbs governing a singular object get the prefix *nɪ-*, when governing a plural object they get the prefix *nu-*. Now the object *khətən* "coat" being singular, the non-neuter verb *ʃələs* "to wear" (as distinguished from the neuter verb *bələs* "to wear") required the prefix *nɪ-* (or *ni-*). This can be illustrated from the following regular forms:—

Hu.		N.
'nɪsɪn	"Having eaten one (loaf)"	'nɪsi
'nɪsɪn	"Having eaten more than one (loaves)"	'nɪsu

So N. *nijəl* "having put on" is quite regular. Why, then, do we have *nɪjəl* in Hu., though the object is singular? The explanation seems to be phonetic. In Hu. the change follows Vowel Harmony. If a verbal stem has the back vowel O, the conjunctive participle should have the prefix *nu-*, even if the object is singular. Here is another example:—*jərəs* is a non-neuter verb. It means "to remove the barrier of a canal."

N. forms are *nɪjər* (sg. obj.)
nɪjər (pl. obj.),

but Hu. has *nɪjər* only, both for sg. and pl. objects.

Postpositions.

-*ɬɛ* is primarily a locative suffix, meaning "on", related to *jaɬɪs* "head", as *haguraɬɛ* "on the head". It is also used as an instrumental, as in *ʃhuraɬɛ* "with a knife.". So in the texts we have *ʃagaɬɛ* = *ʃaga*+*ɬɛ* "on the thing".

-*kə*, occurring *zərəka* "with force" in the Hunza version, is an associative (not instrumental, which is -*ɬɛ*) suffix. cf. *jakə* "with me." In N. -*kəɬɛ* is also used in the same sense.

-*ulo* (Hu.) N. -*ulu* is a locative (or properly speaking "Illative" or "Inessive") suffix, with the sense of "in" or "within". Thus *waxtulo* "in the time".

-*um*, -*sum*, -*ɬum*.

These postpositions have, generally speaking, the ablative sense.

In *ɟərumsum* "than before" of the Text we have two pleonastic ablative suffixes, for *ɟər* means "before", *um* = from or than, -*sum* is also used in the sense of "than", as *ɟəsum* "than I".

Adverbs.

Many adverbs are formed from postpositions. Thus

muɟɬər = *muɟ*+*ɬɛ*+*ər* "at length".

end on towards

Here **-Δτε** is the locative, and **ər** the dative postposition.

zλrəpΔτε (N.) = **zλrəp+Δτε** "forcibly."

force with

jλruməm has been already explained above.

N. **'tə lum** } "from there"
Hu. **tə lum** }

or **tərumənər** } N. } = **tərum + ən + ər**
tərumər } this much (the) for
tərumənər Hu. } "consequently, thus, then."

Adjectives are also used as adverbs, as **hu'malkum** "immediately." The word literally means "light", being opposed to **əhūm** "heavy." In the sense of "immediately" the word has a more intensive use than **tələj** and **əhor**, which mean "quickly."

buṭ "much, very"

ho "again, still"

'kuli (N. **'kulu**) "even"

'ici "behind."

Conjunctions.

ke "and" occurs in **tis ke sà**.

wind and sun

ke "if" or "though". In this sense it is put at the end of a subjunctive or optative mood, *c/*.

dīake "if I arrive"

mā'nisake "if I become"

mānī'mike "though it became"

ke "that"—to introduce a subordinate clause, as it occurs in Hindustānī. **'caga ēle duāsimike** "the matter there resulted that"—

(iii) Stylistics.

Synthetic phraseology.

cal u'manibm (Hu.)

cal u'manibrium (N.) "they were disputing."

This is a typical phrase in the language. Burushaskī has a large number of nouns or adjectives (?) which can never be

used alone. They must be used with the verb *mənəs* "to be" or *ətes* "to do". *λr* "afraid" or fear (?) is one of them. *təs* "oath" or swearing (?) is another. In fact such words are so indissolubly combined with the verb that, as in the Eskimo language, it is very difficult to know the real meaning of these individual words. *cal* "disputing" "dispute" or "quarrelsome" (?) is another word, which can never be used alone. Thus for "I saw a great fight in a place" we have

<i>ja</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>difənulu</i>	<i>buʔ</i>	<i>cal</i>	<i>umənəs</i>	<i>jəəm</i>
I	a	place-in	great	fight(?)	they having(?)	saw

But the use of the verb *'umənəs* in this synthetic expression is also obscure. The common meaning of the verb is "to be" or "to become" *cf.*

<i>mi</i>	<i>heirən</i>	<i>mimλnumən</i>
we	surprised	we-became

"We were surprised". The adjective *heirən* clearly shows that *'mimənəs* here is an intransitive verb, meaning "to be" or "to become". But here is a curious phrase:—

<i>calən</i>	<i>nu'kumən</i>	<i>'juccuməŋ</i>
quarrel-a	having-had	come-have you?

"have you come after having some quarrel?"

Here the *-ən* in *calən* indicates that it is a noun in the objective case to the conj. participle *nu'kumən*, from *'gumənəs* "to be or become" (2nd pers. sg.). Now is there any other language in which the Verb Substantive can be used transitively? I do not know of any. That it can be used transitively in Buru. is further confirmed by the following examples:—

<i>qha'bar</i>	<i>umλnumən</i>
information	they had

"they got the information".

<i>buʔ</i>	<i>mu'jaqqət</i>	<i>mimλnumən</i>
great	trouble	we had

Or does this synthetic idiom. convert the nouns into adjectives, the so-called "transitive" use being really *reflexive*, especially because the pronominal prefix is used with this verb? Perhaps some of our readers will throw light on this point.

Enumerative idiom.

We have examples of "Enumerative idiom" in

dys dīmi

coming out arrived, i.e. "turned up".

and **'dimaʃume 'nīmi**,

folding went, i.e. "went on folding."

This idiom occasionally occurs in Indo Aryan, and seems to be growing; but its use in Buru is enormous. This tendency is a part of the "**Muṇḍā**" style of detailed expression—e.g. the use of different verbs to signify "open"—so much current in **Burushaski**. The traveller is not simply spoken of as "arrived," but "coming out, arrived", for in such languages, as Havers explains it, in arriving from the town, the first step is "coming out" and then "arriving". This way of expression has been named "Enumerative Redewaise", an action being split up into a number of detailed actions.

"Personal" Phraseology.

In **barər ʃuʃən** "they will come to talk" i. e. "he will be considered as being more powerful" we have an example of the aversion of Buru. to Impersonal and passive idiom.

bar means "anything talked about" **Hiṇ bāt**; "they will come to talk" means that "he will be talked about by the people (as being more powerful)", "he will become distinguished." The rarity of the Passive in actual idiom is confirmed by the following examples:—

'gute	hahin	bə	'waxtulo	doī	ban
this	house-door	what	time-at,	they	open

'Indogermanische Forschungen, Vol. 45, P. 229 ff.

"Man darf nicht sagen 'ich komme aus der Stadt,' denn ich bin erst aus der Stadt herausgegangen und dann angekommen, sondern man muss sagen, 'ich gehe aus der Stadt, komme an' (P. 232.)

"When is the door of this house opened?"

'uŋe giki 'ɛtake 'gusi dɥimən
 thou theft do-if thee-behind (they) shall catch

"If you commit theft, you shall be arrested",

The existence of the Passive voice in Buru. cannot be denied. The L. S. I. list of words and phrases in the language contains a form of passive, the existence of which has been confirmed by my informants. These L. S. I. passive forms, as phonetically corrected, stand as follows:—

je ə'dɛlao amənəm "I am beaten"

I I-to beat became (lit. "I have become to beat")

jeə'dɛlao amənəbɔjəm "I was beaten"

je ə'dɛlao aməjam "I shall be beaten"

But the copious bulk of my texts in both the dialects does not give even a single actual occurrence of the Passive.

This fact brings to light the limitations of mere lists and catalogues, and the importance of Stylistics from *actual* texts.

Direct Narration.

The form of direct narration peculiar to Buru. consists in the *repetition* of the reporting verb at the end. The last sentence of our text illustrates it:—

'tise 'sɛnɪmi ke 'guse sɔ jɔsum buɛ 'ʃatɪlo bɪ 'sɛnɪmi.
 wind said that this sun I—than more powerful is said

Here s'ɛnɪmi "said" occurs twice, once in the beginning and then at the end, corresponding to the opening and closing of quotation-marks. The actual occurrence of this device in a non-literary language is interesting. Here is another example:—

ja sɛnəm ke da 'qħanne je bɛɔ 'nɪcaba sɛnəm
 I said that then downwards I why going am said

I said, "then why am I going down-wards?"—*seŋem* "said" being repeated twice.

(iv) Vocabulary.

An alphabetical list of words occurring in both the versions of the story is given below. All these words, unless 'specifically noted by the abbreviations Hu. (Hunza), or N. (Nagari), are common to both the dialects.

n. stands for "neuter," aa. for "active-animate", Hin. for **Hindī**, Sh. for **Shinā**.

There has been considerable difficulty in finding a Buru. word for the "north". It seems that the language has no word of its own for this perspective. Biddulph gives **shimāt**, and so some of my informants said **Ju'mol**, but this is evidently not **Burushaskī**. Some informants proposed **kaŋ'jut**, but even they wavered, as the other informants said that the word was used in Yārkaṇḍ for the people of the Pāmirs, including those of Hunza-Nagar.

—**Atē**, postposition in '**caŋate** "on this thing", on.

bāi, Pres. tense from an unknown root ***bē**, is.

bar, n., anything talked about Hin. **bāt**

barerjučan, "they will come to talk" i.e., he will be talked about.

baḍrumən (N.)
bērumən (Hu.) }, adv. of quantity, so much, Hin. **jitnā**.

buṭ, adj. or adv., much, very.

'caga, n., matter. Sh. **'caga** "story."

cal **'mēnas**, compound inf., to fight, dispute.

dēgusimi, causative past indef. tense of **dēgusēs** (from **diusēs**), made (him) put off.

'dīfume, pres. part. of **dīmēgaḥ**, "folding".

dīusimi, past indef. tense of **diusēs**, "put off."

dīmi, past indef. tense of **ḡūēs**, came, arrived.

duāsimi, past indef. tense of **duāsēs**, remained, was fixed.

- dus**, conj. participle of **dusəs**, coming out.
əse (N.), Pron. aa. that, this (distant).
əte (N.), Pron. aa. that, this (near).
'guse (Hu.), Pron. aa., this (near).
'gute (Hu.) Pron. n., this (near.)
hın, numeral masc., one.
ho, adv., again, still.
hu'malkum, adv., immediately.
'ise (Hu.), Pron. aa. pl. of **'isə**, those, these (distant).
'içi, adv., behind.
mè, Pron. masc., bis.
'ise (Hu.), Pron. aa., that, this (distant).
'ite (Hu.) Pron. n., that, this (distant).
imo, Pronominal adjective, its own.
ilrumcum, adv., than before.
-kà, post-position, associative (in **zòrekà**) with.
ke, conjunction (1) and (1) if, though (3) that.
kòtən (N.)
khòtən (Hu.) } , aa., coat, cloak.
'kuli (Hu.)
'kulu (N.) } , adv., even.
'khıne, Pron. masc. of this.
khòtən (Hu.), aa., coat, cloak.
'khuse (N.), aa. this (near).
'khute (N.), n., this (near).
mənımi, past indef. tense of **mənàs**, became.
mən, Pron. pl., who (indeterminate).
mənən, Pron. sg., who (in particular).
mıməltəik (N.)
mıməltalık (Hu.) } , adj., both of us.
mu'saphırən, masc. a traveller.
muş, aa., end.
'muşatər
 or **muşatər** } , adv., at length.
nètən (Hu.)
nəti (N.) } , conj. part. of **ətəs**, having done.

'nīmi, past indef tense of **nīas**, went.

ōltēike (N.) }
ōltike (Hu.) } , adj., both of them.

'phatē'tas, compound inf., to give up.

sā, aa., sun.

'jatilo, adj., powerful, strong.

'taurumər (N.) }
'taurumanər (N.) } , adv., then, consequently.
tōrumānər (Hu.) }

'tēilum (N.) }
tēlum (Hu.) } , adv., from there.

tīs, n., wind.

tōrumānər (Hu.), adv., then, consequently.

—ulo (Hu.) }
—ulu (N.) } , postposition, in, at. [in 'wāqtulo
(Hu.) wāxtulu (N.) at this time].

u'manībim (Hu.) }
u'manībium (N.) } . Pluperfect of 'umēnas, had.

u'imo, Pronominal adj., their own.

wāqt (N.) }
wāxt (Hu.) } , n., time.

zārēp (N.), n., force.

SIDDHESHWAR Varma.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1930-31,
i.e. for the year from the 1st December, 1930 to the 30th November, 1931.

Income.		Expenditure.	
	Rs. A. P.		Rs. A. P.
Opening balance	— 311 12 6	1. Cost of printing, paper and binding of the 1st Number of the Indian Linguistics	214 8 0
Income from subscriptions and donations	— 255 14 0	2. Postage expenses	82 4 6
		3. Remuneration paid to clerks for typing the articles of the Grierson Commemoration Volume and doing other clerical work	30 0 0
		4. Stationery	2 0 0
		5. Printing of forms of the Society	6 13 0
		6. Miscellaneous petty expenses	3 7 0
Total income	— 567 10 6	Total expenditure	339 0 6
Less expenditure	— 339 0 6		
Balance in hand at the end of the year 1930-31 <i>i.e.</i> , on the 1st of December 1931	— 228 10 0		

DUNI CHANDRA, Hon. Secretary,
Linguistic Society of India, LAHORE.

GRIERSON COMMEMORATION VOLUME



Sir George Abraham Grierson.

COMMEMORATIVE ESSAYS

PRESENTED TO

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THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, LAHORE.

1933.

THIS VOLUME OF ESSAYS, THE WORK OF FRIENDS AND
ADMIRERS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES,
IS PRESENTED IN GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION TO

Sir George Abraham Grierson

UPON THE COMPLETION OF THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA
AND UPON HIS GETTING O. M. IN RECOGNITION THEREOF

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THE GROUPING OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS

By A. Berriedale Keith

Holger Pedersen in a very interesting paper¹ has adduced evidence to show that Italo-Celtic, Tocharian, Phrygian, and Hittite constituted at a remote period a continuous group of dialects of Indo-European, and that later these branches were violently separated, the former to dominate Europe, the latter to disappear ultimately in the sea of the nations of Asia. This thesis, which naturally is only one of the many reconstructions of the history of Indo-European suggested by the discovery of Tocharian and Hittite, deserves careful consideration.

The close connection of Italian and Celtic is proved specifically in the author's opinion by the possession by both of the passive and deponent in *-r* and the genitive singular of *-o-* stems in *-ī*. These characteristics may be found also, it has been suggested by Sommer², in the speech of the Veneti, and the genitive in *-ī* is probably to be recognised in the Lepontine inscriptions which may present the speech of a Ligurian tribe. But elsewhere *-ī* is very doubtful; in Albanian forms such as *guri* may stand for *gurōi*, and be originally dative, not genitive. Nor is the significance of the use of *-ī* destroyed even by the acceptance of the ingenious suggestion of Wackernagel³ that there is to be found the same *-ī* in the Sanskrit, *vasī-karoti*, an idiom which is clearly closely akin to the Latin *dicionis facere*. This parallelism may be explained in either of two ways; it may be assumed that the original Indo-European genitive of *-o-* stems ended in *-ī*, and that by the influence of the pronominal form it came to be altered, so

(1) *Le groupement des dialectes indo-européens* (1925).

(2) *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XLII. 90-132.

(3) *Mélanges Saussure* (1908), pp. 125ff. The idiom is hardly known in the *Rgveda*, but may be old.

that an original *ekwi passed into *ekwosyo through *tosyo *ekwi. Or it may be held that the -i form was originally confined to adverbial uses, which are preserved in Indo-Iranian, but was extended widely in Italo-Celtic. Thus it is possible that from a phrase such as *populum regni sui facere*, "to reduce a people under his sway", there might arise a *populus regni mei*, "a people under my sway", whence the genitive force of -i might spread. Whether either of these views is correct, the fact remains that the general use of -i in Italo-Celtic serves to prove a distinctive connection between these speeches, comparable with that between Indian and Iranian or the Baltic and the Slav speeches.

That Tocharian is specially related to Italo-Celtic is suggested by the appearance in it of deponents and passives in -r. But it is clearly necessary to adduce much further evidence than this one point of similarity, and the question is whether it is possible to attach much weight to the proofs so far adduced.

1. We find in Tocharian the roots *šam-*, "be seated", *lyam-*, "lie down", and *stam-*, "stand". The last mentioned is clearly an enlarged form of the common root *sta-* which is actually found in Tocharian. There is also found beside the form *šam-* the unenlarged form. Probably too we have both unenlarged and enlarged forms of the I. E. root denoting "to live" seen in Greek *zēn*, and Old Slav *žiti*, for we find *šayemo*, "we live", on the one hand, and *šam-tsi*, "to live" on the other. The latter form may be compared with the Lithuanian *gemti*, Infinitive *gimti*, "enter into life". In Latin, it is pointed out, as in Tocharian the alternation was living, a fact which is significant of a close connection. The evidence, however, for this view seems wholly

(1) It is true that -i is not found in Britannic or Oscan-Umbrian but there is no real doubt of its Italo-Celtic character; cf. Meillet, *Langue latine*, pp. 28ff. Hirt holds -i to be a suffix denoting appurtenance; *Indogermanische Grammatik*, III. 47.

(2) More probable is connection with I. E. *g^{em}-; so Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, IV. 324.

inadequate; it consists of a comparison of **premo**, the Perfect **pressi**; and the Slav root **per-** seen in Russian **peré-ti**, "to press". But we have in Sanskrit side by side the roots **gam-** (e.g. **agamat**), and **gā-**, and **dram-** and **drā-**, and there seems no reason whatever to see any special relation between Tocharian and Italic, while it is not even claimed that Celtic shows this phenomenon.

2. It is pointed out that in Celtic the name **Vocorii** is probably to be understood as containing in its first member the word for "two", as in **Tricorii** and **Petrucorii** we have numerals as the first part of the compounds. With this is compared the fact that in Tocharian "two" is represented by **wī** or **we**, whereas save in the compound for "twenty" I. E. uses **dw-** or **duw-**. But this is inconclusive in the extreme. Admittedly the Tocharian form may merely be a development of the normal **dwo-** or **dwi-** of Indo-European, and, apart from this view, the form without **d** may be seen as suggested by Hirt² in Sanskrit **vayām**, Gothic **weis**, and Lithuanian **vedu**, and not impossibly it is to be traced in the **ō-u** duals, if these stand for **-owe**.

(3) In Tocharian we have a word for "woman" in the forms **klā** or **k^wle**. With this may be compared the Irish **caile**, on the assumption that the original I. E. form may be put down as something like ***k^wilos**. But in fact not merely is the resemblance insufficient, but apparently the Tocharian forms point to a feminine in **-yā** or **-yē** in Indo-European, as was to be expected from the sense of **kle**.

(4) Again Tocharian has a remarkable comitative suffix **śśele**, and it has also **śle-** as a prefix with a similar sense. Comparison with the Irish **céle**, "companion" is suggested. The suggestion, however, is clearly implausible, for it fails in any way to explain the double **śś** in the suffix. That the prefix has but one **ś** is much more easily explained by the theory of the dropping of an initial letter than is the presence of a double letter in the suffix.

(1) Greek has **trémō** and **étressa**, **didrāskō** and **drameîn**.

(2) Indogermanische Grammatik, III. 22.

Moreover it is not at all clear that the suffix was originally **ssole**, or not rather **assole**. In any case, however, it is impossible to ignore the fact that in Mitanni¹ we have the form **Mitraššil**. No doubt there is a long interval in space between Tocharian and Mitanni, and thus the comparison would be invalid if we could prove that the Tocharian comitative was an innovation in Tocharian A of a late date. But unfortunately we cannot establish anything of the kind, and the similarity of form and use strongly supports the view that in this comitative suffix we have a borrowing from some non Indo-European language. In any case the parallel with **cöle** is far too remote.

(5) The Tocharian **walo**, **wlo** "king" doubtless has a parallel in the Old Irish **flaith**, "Kingdom", and kindred terms, but admittedly the root exists also elsewhere, and it is impossible to attach weight to the suggestion that **krente**, "good", is really a participle in **-nt-** transferred to the **-o-** declension, and comparable with the Irish **care**, "friend", which has a participle form. The case of the **-p-** suffix form **kektséne**, "body", illustrates well how little exclusive coincidence we find between Tocharian and Italo-Celtic. Accepting the view that **-tsen-** goes back to a suffix **-tyen-**, and that we are to compare Irish **cucht**, "external appearance", we are faced by the fact that the Irish word presupposes a quite different suffix **-tu-**, and that it accords exactly with the Norse **hätt-r**, "appearance, manner", where the suffix again is **-tu-**. The **-tyen-** suffix is doubtless, if it is admitted to exist in Tocharian, on the theory that in **kektséne** and in **klautso** the **-ts** represents **-ty-**, parallel to the suffix seen in Latin **mentio**, Irish **toimtiu**, "opinion", etc.; but the occurrence of the same suffix in Armenian deprives the fact of importance. A further suggestion of a remarkable correspondence of suffix is based on the form **wašamo**, "companion", this is held to be from a stem in **-u-**, as also is **ašamo**, "learned man". The suffix in these cases, it is suggested, must have begun with a palatal letter to explain

(1) E. Lewy, KZ. XLV. 365.

the **ś** and the **ś** respectively, and is probably to be compared with the suffix **-iyamon-** of the Irish **brithem**, "judge". It must, however, be remembered that it would be equally satisfactory to take the first part of the suffix as **-e-** and to compare the Greek **kēdemōn**, and so on, thus destroying the parallel entirely. Moreover it is significant that of the two words neither has a parallel formation in Italo-Celtic, and only **wašamo** from **vas-**, "dwell", has cognates in Celtic alone, not Italic. Contrast the fact that Sanskrit has the root **iś-**, "rule", Gothic **aih**, to set beside **aišamo**, and also the root **vas-**. What is wanted for purposes of proving close connection is not mere possession of the same roots, but of the roots used in the same formations and these of a rare character, a phenomenon absolutely lacking in the cases adduced. It must be added that it cannot be taken as absolutely certain that in **klautso** or **wašamo** we are really dealing with **-n-** stems.

(6) This point becomes of importance when we consider the suggestion that Tocharian **witsako**, "root", ought to be regarded as having the suffix which is seen in the Latin **plantago**, **ferulago** etc. The fact is that the word **witsako** is not declined like a stem in **-n-**, for it gives **witsak'ai**, and there is no reason whatever to assume that there is a confusion of **-n-** stems and feminines in **-ā-**. It is, therefore, unimportant that Gaulish knew the same suffix as Latin, nor, it may be added, does it seem possible to hold that there is connection with the Greek word for "root". Still less is it acceptable to treat **palsko**, "thought", as an **-ago-** stem. It is worth noting that here again there is no adduction of any Italo-Celtic parallel for the root, which instead is compared with Sanskrit **nibhālayati**, "he observes", and Old High German **bilidi**, "image".

(7) The greatest stress is laid on the identity in Tocharian, and Italo-Celtic of the word for silver, Tocharian **ārkyante** Italian **argentum**, Old Irish **argat**. But after all we must assign to the same root ***areg** the Sanskrit **rajatā** and the Greek **argyros**

as well as the Armenian *arcath*, and the Avestan *ərəzata*, and it is impossible to lay any stress on the argument; we may as well look to Avestan and Armenian as to Italo-Celtic for the parallel¹. Similarly nothing can be made out of the possession by Tocharian of a parallel for Latin *aurum*, which is not shared by Celtic, for Lithuanian and Old Prussian have *auksas* and *ausis*. What is clear is that Tocharian shows constantly points of contact with one or another Indo-European speech, but without any clearly marked affinity to one special group. Thus, if we accept Pedersen's own views, we have an amazing parallel to Greek *ethélō* in *yśelme* "desire", the *y* corresponding on this theory with the Greek *e*², and again in *aitsi* "to give", we have a parallel of the Greek *aísa*,³ which has an Oscan cognate in *aiteis*, genitive, meaning "part", the semantic development being comparable to that between the Greek *époron*, "I gave" and *he peprōméne*, "fate". There are many other parallels which have been adduced by other writers to support Italo-Celtic affinities for Tocharian; but it is needless to go into them, for they are neither more nor less cogent than the instances already discussed. Quite as remarkable as anything else is the fact that in Tocharian *soye* we have a parallel to the distinctive Greek word for son, and there are other points in which we can find a remarkable similarity between Tocharian and Greek. So again it has been suggested by Hermann⁴ that there is a certain affinity between Tocharian and Phrygian which he regards as a *centum* speech. It is not necessary to accept the latter suggestion, which runs counter to the view, based on the testimony of Herodotus and Eudoxos, which holds that the Armenians were an offshoot of the Phrygians. Armenian is unquestionably a *satem* speech, and

(1) Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, I. 82.

(2) For this prefix see Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, II. 166.

(3) Cf. Hirt, *op. cit.* II. 182.

(4) KZ. L. 302ff.

though there is a lack of absolutely conclusive evidence, there is a good deal to suggest that Phrygian was really a *satem* speech. Pokorny¹ again has suggested that there is much in Tocharian akin to Armenian, and the evidence for his thesis is quite as good as that for affinity with Italo-Celtic. The truth is that in no case have we such a number of striking identities in formation and vocabulary that it is possible to postulate any close affinity.

There remains, therefore, as the ground for asserting a special connection of Italo-Celtic, Tocharian and Phrygian nothing more substantial than the middle and passive forms in *-r*. Armenian forms in *-r* might also be adduced to extend the number of connected speeches, but Pedersen, despite Meillet's arguments, does not himself believe that the Armenian forms *bera-r*, "you have been carried", and *bere-r*, "he carried", or "he was carried" have anything historically to do with the *-r* forms of the other languages. The matter is further complicated by the evidence of Hittite². That strange speech seems to add *-er* or *-ir* to form preterite third plurals; thus *kuenzi*, "he kills", *kuenta*, "he killed", and *kuenn'r*, "they killed", *dai*, "he takes", *daš*, "he took", and *dair*, "they took". On the other hand *-ri* is added to terminations of medio-passive forms, without alteration of the meaning and only facultatively, so far as can be judged; thus we have the third persons present *kiš-a* or *kiš-ari*, *iya-tta* or *iya-ttari*; third plural *iya-nta* or *iya-ntari*. In the Imperative we have corresponding forms in *-ru*, *kiš-aru*, *iya-ttaru*, and *iya-ntaru*. Hittite thus provides parallels for the Latin forms; *-tari* being akin to *-tur*, *-ntari* to *ntur*, while the *-ari* forms remind us of Old Irish *berir*, "he is carried", and Oscan *sacrafir*, "let one sacrifice" (if this is the meaning; the verb may really be passive). The Phrygian evidence is confined to *addaketor*, which stands beside the simple *addaket*, corresponding to Latin *afficit*.

(1) Berichte des Forschungsinstituts für Osten und Orient in Wien III.

(2) E. H. Sturtevant, *Language*, IV. 165 ff.

Pedersen's view is that the *-r* forms are an innovation which never belonged to more than a part of the Indo-European family, in which he inclines definitely to include Hittite. But, even if Hittite is not to be treated as Indo-European in the usual sense, but to be held to be a sister speech of Indo-European,¹ he holds that in the period before the separation of the two families of speeches, Indo-European and Hittite, there must have sprung up in the area separate dialects, one of which possessed the *-r* conjugation. The alternative, of course, is to hold that the *-r* formations have Indo-European status.

The evidence of Sanskrit on the whole favours the view that Indo-European knew *-r* formations, but that the several branches of the family have gone their own way in developing their use. The same remark applies to Hittite, whether it is regarded as a member of the family or a mere cousin speech. The use of the forms as given above is clearly specialised, and the same remark appears to apply to Sanskrit. We have the common *-ur* as the termination of the third plural Perfect, *e.g.* *vidu'r*; the Optative *syu'r*, the Aorist *ádur*; it is added to the second dual and third Perfect as in *bubudhátur*, *bubudhátur*, or again *-r* is followed by other endings as in the regular Perfect Middle *bubudhiré* and even *bubhujiré*; in the third plural Aorist Middle we have *-ran* or *-ram*, as in *ádrśran* or *ádrśram*, *ábudhran*, or *ábudhram*, while more sporadically we have forms such as *duhré*, *duhráte*, *duhrām*, *duhratām*, and *aduhra*. It will be seen that both Active and Middle forms are found, but, save in so far as outside the Present system Middle forms afford the Passive in Sanskrit, there is no special connection between *-r* forms and the Passive. When we remember the existence of Latin *stetare*, Tocharian *stāre* and the Hittite forms, it seems legitimate to suppose that, whatever the source of the *-r* formations, there was nothing essentially Passive connected with them at the earliest stage.

(1) Ibid. II. 25-34; IV. 169f. cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XIV. 300-19.

Zimmer¹, as is well known, traced the origin of deponents and passives alike to the Indo-European use of a third plural Active in *-r*; thus a hypothetical **widr*, "they see", passes over to "one sees", and thence to the impersonal Passive "it is seen". This is supported to some extent by such cases as the Umbrian *pone esonom-e ferar*, "when there is carrying to the sacrifice;" Latin *vitam vivitur*; Old Irish *doberr* or *doberar*, "they give," "one gives"; Breton *gweler*, "they see", "one sees". On the other hand it is pointed out that Tocharian does not show signs of an impersonal use of *-r* forms², and that the same is true of Hittite, so far as we at present know it. Stress instead has been laid on the view that the Passive is a natural development from the Middle which, unlike the Passive on one view, is Indo-European, and it has been suggested that *-r* formations are naturally connected with deponents³. In that case Indo-Iranian in its use of *-r* formations has often employed them in an Active sense, as has also Latin in the *fecere* type, and it may be doubted whether the connection can be sustained for Indo-European. Again the impersonal use in the third singular is deemed by Ernout⁴ among others to be the original; he points out that it is common to Italian and Celtic. The deponents of Italian and Celtic seem to have taken over this *-r*. It is true that Walde held that it was in Gaelo-Latin as a unity that the deponent developed⁵, to the exclusion of Britannic on the one hand, and Oscan-Umbrian on the other; but though the evidence of Britannic deponents is not strong, it is improbable that they were unknown, and Umbrian

(1) KZ. XXX. (1887), 224-89; cf. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 523.

(2) Vendryes, *Revue Celtique*, XXXIV. 113.

(3) Cf. Clafin, *Language*, V. 232 ff.; *Am. Journ. Phil.* XLVIII. 157 ff.

(4) *Morphologie historique du latin* (1927), pp. 181, 195 ff.

(5) *Über älteste sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Kelten und Italikern* (1917). Contrast Vendryes, *Revue Celtique*, XLII. 387 ff.

is credited with *herter*, "he desires" and Oscan with *karanter*, possibly, "they feed themselves". Nor generally is it possible to accept Walde's ingenious suggestion.

It is clearly impossible to arrive at any certain results as to the mode in which the *-r* suffixes developed, but the important point for the purpose of dialect grouping is that Tocharian shows nothing of the impersonal use of *-r* which is clearly Italo-Celtic, and thus cannot on that ground be grouped closely with Italo-Celtic. Phrygian and Hittite are in like case with Tocharian in not showing evidence of this impersonal use, which we may, therefore, regard as specifically Italo-Celtic, either in the sense that it developed in Italo-Celtic or that it was preserved in Italo-Celtic from Indo-European, while it died out in other Indo-European dialects. The theory, therefore, that Italo-Celtic, Phrygian and Tocharian once formed a continuous series of dialects marked by the innovation of the *-r* conjugation cannot be held to be plausibly proved by the grounds so far adduced. There is, of course, no objection *a priori* to any theory of dialectic grouping, but the question is of the extent to which such a group can be established as more probable than another. That Hittite and Tocharian have certain remarkable similarities is perfectly true, but the same remark applies equally to Hittite and most of the other dialects, and we certainly cannot prove the continuity of Hittite and Tocharian from the material available. Indeed, in view of the great difference in date between our records of the two speeches, it would be extremely difficult to expect to find sufficient proof of early contiguity.

As regards the *-r* suffix it may be added that it is unreasonable to treat as impossible¹ the suggestion that it originally was the characteristic of the impersonal verb, as taken by Morris Jones² among others. The idea that such an impersonal could

(1) Claffin, *Language*, V. 233, 241.

(2) *Welsh Grammar* (1913).

pass over to the service of the third person plural as in Sanskrit -ur and -re or -ire is certainly not more difficult than Zimmer's view that the third plural Active in -ur could pass over to a Passive sense. It may really be the case that the Indo-European possessed this impersonal in -r, and that the variant uses developed separately in each of the dialects or groups Indo-Iranian, and Italo-Celtic. The Hittite evidence, so far as it goes, shows the most regular uses of -er or -ir as the suffix of a preterite, just as in Sanskrit the third plural perfect Active and Middle is the special form of which -r forms a part. That an impersonal verb expression should be used to denote past time is certainly not surprising.

The origin of -r has often been seen in a locative suffix¹ used predicatively as in the case of the suffix -i seen in the Infinitive, e.g. Latin *agere* or Sanskrit *dr̥ṣi*. We have -r in such a use often in Germanic, e.g. Gothic *her*, but also in other languages, as in Latin *quor*, and apparently in Greek *gár*, and in -per, Latin *paulisper*. Hirt,² on the other hand believes that we have in -r a particle of the type seen in that use in Greek *ar*, *ra*, and he compares Greek *ê ra* "he spoke" with Sanskrit *āh-ur*, "they say", *stê ra* with *asthur*, and so on. It is impossible to arrive at any conclusion in the absence of decisive arguments, but either hypothesis is at present preferable to any attempt to revive the once prevalent idea, still maintained by Pedersen³, that in the -r we should find a trace of the reflexive *se*, a view which is untenable in the absence of any proof that outside Latin *s* became *r*. An alternative suggestion, that *r* at an early period itself had a sense similar to *se*, is not specially attractive; we have no satisfactory proof that the force of -r was primarily reflexive, which is certain-

(1) Cf. Johansson, *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, XIV 163; XVI 133 ff.

(2) *Indogermanische Grammatik*, III. 137; IV. 134.

(3) *Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen*, II 396.

ly not borne out by Sanskrit or Hittite. It is noteworthy that Pedersen himself in his later discussion of the grouping of the dialects does not pronounce definitely in favour of any theory. He refers to the suggestions in Odé's work,¹ but insists that it is to Celtic that we must look if at all for the possibility of tracing the development of the use of *r*, in view of the linguistic particularism which has, on the one hand, produced so many bizarre forms in the later development of the language, but on the other has preserved many irregularities removed in other speeches. It is, however, difficult in view of the late date at which Celtic is recorded to distinguish between what is novel, and what is old material preserved. Thus there is a complete divergence of view between those who, like Pedersen, claim that the Celtic passive is ancient by reason of peculiarities of form and syntax, and those who contend that it is a secondary development and that originally deponent and Passive coincided as in Latin. Nor is it possible to accept as cogent Pedersen's view that there was no Passive in Indo-European, a doctrine which influences his view that *-r* Passives were a dialectical innovation.

(1) De uitgangen met *r* van het deponens en het passivum in de indoeuropeesche talen (1924).

SYANDANIKĀ.

By Sylvain Lévi.

Le Karmavibhāga sūtra est un texte encore inédit dont j'ai trouvé au Népal, en 1922, deux manuscrits, entièrement indépendants l'un de l'autre, coupés l'un et l'autre de lacunes qui fort heureusement ne coïncident presque jamais. C'est un ouvrage qui a dû connaître une popularité extraordinaire puisque je l'ai retrouvé en tibétain, en chinois, en koutchéen, et qu'il a servi de texte aux illustrations de la galerie inférieure au Boro-Budur de Java. Écrit dans un sanscrit fort classique, il foisonne de citations curieuses. Je compte en donner au cours des années prochaines une édition et une traduction complètes avec les textes parallèles. Pour le moment, je me contente de signaler un mot qui peut être intéressant pour le linguiste, et spécialement pour ceux qui, comme l'illustre auteur du *Bihar Peasant Life*, ne séparent pas l'étude des mots de l'étude des choses.

Le Karmavibhāga s'ouvre par l'histoire de Śuka Māṇava, fils de Taudeyya. Le Bouddha en tournée de quête à Śrāvastī se présente au seuil de la maison, en l'absence du Maître. Le chien favori de Śuka aboie méchamment. Le Bouddha qui a reconnu dans l'animal le père même de Śuka, à qui son avarice a valu cette fâcheuse renaissance, lui rappelle son passé par une allusion que seul le chien peut comprendre. Le chien, humilié, saute de la couchette matelassée où il se prélassait, et va se tapir dans la **syandanikā** de bois (**evam ukte śankhakuñjare 'tiśayitaroṣaś caṇḍibhūto 'nāttamanā goṇikāstrīt paryaṅkāḍ avatir-yādhastāt paryaṅkasya dārusyandanikāyāṃ niṣaṇṇaḥ**).

Le mot **syandanikā** paraît avoir embarrassé les interprètes. Un texte chinois traduit par Guṇabhadra dit "Il descendit du matelas de son lit et alla en bas du seuil de la porte" (S 門 闕 下) Un autre texte chinois, traduit par

T'ien Si tsai dit : “ Il quitta la place où il était et s'en alla sous un siège de santal 旃檀座下 ce qui suppose une lecture *candanikāyām*. La traduction du Śukasūtra dans le Madhyama Āgama Tok. XII, 7, 16, a : “ Il descendit de sa litière et s'en alla près du tas de bois ” 木聚. Pourtant le mot **syandanikā** est connu par ailleurs : Le Pet. Wört. l'enregistre avec une référence au Rāmāyaṇa III, 53, 56 de l'éd. Gorresio—47, 45 de l'éd. Bombay. Sītā menace son ravisseur de la vengeance que Rāma saura tirer et compare dédaigneusement Rāvaṇa avec son époux : “ Il y a entre toi et lui autant de différence qu'entre un ruisseau et l'Océan ” (**yad antaraṃ syandanikāsamudrayoḥ**). **Syandanikā** doit donc désigner un tout petit cours d'eau. La trad. donnée par T'ien Si tsai “ un siège de santal ” atteste que certains Mss. avaient substitué à ce mot la forme **candanikā** que l'interprète n'a pas su comment traduire. Mais ce mot **candanikā**, ignoré en sanscrit, est bien connu en pali. Le Dict. pali de la P.T.S. le rend par : “ a pool at the entrance of the village (usually, but not necessarily, dirty) ” et donne une longue série de références qui sont insuffisantes pour préciser le sens. Le mot est en général accolé à un autre mot, **oliḡalla**, qui est également obscur. Pourtant un passage du Visuddhimagga, p. 343 est nettement en contradiction avec la trad. du Dict. pali ; le texte énumère toutes les saletés et les ordures qui encombrent la porte de la maison : **taṃ taṃ gehadvāraṃ patvā macchadhovana-mamsadhovana-taṇḍuladhovana-khaḷasiṃghānika-sunakha-sūkaravaccādihi sammissāni kimikulāni nīla-makkikaparikiṇṇāni oliḡallāni ceva candanikaṭṭhānāni ca daṭṭhabbāni honti** : “ En arrivant à la porte d'une maison ou d'une autre, la vue tombe fatalement sur les **oliḡalla** et les emplacements de **candanikā** où les vers et les mouches se mêlent aux eaux de lavage du poisson, de la viande, du riz, avec les crachats et les morves, avec les crottes des chiens, des pores etc.

On peut serrer davantage le sens. Et cependant, par une étrange fatalité, la plupart des textes palis donnés en référence n'ont pas de correspondants connus en chinois, et dans le cas bien rare où le texte correspondant existe en chinois, les interprètes embarrassés semblent avoir laissé de côté le mot. Dans le sūtra du Madhyama Āgama Tok. XII, 7, 46a col. 16 qui correspond au Laṭukikopama sutta du Majjhima Nikāya I, 448, et où reparait une énumération analogue (à celle du Visuddhimagga ci-dessus, il semble bien que les caractères **keou tou** 溝 瀆 correspondent à **can-danikā**; **keou** 溝; signifie “fosse, rigole”; la Mhvy. 齋 et 勛 l'emploie pour traduire **parikhā** “fossé, d'enceinte”; **tou** désigne un canal destiné à l'arrosage des champs. Dans le sūtra du Saṃyukta Āgama XIII, 3, 76a qui répond au Brāhmaṇa-sutta de Saṃyutta V, 361, au cours d'une énumération assez analogue (“Va droit devant toi; n'évite ni humeurs, ni précipice, ni troncs d'arbre, ni épines, ni **candanikā**, ni **oḷigalla**”) le chinois a **kien** 澗 en regard de **candanikā**; **kien** désigne un cours d'eau resserré, un ruisseau. Dans le Vacchagottasutta de l'Āṅguttara I, 161, **candanikā** et **oḷigalla** sont les endroits où on déverse les eaux de vaisselle et où grouille la vermine; le sūtra correspondant se trouve dans deux versions du Saṃyukta Tok. XIII, 2, 21a et 5, 84b, mais les deux traducteurs se contentent de dire; “là où l'on jette les eaux de lavage de la vaisselle et les résidus de nourriture”.

Il ressort de tous ces exemples que **candanikā** est exactement ce que nous appelons “le ruisseau”, la rigole plus ou moins profonde par où s'écoulent les eaux ménagères au devant de la maison. Le mot est donc une simple déformation du sanscrit **syandanikā**, déformation voulue, consciente, d'intention ironique: les puanteurs du ruisseau évoquaient par antiphrase le parfum du santal.

Quant à l'expression composée **dāru-syandanikā** “le ruisseau (la rigole) en bois”, on en a le parallèle dans le Vinaya

pali, Cullavagga V, 17 où sont réunies les prescriptions relatives au bain des moines : “ Les Mendians se baignaient partout dans le jardin et le jardin était tout fangeux. On en fit rapport au Très Saint. “ Je vous permets, Mendians, la **candanikā** ”, dit-il. La **candanikā** était à ciel ouvert ; les Mendians étaient gênés pour se baigner. “ Je vous permets, Mendians, dit-il, trois sortes de murs à l’entour : mur en briques, mur en pierre, mur en bois (**dāru**) ”. Suit une prescription relative au pavage du fond (**santhāra**), qui peut être fait également en briques, en pierre ou en bois. La **syandanikā** (pali **candanikā**) était donc 1° la rigole d’évacuation des eaux ménagères qui partait de la cuisine pour rejoindre le ruisseau, 2° le ruisseau lui-même, c’est à dire la tranchée creusée dans la rue au long des maisons. La rigole domestique pouvait être tout entière en bois, creusée dans du bois plein ou formée de lattes assemblées, ou être revêtue de boisage pour empêcher les terres d’être entraînées par l’eau ; le Japon contemporain montre encore partout, dans les grandes cités comme dans les villages, ces tranchées boisées, tantôt à ciel ouvert, tantôt couvertes avec des dalles de pierre. Leur existence dans l’Inde ancienne est attestée par la Śukraniti I, 352 :

Kuryān mārḡān pārśvakhātān nirgamārtham jalasya ca “ Il faut faire, pour l’écoulement des eaux, des conduites creusées sur les côtés (de la rue) ”. M. Binode Behari Dutt, à qui j’emprunte cette citation, rapporte en outre dans son livre vraiment remarquable : *Town Planning in Ancient India*, Calcutta 1925—un des meilleurs travaux publiés au cours de ces dernières années—un passage d’un livre récent que je n’ai pu consulter directement, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, par M. Venkataram Ayyar, passage qui semble écrit à dessein pour éclairer la question de la **syandanikā-candanikā** : “ As in other cities, so also in Vanji the ditch encircled the walls of the city. The water from the palace, public halls, and private residences fell into this ditch by means of a conduit

sluice known as Tumbu. The conduit-pipe discharged the water of the city into the ditch near the entrance gate where it was covered over with a stone culvert. By such a drainage system, the water used in private homes for domestic and bathing purposes, was conducted by pipes into the main conduit which poured its contents into the ditch. Those who could afford the expense had separate baths specially constructed for them in such a manner that water might be filled in or let out of such baths at their pleasure. When they had finished bathing they opened the outlet of the baths which emptied water into the drain which led to the ditch outside."

Observons encore que dans le récit correspondant en pali, Sumangala Vilāsini, éd. siamoise I, 437 (récit très étroitement apparenté à notre texte) le chien mécontent va se coucher dans les cendres à l'intérieur du fourneau (**uddha-nantare chārikāya nipanno**); ici encore l'obscurité du terme **candanikā** paraît avoir décidé le narrateur à lui substituer un autre mot et une autre chose, plus facilement intelligibles.

J'ai fait usage, chemin faisant, des récits parallèles que j'ai rencontrés en pali. Notre Karmavibhāga sūtra est le développement du sutta pali intitulé Cūḷa Kammavibhaṅga qui forme le 135^e sutta du Majjhimanikāya. Le personnage à qui ce sutta sur la classification des actes est adressé y est appelé Subha Māṇava Todeyyaputta; le commentaire sur ce texte, dans la Papañcasūdani (éd. Siam. III, 648) raconte en guise d'introduction l'histoire du Bouddha et du chien qui est rené le père de Suka. L'identité est donc incontestable. Le même Subha Māṇava Todeyyaputta reparaît dans un certain nombre d'autres textes que nous laisserons ici de côté. En face du pali Subha, la forme sanskrite Śuka est attestée non seulement par le Karmavibhāga, mais aussi par les textes chinois correspondants ou apparentés qui rendent ce nom soit par une transcription: Chou kia, soit par une traduction "Perroquet". Le tibétain, contrairement à sa

pratique générale, ne traduit pas le nom et se contente de le transcrire. Nous avons donc d'une part Śuka, de l'autre Subha (sk. Śubha). On ne peut passer directement d'une de ces formes à l'autre; ni Śuka n'a pu aboutir à Subha ni Subha à Śuka. Il devient donc nécessaire de supposer à la base une forme antérieure d'où auraient pu diverger deux restaurations différentes. Le mot **Śuka** est dans les pracrīts, et notamment dans le pracrit jaina où il se rencontre fréquemment comme nom de personne, **Sua** susceptible de se développer en **Suva** (=śruta, suta, etc.). De l'alternance **bh** pali en face de **v** par ailleurs, nous avons tout au moins un exemple dans un des termes les plus importants de la théorie du saint bouddhique; le pali a **paṭisambhidā** tandis que le sanscrit a **pratisamvid**. Nous sommes ainsi ramenés par un nouvel exemple à la théorie que j'ai eu l'occasion de présenter, il y a déjà longtemps, sur l'emploi dans le bouddhisme ancien, antérieurement au pali et au sanscrit, d'un dialecte disparu, cousin germain de l'ardhamāgadhi jaina, et qui avait atteint déjà un stage avancé d'usure phonétique (Cf. Journ. Asiat., 1912, II, 495-514).

Le mot **syandanikā** avait déjà attiré l'attention du Rev. Richard Morris, dans la série des Notes and Queries où se rencontrent tant d'indications importantes. A propos du mot **ekodibhāva** (Jour. Pali Text Soc., 1885, p. 35), dont il propose d'ailleurs une interprétation fausse, il est amené à citer le mot **oligalla**, et **oligalla** attire **candanikā** dont il est presque inséparable. Il signale l'usage du mot **syandanikā** dans un passage du Saddharma Puṇḍarika (Chap. VI, éd. Kern-Nanjio, p. 144, l. 10) que d'ailleurs il connaît seulement par la traduction de Kern (Sac. Books, Vol. XXI), et il écrit: "A very good instance of this sanskritizing process [la marotte des Palisants de cette époque!] in the Saddharma Puṇḍarika (pp. 142, 146, 395) which has escaped the keen eye of Prof. Kern, is seen in **syandanika** [corr. **kā**, que donne bien le texte sanscrit imprimé]-**gūthodilla** (var. lect. -oḍigilla, -oḍigalla) translated by 'gutters and dirty

pools'. Prof. Kern acknowledges that his rendering of **gūthoḍilla** is conjectural. Here we may call in Pali to throw some light upon the whole compound **syandanika**^o. Not seldom we find the Pali terms **candanikā** and **olīgalla** occurring together (see *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, III, VI. 8; *Milinda Panha*, p. 220; *Sabbāsava Sutta*) the former meaning, according to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, 'a dirty pool at the entrance of a village'. The Pali **candanikā** is probably to be referred to a more original **caṇḍanikā**, from the root **caṇḍ**, and signifies a turbid pool, or one liable to become so on account of not being inclosed (see *Thera Gāthā*, I. 567; *Cullavagga*, V. 17, 1). *Buddhaghosa* defines it as **asucikala-lakūpo**. The Sanskrit **syandanikā**, according to the lexicographers, does not mean a tank, well, or pool, but 'a drop of saliva', and the meaning 'gutter' given to it by Prof. Kern, is deduced by him from the root **syand** (**syandana**, oozing water). It is one of those words that may be restored to its primitive form since it is in fact a clever sanskritizing of Pali **candanikā**."

Morris discute ensuite le terme **gūthoḍilla** associé à **syandanikā** dans le texte du *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*. **Uḍilla** serait une sanscritisation (une de plus) faite sur le pali **olīgalla**, qui pourrait être une altération de **allagalla**, "from **alla** wet" (**ulla**, **olla** well-known Prakrit forms, Sanskrit **ārdra**) "swampy, marshy" and **galla**, Sanskrit **garta**, Prakrit **gaḍḍa** "well, pit". Et il ajoute sagement : "But all this is by way of conjecture".

Pour ajouter une conjecture de plus, je signale que, d'après un informateur hindou venu de Madras (*M. Venkatachalpati*), le télougou a **ōḍagalavādu** pour désigner "le nettoyeur, le boueux" (où **vādu** est un simple suffixe d'emploi analogue à **wāla** de l'hindoustani). Le tamoul possède aussi le mot **ōḍugāl** pour désigner une "conduite d'eau", comme me l'indique mon collègue *M. Bloch*.

Enfin la substitution de **chārikā** "les cendres" "dans le récit pali à **syandanikā** de la rédaction sanscrite peut

remonter à une confusion entre **kṣāra** "caustique" et **kṣara** "coulant".

Burnouf qui n'avait pas rencontré le mot dans le premier des Mss. sur lequel il traduisait et où ce mot est omis, n'a rien naturellement qui puisse y correspondre dans sa traduction ; mais dans ses notes sur le chapitre VI (p. 385), il observe que les deux Mss. de Hodgson, qu'il a pu consulter depuis, lisent **syandanikā** devant **gūthodillam** ce qui ajoute (dit-il) à la précision de l'idée, car **syandanikā** peut répondre au sanscrit **syandinī** et signifier "salive".

Aucune des trois traductions chinoises du Saddharma Puṇḍarika n'apporte d'éclaircissement sur ce passage ; elles se contentent toutes trois d'écrire : "sans ordures".

M. Grierson, à qui cette note a été communiquée en manuscrit, me signale que **syandanikā** survit encore en hindi comme mot tatsama, et qu'il est enregistré dans le Dictionnaire de le Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā, le Hindī Sabda Sāgara, pp. 37-36, avec le sens de "salive", "petit ruisseau", et "conduite d'eau, rigole (nahar)".

REMARQUES SUR LES VERBES DE MOUVEMENT E INDO-EUROPÉEN

By J. Vendryes

Dans un article des *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* (t. XXIII, p. 264 et ss.), M. Meillet a attiré l'attention des linguistes sur la distinction du déterminé et de l'indéterminé dans les verbes de mouvement en grec. Un examen sommaire permet de reconnaître la même distinction en celtique (cf. *Rev. Celtique*, t. XLVI, p. 215 et ss.). Il s'agit d'un fait général, qui devait en indo-européen tenir une place importante et dont il est possible de marquer dès maintenant certains caractères.

Un verbe indo-européen pouvait être employé avec ou sans régime, c'est à dire que le procès pouvait être considéré comme portant ou non sur un objet. En latin, **amo** signifie "j'aime", **amo patrem** "j'aime mon père". Dans un cas, le procès est considéré en lui-même, avec toutes les modalités qu'il comporte; dans l'autre, il s'étend à un objet qui peut même devenir l'élément prépondérant, en exprimant la raison d'être du procès. Considéré en lui-même à l'exclusion de tout objet, le procès, contenu dans l'activité du sujet, prend aisément une valeur neutre ou même réfléchie: **ἔγω** veut dire en grec "je porte quelque chose", comme en latin **uerto id** "je tourne cela"; mais **ἔγω** et **uerto**, tout court, veulent dire "je me porte" ou "je me tourne".

Cette distinction vaut pour la plupart des notions verbales. Elle est toujours possible en indo-européen, grâce à l'autonomie des mots, qui résulte des conditions mêmes de la morphologie (cf. Meillet-Vendryes, *Traité*, p. 519). Mais pour certaines notions la distinction est tellement importante qu'elle se traduit dans le vocabulaire par l'emploi de mots différents. Elle n'est pas seulement syntaxique, mais aussi lexicographique: à côté d'un verbe ayant la valeur déterminée, il existe alors un verbe tout différent qui est indéterminé. Ainsi en français pour la notion de "parler". Le verbe **dire** est déterminé: il ne se conçoit pas aujourd'hui sans l'addition d'un régime indiquant ce que "dit" le sujet. Au contraire le verbe **parler**, qui est indéterminé, ne

comporte d'autre régime que ceux qui portent sur les modalités variées de la parole. Le fait est ancien. En latin le verbe **dicere** est déterminé, comme le grec $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\nu\alpha\iota$ et le gotique **teihan**; cela explique le sens particulier qu'ont pris ces verbes en grec et en germanique, celui de "dénoncer, accuser".

Les verbes déterminés sont relativement stables: le verbe latin **dicere** survit encore aujourd'hui dans toutes les langues romanes. Au contraire les verbes indéterminés sont éminemment instables; ils s'usent vite et se renouvellent fréquemment. Les diverses langues indo-européennes présentent pour l'idée de "parler" les verbes les plus variés, souvent d'origine inconnue; à ce point de vue même, les langues romanes ne s'accordent pas, et en français populaire on remplace aujourd'hui le verbe **parler** par un bon nombre de synonymes (**causer, bavarder, jaspiner, etc.**). C'est que le verbe indéterminé comporte des nuances affectives dont le déterminé est dépourvu. Par l'emploi du déterminé, le procès se présente sous sa forme brute, dépouillé de circonstances accessoires. En employant l'indéterminé, le sujet parlant s'exprime lui-même, manifeste l'action de sa personnalité sur le procès que marque le verbe. Ainsi s'ajoutent à l'idée du procès des modalités variées qui entraînent un renouvellement fréquent de l'expression.

Un procédé dont usait l'indo-européen pour renouveler l'expression d'une notion - en dehors de l'emploi d'une racine différente - était l'élargissement de la racine. L'addition d'un élément phonétique à une racine donnée permettait de souligner certains caractères particuliers de la notion verbale. Peu importe l'origine de cet élément phonétique; il est permis de penser qu'il n'était parfois qu'un débris morphologique de dérivation ou de composition. Il ajoutait en tout cas à la racine une nuance de sens souvent compatible avec l'emploi indéterminé. Ainsi dans le cas de la racine marquant le "tremblement" d'où l' "effroi": ***tre-m-**, ***tre-p-** à côté de ***ter-** (skr. **tarala-**). On peut dire que la présence d'un élargissement est un indice que la racine était employée avec une valeur indéterminée.

Un autre indice de même ordre est dans 'existence d' une formation de causatif. Lorsqu'on impose un acte à quelqu'un, l'essentiel n'est pas que cet acte porte sur tel ou tel objet, mais bien que l'acte lui-même se produise. C'est bien pour que quelqu'un dise quelque chose qu'on le fait parler; mais l'important est qu'il parle, c'est à dire qu'on le décide à parler. Un aphrodisiaque fait aimer, comme l'opium fait dormir; la personnalité de l'être qu'on aime est secondaire.

Les observations qui précèdent éclairent l'histoire et la formation de certains verbes de mouvement. C'est dans les verbes de mouvement qu'apparaît le plus nettement l'opposition du déterminé et de l'indéterminé, suivant qu'on considère le mouvement comme comportant un certain objet ou un certain but qu'il lui serve de terme (*agit boues, peto urbem*), soit qu'on se borne à la considération du mouvement en lui-même avec ses diverses modalités (*bene ou male agit, ambulat in horto*).

La présence d'un élargissement implique indétermination: à côté de la racine *ei- (cf. skr. v.d. *sabhām eti*, lat. *eo Romam*), il existe une racine *eit-, qui est nettement indéterminée (cf. Bull. Soc. Lingu., XXV, p. 45), comme suffiraient à le prouver en latin *iter*, en osque *eituns*, en grec *ιταρός* "hardi, impudent" et peut-être en germanique et en celtique le nom du "serment", got. *aiþs*, ir. *oeth*.

Lorsqu'une racine de verbe de mouvement comprend un élargissement et sert en plus à former un causatif, on est doublement assuré que la valeur de ce verbe était indéterminée. C'est le cas des racines *leudh-, *leit-, *sent-.

La racine *leudh- sort d'une racine *leu-, attestée en grec dans *ἐλέγχευεν* et dans *πρὸς-ἡλυτος*; un autre élargissement apparaît d'ailleurs dans la racine *leugh- des formes sanskrites *aruhat*, *aruksat*, *rokṣyati*, *rūḍhaḥ* "grandi, accru" et dans la racine *leup- du skr. *ropáyati* "il fait grandir, il soulève". C'est de *leudh- que sortent à la fois les formes gr. *ἐλεύσομαι*, *ἡλυθον*,

got. **ludan**, skr. **rodhati**; la formation nominale **ἐλευθερος** en montre bien le caractère indéterminé. Et l'on a le causatif correspondant dans l'irlandais **luadim** "je mets en mouvement, je lance", particulièrement employé au figuré **luadim molad** "je développe, je fais grandir la louange".

Dans les racines ***leit-** et ***sent-** l'élargissement est moins apparent, mais elles ont toutes deux fourni des causatifs: le germanique a v. h. a. **leiten** v. isl. **leida** en face de got. **leiþan** v. h. a. **lidan**, comme got. **sandjan** en face de **sinþan**. Le sens figuré de v. h. a. **lidan** "éprouver, souffrir" s'explique par la valeur indéterminée du verbe. On observe aussi un sens figuré dans le dérivé latin de la racine ***sent-**, à savoir **sentiō**.

Deux autres racines marquant un mouvement se présentent avec des élargissements qui en précisent la valeur: c'est d'une part ***ser-**, d'autre part ***drā-**. La première, bien attestée par le sanskrit **sisarti** et **sarati** a fourni sous la forme ***serp-** le sanskrit **sarpati** "il rampe" (lat. **serpo**) mais aussi le grec **ἔρπω** qui signifie seulement "je vais". La spécialisation au sens de "ramper" s'accorde bien avec la présence d'un élargissement. Sous la forme ***serg-** la même racine a donné au sanskrit le verbe **sarjati**, **srjati**. La seconde, attestée dans le grec **ἔδραν** et le sanskrit **drāti** est pourvue d'élargissements variés dans skr. **dramati**, gr. **δρόμος** ou dans le skr. **drāvati**. Un autre élargissement apparaît dans le causatif sanskrit **drāpayati**, qui suppose une racine de forme ***drāp-**, dont l'antiquité est attestée par le grec **δραπέτης** "déserteur". Ce fait pourrait suggérer une explication du suffixe de causatif sanskrit **-payati**, dont l'origine est énigmatique (cf. Sutterlin, I. F. XIX, 536; Thumb Handb. d. altind., I, 403; Brugmann, Grdr., 2^e éd., II, 3, p. 256; et P. Persson Beitr. z. idg. Wortfshg., II, 592). On sait que le suffixe de causatif se présente régulièrement sous la forme **-payati** dans les racines qui se terminent par une voyelle: **dādhāti** "il pose", **dhāpáyati** "il fait poser"; **snāti** "il se baigne", **snāpáyati** "il fait baigner, il plonge quelqu'un dans l'eau" etc., et dans un

verbe de mouvement, **yāti** "il va" (déterminé, cf. **yād ājīm yāti** "quand il va au combat", R. V. VIII, 45, 7), **yāpáyati** "il fait aller".

Il est évident que le **p** joue ici un rôle de phonème de liaison **p** permettant l'addition d'un suffixe commençant par une voyelle à une racine elle-même de terminaison vocalique. C'est un procédé répandu dans la morphologie de bien des langues; la formation du parfait grec en **-xa** présente un cas analogue. Il est permis de penser que ce **p** est un ancien élargissement, qui aurait été originellement à sa place dans les verbes de mouvement pour le motif qui vient d'être indiqué.

On a peut-être une confirmation de cette hypothèse dans le fait suivant. En plus des racines terminées par une voyelle, le suffixe **-payati** apparaît au causatif dans la racine **ar-** de **iyarti**, **arpáyati** "il met en mouvement". Or, le **p** de **arpáyati** peut passer pour un élargissement, car la racine en présente un autre. À côté de **ṛṇóti** gr. **ῥνυμι** on a en effet **rghāyati** "il s'élance, il s'agite" (intensif et noncausatif). Ce serait des causatifs de verbes de mouvement comme **arpáyati**, **drāpáyati**, **yāpáyati**, qu'aurait été tiré le suffixe **-payati** commodément utilisé ensuite dans les racines à terminaison vocalique.

LE PRÉSENT DU VERBE "ÊTRE" EN TSIGANE

By Jules Block

Le conjugaison normale du présent des verbes tsiganes est claire dans l'ensemble. En voici le paradigme (d'après Sampson, *Dial. of the Gypsies of Wales*, §385 sq.; Macalister, *Language of the Nawar or Zutt*, §87) :

en Europe :	en Syrie :
kamav "j'aime";	nanam "j'apporte"
kames	nanék, nanay-
kamel	nanar
kamas	nanan
kamen	nanas
kamen	nanand

Au contraire, dans le verbe "être", non seulement les radicaux, mais les désinences diffèrent de l'Asie à l'Europe, et même dans les diverses parties de l'Europe (Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten*....., XI, p. 49; Sampson, §432; Macalister, §116); voici les types principaux :

Syrie :	Roumanie :	Hongrie :
aštōm (i)	som	som
aštūr (i)	san	sal
ašti, ašta	si	si
aštēn	sam	sam
aštēs	san	san
ašte	si	si :

Au roumain se rattachent le grec (avec i- initial **isom** etc.), le russe et le gallois; au hongrois, le transylvain, le finnois et l'allemand.

L'explication de ces formes, telle qu'elle a été proposée par Sampson, n'est pas exempte d'obscurité et d'arbitraire. En premier lieu, il l'a bien vu, **isom** ne peut dériver directement de skr. **asmi**, la conservation de la sifflante s'y oppose (cf. **ame** "nous"). Faut-il donc poser un verbe du type **asāmi**? Mais alors on attend les désinences du verbe normal; or **som** ne rappelle aucunement **kamav**. De plus les diverses désinences du 2e singulier, en particulier de hongrois **sal**, all. **hal**, restent inexpliquées; in-

expliquée enfin l'opposition des voyelles au singulier et au pluriel, opposition nette en nuri, reconnaissable partiellement en européen.

Puisque les désinences des 2es personnes sont les plus compliquées — et Sampson renonce même à expliquer nuri **aštūr** — il convient de les examiner d'abord; peut-être fourniront-elles un résultat susceptible d'extension aux autres désinences.

Comme Sampson l'a reconnu, la forme de 2e personne commune au singulier et au pluriel, roumain **san**, grec **isan**, est de par son origine une 3e personne du pluriel: de même dans le verbe normal des dialectes européens, **kamen** 3e pl. a été étendu à la 2e pl. Il en résulte que la 3e pluriel actuelle **si**, grec **isi** est récente, et provient du singulier; il en sera question plus loin.

Le hongrois distingue 2 sg. **sal** de 2 pl. **sin**; **sin** étant, comme nous venons de voir, une 3e personne ancienne, il est facile de reconnaître dans **sal** l'ancienne 2e du pluriel passée au singulier, comme **san** a fait dans le groupe roumain: -l- représente ici la désinence sanskrite -**tha**, cf. **sovel** < **śapatha**; on sait d'autre part que le représentant nuri de -**th**- est -**s**-: on a donc le droit de comparer directement, du moins pour la désinence, 2 pl. **aštēs**.

Reste à expliquer nuri **aštūr**, — en fait la seule forme qui soit réellement de deuxième personne du singulier, et dont l'isolement permet d'inférer l'ancienneté. Il ne peut être question ici de rappeler skr. **asi**, puisque dans ce cas le verbe "être" et le verbe normal devraient présenter la même désinence: or **nanêk**, obscur du reste, et **nanay** - ne rappellent aucunement **aštūr**. Mais la 3e personne du verbe normal en -**ar**, issue de skr. -**ati**, nous avertit que -**r** final de **aštūr** peut représenter un -**t**-intervocalique. Des lors il apparaît que cette désinence doit renfermer une forme du pronom (a)tu "toi", qui n'a pas été reconnue ⁽¹⁾, parce que les formes pronominales enclitiques

(1) Au moment où j'écrivais ceci, j'oubliais - et j'avais tort d'oublier - que M. Turner avait deviné l'origine de la forme (BSOS, V p. 47). Je me félicite de la rencontre.

annexées aux verbes font normalement fonction de régime, v. Macalister, § 61: or - m - et - r peuvent représenter aussi bien **ama** et **atu** que ***me** et ***te**.

Ceci emporte une conséquence importante qu'il faut souligner avant d'aller plus loin. Si nuri -r est un pronom enclitique sujet, le mot sur lequel il s'appuie doit être, comme M. Macalister l'avait entrevu, un participe. Dès lors un trait caractéristique du nuri s'explique immédiatement: c'est l'opposition entre les voyelles désinentielles au singulier et au pluriel, qui représentent les désinences nominales, sing. -ō, pl. -e.

La troisième personne du pluriel, accommodée à la forme du verbe normal dans le dialecte noté par Pott (**steindi** comme **awendi** "ils viennent"), est chez Macalister la forme nominale sans verbe: ceci est conforme à la règle constante en indo-européen et en indo-aryen.

La contradiction entre 3 sg. -a et -ō- de **aštōm aštūr** doit s'expliquer par la position: -a est la désinence normale des noms élargis; **kajja** "non-tsigane" paraît s'opposer à européen **gajo**, comme hindi **ghoṛā** "cheval" à gujarati **ghoṛo**; mais le pluriel, qui est semblable (nuri **kajje**, eur. **gaje**) tandis que h. **ghoṛe**, guj. **ghoṛā** différent, montre que l'opposition n'est pas de même sorte. Il doit s'agir d'une variation intérieure au nuri: -ō- est sans doute le traitement en position protégée; c'est ainsi qu'au prétérit on a **nanda kajjan** "il amena les gens", mais **nandōs-san** "il les amena", et bien entendu **nandōm** "j'ai amené" (Macalister, §92-93).

Une difficulté plus sérieuse réside dans la forme du thème: **ašta** ne peut être un participe normal. Le participe normal se termine en nuri par -r-, en Europe par -l-, issus de skr. -(i)ta-; ex. nuri **ķera**, eur. **xalō** (khādita-); n. **gara**, eur. **gilo** (gata-); -t- se rencontre dans les groupes: n. **sita**, eur. **sutō** (supta-); n. **vēšt-** doublet de **vēš**, part. eur. **beštō** (upaviṣṭa-). Or **as-** n'a

pas de participe ancien (**hrômi** "j'ai été" semble contenir **bhâta-**, cf. **ôzô** "je suis, serai"); d'autre part, si pkr. **acch-**, tsig. eur. **ac-** a bien laissé une trace dans l'optatif nuri **hōcam** (sur ce point voir J. Gypsy Lore Soc., XI. p. 32), il n'y vit pas de façon indépendante, et du reste ce verbe non plus n'a pas de participe ancien; on attendrait une forme secondaire, comparable à europ. **acilō**. Avons-nous dans **a-št-a** une forme syncopée de **sth(i)ta-**, comparable (mais à l'inverse) à celle [**(da) tta-**] contenue dans **tômi** "j'ai donné"? Dans ce cas **a-št-a** serait à **štir-ar** "il se lève" (cf. skr. **uttiṣṭhati** ou pkr. **ciṭṭhai?**) comme **a-tr-a** "il fut, parut" où **sthita-** est conservé, à **tir** - "mettre", cf. encore **ta-taw** "mettre, placer (**sthāp-**), **tan** "lit", eur. **than** "place, maison".

Du reste la difficulté est exactement la même pour eur. **sô**; or il semble qu'on puisse poser **so: aṣṭā=si: aṣṭi**. Les termes de la correspondance ne sont pas limpides, mais l'existence même d'une corrélation est rassurante, et nous pouvons conclure que **aṣṭ-** et éventuellement **s-**, quelle qu'en soit la formation, se comportent comme des thèmes de participe.

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Il doit en effet y avoir un participe également à la base du verbe "être" européen. Une indication s'en trouve déjà dans le fait qu'il a conservé dans l'ancienne 2 pl. **sal** la désinence skr. **-tha** disparue dans les verbes normaux; j'ai déjà indiqué (J. Gypsy Lore Soc., VII, p. 113) que la cause de cette disparition avait dû être la rencontre de **-l-** issu de **-th-** avec **-l-** issu de **-t-**, donc la double valeur de 3e sg. et de 2e pl. d'une forme comme **kamel**; si dans le verbe "être" la 3e sg. était une forme nominale pure, l'amphibologie n'existait pas et 2e pl. **sal** pouvait subsister.

En second lieu, si **sal** et **san** sont des formes primitivement plurielles, on retrouve dans l'opposition de 1 sg. **som** d'une part, et de l'autre pl. 1 **sam**, 2 **sal**, 3 **san** une opposition vocalique comparable à celle du nuri.

Il y a ici une nouvelle difficulté qu'il faut signaler, mais qui ne paraît pas insurmontable: 1 sg. **so-m** donne la forme attendue,

mais **sa** n'est pas le pluriel normal de cette forme: le pluriel en **-a** des noms élargis en **-o** n'est pas inconnu de l'indo-aryen, et se trouve p. ex. en sindhi, mais il est exclusif du pluriel en **-e** (sauf archaïsme comme le relatif **je**, pluriel de **jo**). En tsigane d'Europe, **-a** est la désinence plurielle des noms non élargis: **phral** "frère", pl. **phrala**. On aurait donc ici, à côté de **so**, le pluriel d'un singulier **s-**. Cette forme étonne au premier abord; mais elle doit sans doute se ranger avec les participes dont j'ai montré ailleurs (Bull. Soc. Ling. XXXIII p. 61 sqq.) l'abondance dans les parlers du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, et qui ont été créés par utilisation d'un ancien **ās** provenant de skr. **asīt**. De cette forme le tsigane d'Europe a par ailleurs tiré une particule indéclinable servant à former le prétérit (ibid. p. 59 sq.); c'est sans doute la même qu'on retrouve dans le prétérit composé du nuri **nandō-s-** cité plus haut, où l'on ne voit pas pourquoi **-s-** serait un pronom oblique.

Qu'en tsgane d'Europe ce participe ait pris le sens présent, n'est pas pour étonner; cf. ksm. **chu**, torwali, maiyā **thu** etc, (ibid. 62 sq.)

Donc ni la forme ni le sens ne s'opposent à ce qu'on voie dans l'opposition **so-: sa-** l'opposition de formes nominales du singulier et du pluriel.

Cette interprétation permet d'abord d'écarter une objection possible à l'interprétation ci-dessus proposée de **sal**: cette forme n'est attestée que comme appartenant au singulier; ne pourrait-on y chercher le pronom **tu**, reconnu dans la 2e sg. du nuri? Cette explication, admissible en ce qui concerne la consonne (cf. 3 sg. **-el** du skr. **-ati**), ne rendrait pas compte de l'identité de la voyelle avec celle des formes plurielles.

A vrai dire si les formes sont claires, leur histoire se devine mal. Pourquoi la 2e sg. ancienne a-t-elle disparu au profit de la 2e pl. **sal** (ou **san**, elle-même ancienne 3e pl.)? A-t-il existé à une époque comparativement récente une forme ***so-l** (**so+tu**) éliminée

au profit de **sal** presque homonyme ? ou une forme **so-s** (**so+asi**) qui gênait comme d'aspect prétérit ? La syntaxe en tout cas n'y poussait pas : le tsigane d'Europe distingue encore bien **tu** "toi" de **tume** "vous"; pluriel réel, comme l'asiatique distingue **atu** de **atme**.

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Quoiqu'il en soit, il semble qu'à la deuxième personne le participe s'accompagne d'une désinence verbale au pluriel, et, en Asie au moins, pronominale au singulier. Les premières personnes contiennent-elles des pronoms ou des désinences verbales ?

Le singulier est ambigu : **-m** peut s'expliquer par **me** ou par **asmi**. La formation avec **asmi** se trouve ailleurs : le kaśmiri a masc. **chu-s**, fém. **chē-s** "je suis", en regard de **gupa** "je cache"; dans cette langue "moi" se dit **boh**, oblique **me**; donc **-s** ne peut être que **asmi**, ce qui est d'accord avec la phonétique locale, cf. **asi** < skr. **asme**. C'est aussi le cas pour le shina (**ma**) **hanus**, f. **hanis** "(je) suis", en regard de **hanu**, **hani** "il, elle est"; cf. le pluriel **hane s** "nous sommes" où **-s** provient de skr. **smah** d'après l'explication que je dois à M. Turner. Avec le même aspect phonétique qu'en tsigane, il semble qu'on reconnaisse **asmi** dans le dialecte pašai de Laurowan (Morgenstierne, Report.....p. 93), **hang-âm** "je bats", en regard de **hangâ** "il bat", **hang-î-âm** "je te bats", cf. **hanam-î** "je te battrai". Quant à bengali **-âm** du prétérit, S. K. Chatterji, Origin and dev., p. 977, n'a pu y apporter la clarté.

Si l'hypothèse indiquée plus haut d'un ***sos** 2 sg. perdu était admise, on choisirait pour la 1e sg. **so+skr. ahmi**; mais c'est un faible appui qu'une hypothèse pour choisir entre deux hypothèses.

Le pluriel européen nous laisse dans le même embarras : **sa-m** peut contenir également bien pkr. **mha** ou **amhe**; peut-être l'absence de trace de voyelle finale serait-elle une indication contre le pronom. Le nuri n'est d'aucun secours, d'autant que la désinence

du verbe "être" est ici celle du verbe normal: ce qui permet en tout cas d'écarter l'idée qu'on aurait dans **aštēn** affaire à skr. **naḥ**; du reste **naḥ** n'est pas un nominatif; et enfin le nuri pas plus que le tsigane dans l'ensemble n'ont gardé de trace de cette forme (M. Morgenstierne croit la reconnaître dans l'unique dialecte **pashai** de Nilam, Report—, p. 91).

A le 3e personne, nous avons vu que le nuri a des formes nominales pures. Le tsigane d'Europe si provient peut-être de **asti** comme l'enseigne Sampson; à vrai dire la présence au Suket (G. Bailey, Ling. Studies.....p. 208) de **asi** indéclinable à côté de **ni athi** indéclinable permet d'entrevoir que la question n'est pas simple. On peut rappeler qu'au Punjab **si** primitivement réservé au prétérit fém. sing. s'est, sous l'influence de i "est" commun aux deux genres, étendu au masculin, et même au pluriel, ainsi que m'en informe M. Siddheswar Varma. En tout cas le passage du singulier au pluriel¹, et en ce qui concerne all. **hin** le passage inverse, ne font pas difficulté (sur ces points, indications de M. Woolmer, J. G. L. S.³ III p. 181, 183).

Il faut dire un mot de **sen** coexistant avec **sin** en finnois, et unique en gallois. Faut-il y voir la continuation de **santi** (cf. eur. **ivend** < skr. **hemantī**)? Possible à la rigueur, un tel archaïsme étonne dans ces dialectes. Il paraît plus sûr d'y voir une adaptation de **san** au verbe normal, du type **kamen**.

* * * *

Tout n'est donc pas clair dans le verbe "être" du tsigane. Mais il semble que le nuri fournisse la clef des principales difficultés, en laissant apparaître un participe à la base du paradigme. La même formation est, comme on a vu, fréquente dans l'Indoukouch, où le participe se rencontre même à l'état nu, et avec le sens présent, contrairement à l'usage de l'Inde propre. Ce qui est curieux, c'est le mélange des désinences pronominales et verbales, sûr aux deuxième personnes en Asie, possible ailleurs,

Le schème est celui-ci ;

	Europe	Asie
3 sg.	asti?	Participe seul
3 pl.	(Participe+désinence du verbe normal)	Participe seul
2 sg.	(perdue)	Participe+ tu
2 pl.	Participe+ -tha	Participe+ -tha
1 sg.	Participe+ ahmi plutôt que me?	Participe+ ahmi ou me
1 pl.	Participe+ mha plutôt que ahme	Participe+ désinence du verbe normal

On peut se demander si ce système composite n'est pas issu d'un état comparable à celui du kaśmiri qui a à la 1e sg. **asmi** affixé, et à la 2e pl. **-tha** : **chiwa**, f. **chewa** comme **gupiw** "vous cachez" ; la 2e sing. aussi a été adaptée au verbe normal : **chukh** comme **gupakh**). Dans ce cas il est concevable que l'ambiguïté de **-m** à la 1e personne du singulier ait pu servir de point de départ à l'affixation de formes pronominales à la 1e du pluriel et à la 2e du singulier.

SUR LES NOMS INDO-EUROPÉENS DU "LAIT"

By A. Meillet

L'existence d'un nom ancien, établi par des concordances entre plusieurs langues distinctes, garantit le fait qu'une notion était connue des hommes qui parlaient l'"indo-européen" commun; en revanche l'absence d'un nom commun à plusieurs langues n'est, bien entendu, pas une raison suffisante de douter qu'une notion ait été nettement dégagée dans le monde indo-européen. Les noms du "lait" illustrent ce principe.

Dans une société où le bétail était la principale richesse, le lait était utilisé, donc nommé (v. l'article **Milch** du Reallexikon de Schrader-Nehring). Mais les noms varient d'une langue à l'autre, et, en général, ils n'ont pas cette transparence qui caractérise les noms présentant des innovations dues à des interdictions de vocabulaire. Ils rappellent plutôt ces noms de parties du corps qui diffèrent d'une langue indo-européenne à l'autre même quand ils présentent entre eux des ressemblances et qu'on n'arrive pas à ramener à une forme originelle commune. Il s'agit du vocabulaire technique et familier qui n'avait pas d'unité en indo-européen; seuls étaient communs à l'ensemble du monde indo-européen les termes qui désignaient les actes principaux de la vie, les principales institutions sociales comme la parenté, les grands animaux domestiques. On ne connaît, pour l'indo-européen commun, qu'un seul nom d'oiseau, celui de l'"oie"; mais s'agit d'une volaille, c'est à dire d'une chose qui intéressait proprement les femmes; qu'on se reporte au songe de Pénélope dans l'*Odyssée* I. 535 et suiv. Et le nom se dénonce par sa vocalisation comme un terme populaire: les langues qui révèlent le timbre de la voyelle s'accordent à présenter l' **a**, qui est, on le sait, l'une des caractéristiques du vocabulaire populaire en indo-européen: **χάλας** en grec, **lacus** en latin. Si le lait n'a pas de nom indo-européen commun, c'est que c'est un produit qui relève des techniques féminines et n'intéresse pas proprement les chefs.

La forme grecque du nom du lait, **γάλα**, **γάλακτος** est, par elle-même, insolite au point de vue indo-européen. Le caractère

“populaire” du mot est indiqué par ceci qu’on trouve la consonne gémignée intérieure, si rarement attestée en grec, au moins dans une forme d’un glossaire: **glakkôn. galathânôn**. Hes., dans un dérivé. Et l’on observe des flottements entre **k** et **g**; Homère a **glágos** et **periglagéas** (acc. plur.) tandis que le crétois a **klagos**; le vocalisme est aussi flottant: Homère a **glaktophágos** et on lit chez Hesychius **glakkônes mestai gálaktos** (v. Boisacq, Dict. etym. de la l. gr., p. 1102, et la biblio-graphie citée).

Le latin **lac, lactis** ne se laisse rapprocher d’une forme grecque **glakt-** qu’à la rigueur, à cause de l’absence de la gutturale initiale. Et le mot grec n’a au:un correspondant ailleurs.

Le mot grec et le mot latin, qui ont entre eux une grande ressemblance, s’accordent du reste à présenter le vocalisme “populaire” **a**.

Dans une autre région dialectale de l’indo-européen, on observe une concordance limitée à deux langues: le mot du type archaïque ved. **dádhi, dadhnáh** désigne le “lait aigre”; la langue religieuse en a tiré parti, et on trouve **dadh(i)y āsīrah sōmāsaḥ** les **somas** mélangés de lait (aigre). Or, en vieux prussien, le vocabulaire d’Elbing a le neutre **dadan** comme nom du “lait”, et **rustan dadan** “sauermilch” (lait aigre.) Les langues baltiques autres que le vieux prussien et les langues slaves ignorent le mot. On a l’impression qu’il y a ici un nom à redoublement; or, dans les noms indo-européens, le redoublement est une des caractéristiques du type “populaire”. Sur le timbre de la voyelle de la syllabe initiale, on ne peut rien dire, puisque l’**a** baltique comme l’**a** védique peut reposer sur **o** aussi bien que sur **a**; le vocalisme “populaire” **a** n’est pas exclu.

Un autre groupe de noms du “lait” se trouve à la fois en indo-iranien et en baltique, mais sous des formes différentes dans les deux familles de langues. Le sanskrit a **páyah, payasaḥ**, à quoi l’Avesta récent répond par **payō**; c’est le nom du “lait” en tant que liquide nourricier. Mais l’Avesta a aussi une autre

formation, **paēma**, et c'est au dérivé **paēmavaiti** que répond pour le sens véd. **páyasvatī**. Une chienne qui allaite est dite dans, l'Avesta **paēmaini**. Le letto-lituanien a un mot parent, mais qui ne concorde ni avec l'un ni avec l'autre des deux mots cités: lit. **piēnas** lette **piēns**. Le lituanien laisse, comme l'indo-iranien, apercevoir que tous ces mots appartiennent à une racine verbale: en lituanien **papijusi kārė** se dit d'une vache qui ne retient pas son lait, et **py'dyti** "faire donner du lait" (v. A. Walde-Pokorny, Vergl. Wört. d. indog. Sprachen, II, p. 73 et suiv.). M. H. Pedersen, dans Grammatical Miscellany Jespersen. p. 65, a écarté avec raison le rapprochement qui a été proposé avec v. angl. **fæmne** "jeune femme".

Le sanskrit a un autre mot, **kṣīrām** "lait" (**khīr** dans l'Inde actuelle), qui n'a de correspondants connus qu'en iranien: persan **šīr** etc.

Le mot skr. **māstu**, qui distingue la crème montée sur le lait aigre, a des correspondants en iranien, notamment persan **māst** "lait aigre", à côté du verbe **māsīdan** "cailler". On rapproche souvent arm. **macanim** "je me colle" et "je me coagule"; mais c'est v. sl. **mazati** "enduire" et gr. **māgis** 'pâte pétrie' que la phonétique et aussi le sens de 'se coller' autorisent à rapprocher du mot arménien. Le mot indo-iranien est donc isolé.

Tous les substantifs cités jusqu'ici sont neutres, parce que le lait était en général envisagé comme un produit. Mais on pouvait aussi considérer le lait comme actif, et en effet l'Avesta oppose **xšvis** (nominatif), designant le "lait" liquide, à **āzuitiš** qui désigne ce qui est solide; les gāthā ont l'accusatif **xšvidəm**

On s'explique ainsi la différence entre le nom germanique du "lait", got. **miluks**, etc., qui est féminin, et le nom v. sl. **mlěko** (russe **molokó** etc.), qui est neutre. Les deux mots ne concordent pas dans le détail; car le mot germanique repose sur un radical **meləg**, et le mot slave sur un radical **melək**. La différence rappelle celle entre **glag-** et **glak-**—en grec. Mais on peut aussi se demander si le mot germanique n'a pas subi

l'influence de la racine signifiant "traire", v. angl. **melcan**, etc. La forme du mot slave exclut l'hypothèse d'un emprunt au germanique; et elle exclut également tout rapport d'origine avec la racine signifiant "traire" qui, en slave, est de la forme **melz-**; du reste, même en germanique, v. angl. **meoluc** 'lait', n'est pas conciliable avec **melcan** 'traire'. Mais une 'étymologie populaire' est toujours possible, surtout dans un mot tel que le nom du 'lait'.

Il n'est pas surprenant que la racine signifiant 'traire'. ait agi sur le nom du "lait". Car le celtique en a tiré le nom même du 'lait', irl. **mlicht** (**blicht**), gall. **blith**. Les noms tokhariens, A **malke**, B **malkwer** paraissent aussi appartenir à la racine ***melg-**.

Dans l'Atharvaveda, x, 10, 30-31, la traite de la vache', **dugdhām vāsāyāḥ**, s'oppose au nom propre du 'lait' **īyāḥ**; et, par la suite, **dugdham** 'ce qui a été trait' est devenu un nom courant du 'lait', si bien que **dūdh** est demeuré dans l'Inde actuelle au sens de 'lait frais'.

Le genre neutre de la plupart des noms qu'on vient de voir n'est pas inhérent à ces substantifs eux-mêmes, mais provient de la manière dont les choses étaient conçues. Car les mêmes substantifs, s'ils désignent des laitances (de poissons), sont du genre animé (féminin) : **lactēs** en latin, **molóki** en russe.

Les mots déjà indiqués n'épuisent pas, tant s'en faut, la terminologie du 'lait'. On s'est abstenu de citer ici les mots isolés comme arm. **kat'n** (gen. **kat'in**) ou alb. **dhate** (nom du lait aigre).

Si les noms du 'lait' sont variés, et parfois dans une même langue: le sanskrit ayant à la fois, dès le début, **payah**, **dādh** et **kṣtram**, l' Avesta ayant à la fois **payō**, **paēma**, **xšvis** (et de plus, une fois, on lit **xšiptavaiti** à côté de **pamavati**, et ce **xšipta** n'est pas isolé en iranien, voir le *Wörterbuch* de Bartholomae) c'est que le lait est envisagé d'une manière toute matérielle, comme une chose qu'on considère de manières diverses suivant l'état où il se présente et suivant les usages qu'on en fait.

On aperçoit ici quelque chose du vocabulaire technique indo-européen, et d'une technique féminine, chose exceptionnelle. Le vocabulaire indo-européen ne se bornait naturellement pas aux mots de la langue des chefs que présente en évidence la comparaison des langues indo-européennes et sur laquelle est fondée la grammaire comparée des langues indo-européennes.

A NOTE ON THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA

By L. D. Barnett

In his very able and for the most part convincing paper on "Puṣyamitra and the Śunga Empire" in the Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. V. pts. 3 4, Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda adds to our many obligations to him by giving the true reading of the crucial passage in the Hathigumpha inscription which is commonly but wrongly supposed to contain a date. The actual letters of l. 16, according to the irrefutable evidence of the cast in the Indian Museum, are as follows: **panatariya [m?u?r?] iyakāle vochine ca coya thia gasatik am t a r i y a m u p ā d a y a t i ***.

With his ingenious interpretation of these letters I regret that I cannot agree, as it would require the change of **vochine** to **vochinaṃ** and ignores the patent parallelism of the words **panatariya** and **satikam t a r i y a m**, and I therefore venture to put forward with considerable diffidence a new version of the passage.

The Prakrit words of the passage may be naturally converted into Sanskrit and translated thus:—**pañcāntariya Mauryakāle (?) vyavacchinne ca catuṣṣaṣṭyagraṃ sapṭikāntariyam** [scil. **kālam**] **utpādayati**, "and when the Mauryan (?) time-reckoning which consisted of lustres (**antara**) of five [years] each, had broken down, he founds [a new time-reckoning] consisting of lustres of seven years each and mounting up to the sixty-fourth year". With such a use of **antara** in the sense of successive periods of time compare *e. g.* **Manvantara**.

*The Rai Bahadur with extreme kindness has sent me a photograph of the passage as it is preserved on the cast, which shows no trace of the chisel-mark where Bhagvanlal Indraji read **mu**, and only an uncertain trace of an **r**.

It is well known that in early time a lustre or **yuga** of five solar years of 366 days each, amounting in all to 1830 days, was in use, and that subsequently 12 **yugas** of five years each were combined to make up the cycle of **Br̥haspati** (Jupiter) or **Bārhaspatya samvatsara-cakra**, which comprises 60 years and thus forms a period combining the five-year solar **yugas** with the twelve-yearly cycles in which Jupiter completes his sidereal revolution. It is this system of five-year **yugas**, I believe, to which Khāravēla here refers when he speaks of "the Mauryan(?) time-reckoning consisting of lustres of five [years] each". The system apparently had broken down and ceased to work in Kalinga, in other words, astronomical calculations were unable to harmonise the solar with the lunar year; and to reform the calendar, it would seem, Khāravēla introduced a new cycle of 64 years consisting of 9 **yugas** of 7 years each (*viz.* 1-7, 8-14, 15-21, 22-28, 29-35, 36-42, 43-49, 50-56, 57-63) with a concluding 64th year. On what astronomical principles this attempt at calendrical reform was based we cannot tell. Apparently it aimed at harmonising somehow the cycle of **Br̥haspati** with the solar year. It is worth nothing that, as according to the *Sūryasiddhānta* a year of the cycle of **Br̥haspati** is about 4·232 days less than a solar year, this deficiency in seven years would amount to 29·624 days, nearly agreeing with the length of the synodic month of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, and this deficiency could then be made good by intercalation of an **adhika** month.

For the odd 64th year the following explanation may be suggested. If, as is quite possible, the cycle started from a day other than the first of the calendrical year, say the day of Khāravēla's coronation, a year reckoned from this starting-point would run over into the next calendar year; hence after the completion of the 63rd year of the cycle there would remain a certain space of time, less than a calendar year, between the end of the 63rd year of the cycle and the termination of the calendar year in which that end fell. For instance, suppose the calendar

began the year with Caitra, and that the cycle of Khāravēla started on the first day of Kārttika; then the 63rd year would end on the last day of Āśvina, after which there would be a period of 5 months (Kārttika to Phālguna) which would be reckoned as the 64th year, after which the following 7 months (from the first of Caitra to the end of Āśvina) would be counted as constituting the first year of a new cycle. Thus the last year and the following first year would in reality comprise only one true year, and the cycle would consist altogether of not more than 63 real years. Such a practice is not unknown: a parallel may be quoted from the *Aṅka* or "Onko" system of Orissa (which, it should be observed, was the home of Khāravēla), according to which "when a prince dies in the middle of an Onko year, his successor's 1st Onko which commences on his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the 11th day of Bhādrapada-śuddha following; consequently the last regnal year of the one and the first of the other together occupy only one year, and one year is dropped in effect" (Sewell and Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar*, p. 38).

As the first letter of the word **muriya** in the inscription is quite uncertain, one is tempted to suggest that after all the reading **muriya** may be erroneous, and should be corrected to **suriya**: the system of five-year lustres is a **solar** one. The *Rai Bahadur* further tells us that before **muriya** are traces of four or five letters which are now "totally defaced". These were read by Bhagvanlal Indrajī as **sathivasasate raja-**, and by Mr. Jayaswal as **satasahasehi**. Very little reliance can be placed upon either of these decipherments: but as the inscription was probably in better condition when first found by Bhagvanlal, his reading of the first four letters, **sathivasa**, may possibly be right, and if so, it will support my interpretation. For it means that the cycle superseded or amended by Khāravēla was the cycle of 60 years, i. e. of 12 lustres of 5 years each, and may we

conjecturally restore the text to **panatariya-saṭhivasage**, in Sanskrit **pañcāntariya-ṣaṣṭi-varṣāgre**

A slight difficulty in the way of accepting the above suggestions arises from the fact that **pañca** in the sense of **pañcakam** or **pañcikā**, a group of five, is somewhat unusual; but **pañcāntaram** in the meaning of 'an interval of five [years]' may be justified by compounds like **pāñcahotā** (RV. V. xl. 1). It may also be remarked that **saptikā** in place of the common **saptakam** is without authority; but it is fully justified by the analogy of **pañcikā**.

SOME SANSKRIT AND PALI NOTES

By Jarl Charpentier

1. Skt. avadhvaṃsa.

In AV. V, 22. 3 we read the following words: **yaḥ paraṣaḥ pāruṣeṇo 'vadhvaṃsa ivāruṇaḥ, takmānaṃ viśvadhāvīryā-dhārāṇcam para suvā**, where apparently **takman**, the 'demon of fever', is spoken of as being "red as **avadhvaṃsa**." To this word is ascribed in the dictionaries the sense of "sprinkling, powdering" (Hc. an. IV, 324; Med. p. H 47); and Boëthlingk - Roth, quoting the AV.-passage, translate the word with "dust" or "flour".

Professor Lüdgers some years ago² dealt with this verse in the **Atharva-Veda** and translated the words in question "rot wie Streupulver", at the same time suggesting that **avadhvaṃsa** should really mean the same as **manahś.lā**, red arsenic, which like the yellow one (**haritālā**) seems to have been frequently used, already at an early time, for paint and powder, for making **tilakas** etc. Although such a suggestion is altogether justified it seems that we can perhaps, with the aid of a fairly late source, fix beyond doubt the real sense of **avadhvaṃsa**. For, we find in Hemacandra's **Deśināmamālā**, 1,168 the following words: **oḥaṃso candanaṃ candanagharṣanaśilā ceti dvyarthaḥ**. The word **oḥaṃsa** consequently means "sandal" and "a stone for rubbing sandal into powder". In the sense of "sandal" it is undoubtedly a **tadbhava** from **avadhvaṃsa** and thus proves that this word in the AV.-passage must mean "red sandal". Again in the sense of "rubbing stone" it is apparently identic with **ohariso.....candana-gharṣana-**

(1) He is said to make men and all beings "green" or "yellowish green" (**harita**, AV. V, 22, 2; VI, 20, 3; cf. I, 25, 2. 3). In VI, 20, 3 he is called **aruṇa** "red" and **babhru** "tawny" etc.

(2) Cf. Aupsätze. . . Ernst Kuhn gevidmet (1916), p. 321 sq.

silā in the *Deśināmamālā* 1,169 and must be derived from Skt. *avagharṣa.¹

Takman, the fever demon, is red in colour like red sandal. For, red is the colour of blood, of death, of fear; it is frequently the colour of evil spirits but also the one with which you scare them off, with which you turn off the evil eye and other malign influences.²

2. P. asimālā.

The *Culladhammapālajātaka* (358) is one of the most insipid and unattractive of all the texts belonging to the great collection of *Jātakas* and bears a certain similarity to the often rather unsavoury tales of the various arts of self-sacrifice practised by the *Bodhisattva*. It tells us how King *Mahāpratāpa* of Benares got angry with his seven months old son (the *Bodhisattva*) because his mother paid too much heed to him, and decided to have him killed. He thus called for the chief executioner (*coraghātaka*)* and ordered him to fetch the child and successively to slash off its hands, feet and head.* At last even the mangling of the lifeless

(1) The Petersburg Dict. only gives *avagharṣana*- in the sense of "rubbing off"; but there is no doubt that **avagharṣa*- must mean the same thing.

(2) On red as a magic colour cf. above all the articles of Professor Zachariæ in *VOJ.* XVII, 135 sq. 211 sq. and *Kleine Schriften* p. 233 sq.; also my article on *pūjā* in the *Festgabe*, H. Jacobi p. 276 sq. (reprinted in the *IA*, LVI; on *pūjā* Cf. also M. Przyluski, *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions* XCV, 347 sq.).

(3) Here as in *Jātaka* 313 and elsewhere he carries yellow robes (*kāsāyavattha*) and garlands of red flowers; his chief instrument is an axe (*pharasu*). In *Jātaka* 313 he carries a thorny whip (*kaṇṭhakasā*) while in our text he is provided with an *upadhāna-ghaṭikā* (a word, it seems, of uncertain sense but which must mean the same as *dhammaghaṇṭhikā* in *Jātaka* I, 150, 24. 27; viz. "an executioner's block"). On yellow colour in magic etc. cf. *Festgabe*, H. Jacobi p. 296 n. 4 where these passages have, unfortunately, been left out.

(4) It seems obvious that the verses of this *Jātaka* are in disorder and do not tally with the prose version. The order should probably be 4-5, 1, 6, 2-3.

corpse is ordered by the unnatural father: "asituṇḍena naṃ paṭicchitvā asimālaṃ nāma karohiṭi". So¹ tassa kalevaram ākāse khipitvā asituṇḍena paṭicchitvā asimālaṃ nāma katvā mahātale vipākiri (Jātaka III, 180, 23 sq.).

The general trend of the narrative is quite clear: the executioner throws the corpse into the air, catches it on the point of his sword and then in some way, cuts the corpse to pieces and flings them all over the palace-roof. In the following the poor mother is made to collect the scraps of flesh and put them in her lap. However, the word *asimālā* does not seem to be sufficiently clear; nor does the second passage where it occurs, viz. *Dāṭhāvamsa* III, 45², make it clearer as this verse simply sums up the main contents of our Jātaka:

yo Dhammapālo api sattamāsa-
jāto paduṭṭhe janake sakamhi
kārapayante asimālakammaṃ
cittam no dūsesi Patāparāje.

However it seems sufficiently obvious that *asimālā* "sword-garland" must mean some peculiar trick by which a corpse impaled on a sword is at the same time quartered and the pieces made to spread into different directions.³

(1) Viz., the *coraghātaka*.

(2) JPTS. 1884, p. 128.

(3) The PTS. Pali Diet. I, 88 gave an absolutely senseless interpretation of the word but this has been corrected in Corrigenda to pt. I (inserted between n and p, the curious pagination not admitting any better way of quoting the passage) and s. v. *māla*-. In spite of Kern, *Toevoegselen*, I, 161 there scarcely exists any word *māla*-, *māla*-. "mud". In Jātaka, VI, 400, 13 "pitch" would be a much more sensible translation; and *ibid.* II, 416, 12 sq. *mālākacavara*- probably means "a heap of withered garlands" (under which the corpse of Sundarī was concealed just as in the *Mṛcchakatikā* the rogue conceals Vasantasenā under a heap of fallen leaves; the meaning of p. *kacavara*- becomes still clearer by a Prākṛit word which must in some way belong here, viz., *kayāro kajjavo tathā katavaro tṛṇādyutkarah*, *Deśināmamālā*, 2, 11). and in *Mil.* p. 117. there cannot be the slightest doubt that *phenāmālā* means "wreathes of foam"—a not uncommon mode of expression.

The word *asimālā* "sword-garland" seems to me to have an illustrative parallel in certain expressions that have formed round that most horrid mode of punishment, *viz.* the impaling on a stake. First of all we find the expression *uttāseti* (generally identified with Skt. *uttamsayati*) for which some examples from the Jātaka-book may be sufficient. In Jātaka, I, 326, 2 we read the following order of a king: "*āghātane sisam assa chinditvā sarīraṃ sūle uttāsethā 'ti'*"; in II, 443, 6 we meet with the expression: *taṃ pana purisaṃ jivasūle' uttāsesum* (where in V. 2 the *sūla* is spoken of as *asi* and *śakti*); in III, 34, 6-7 we are told that *tasmim pana kāle core gahetvā nimbasūle uttāseti* (in the same text III, 34, 25-26: *coraṃ gahetvā rājāno gāme kibbisakārakam appenti nimbasūlasmim*)²; in IV, 29, 2-3 the king orders his men concerning the ascetic Maṇḍavya: "*gacchatha, naṃ sūle uttāsethā 'ti'*", and *ibid.* 11, 13-14 the ascetic speaks thus to his executioners: "*sace maṃ sūle uttāsetukam' attha koviḷārasūlaṃ āharathā 'ti'*". On the same page 118 there occurs the participle of this same verb in the expression *sūle uttāsito* "he is impaled on a stake"; and the identical expression is found in I, 499, 14 while in I, 500, 11-13 we again meet with the words *sūle uttāsethā* and *sūle uttāsesum*. Finally we also find a substantive *uttāsana-* "impalement" in II, 444, 1:

Now there is no doubt that p. *uttāseti* is Skt. *uttamsayati*, a derivative of *uttamsa-* "wreath", and means "to adorn with a

(1) Cf. the curious expression in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 417, 8: *jivantisūlāṃ atha kārayāmi*. There are different modes of impaling a dead corpse or a person who is still alive.

(2) The *Nim* tree (L. *Melia Azadirachta*) which is sacred to various gods seems to have sometimes enjoyed a sinister reputation though it is also useful in several ways, cf. e.g. Witts, *Commercial Products*, p. 780; Sir George Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life* p. 391; Enthoven, *Bombay Folklore* pp. 137, 139 sq. 224, 246, 262, 264, 342 etc.

(3) This verb is found in the *Mukundānandabhāṣa* 12, 4; 23, 6; cf. also *samuttamsita-* in *Dharmaśarmābhyaṅga*, 4, 39.

The substantive *uttāsaitṭa* in *Ayār. sutsa* p. 7, 1 (Schubring) must, I suppose be taken to be **uttrāsayitar-*—and not **uttamsayitar* (Pischel, *Pkt. Gr.*, §582 less correctly takes it to be *=uttrāsayitvā*)

wreath, a garland". The grim humour has thus described the poor wretch impaled on the stake as a sort of wreath adorning this horrible instrument of torture. No doubt the same sort of grim and expressive humour underlies the word **asimālā** which, unfortunately, I have only been able to find in the passage quoted above¹.

In Sanskrit we seem to have at least one passage where the verb **ava-tams-** is used in the same sense in which we have here found **ut-tams-** being made use of. Professor R. Schmidt in his supplements to the Petersburg Dictionary quotes from the *Daśakumāracarita* p. 41, 16 the expression **sūlāvatamsita**-² which must mean exactly the same as **sūle uttāsita** in Pali, i.e. "placed like a wreath on the stake". Though there would always be a possibility that **uttāseti** could, by the way of ***ōttāseti**, be derived from **ava tamsayati** this does not seem at all necessary. We may rest content that both **sūle avatamsayati** and **uttamsayati** meant the same thing and that they may both throw some light on the word **asimālā** dealt with here.³

3. Skt. Kalevara-

To Skt. **Kalevara-** correspond in Pāli **kaḷebara-**, **kalebara-**, **kalevara-** and in the "Sanskrit" of the Northern Buddhists **kadevara**-⁴; once we find even a form **kadepara**-⁵. According to

(1) There is another expression which is somewhat parallel in sense to **uttāseti**, viz., **sūle āvuṇṇāti** "to impale" (properly "to string, tie, fix to a stake") e.g. *Jātaka*, III, 35; *āvuṇṇāpeti*, III, 218; *āvuta-* "impaled", V, 145; VI, 105 of fishes stuck on a spit, etc.; cf. Morris, JPTS. 1884, p. 91.

(2) Though I have looked through all the editions of the *Daśakumāracarita* available to me I have, unfortunately, not been able to identify the passage.

(3) A parallel expression is found in the term **jotimālaka-** "the garland of fire", denoting some other horrible form of torture, Mil. P. p. 197 etc. The way of procedure is not quite clear (cf. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism* p. 32; Kern, *Toevoghselen* I, 46); I suppose it means wrapping the body in oiled wreaths of cotton and putting fire to them.

(4) E. g. *Divyāvadāna* p. 39, 11; *Avad. sat.* II, 26, 1 (the same phrase in both passages).

(5) Leumann. *Zur nordar. Sprache u. Literatur* p. 41 n.

the researches of Professor Lüders Festschrift Wackernagel p. 294 sq. the -ḍ- or -ḷ- should everywhere, when found besides a dental -l-, be the primary sound; and although his conclusions are at times rather uncritical¹, I should feel inclined to think that this is most'y—though not always—the case. However, it is not my purpose here to try to find for *kalevara-* any etymological connection which would probably be a quite hopeless task; I only want to add a few remarks concerning the real meaning of the word.

Kalevara- is generally said to mean “the body” and “a dead body, a carcass” which undoubtedly seems to be the case. If that be so, it is, however, extremely difficult to find out what underlies the Pāli expression *sopāna-kalevara-* which in Majjh. Nik. II, 92 apparently means “(the step in) a flight of stairs” and which is certainly to be preserved in CV. V, 21, 2 (=Vin. Piṭ. II, 128) as being the lectio difficilior instead of **kaliṅgara* adopted by Oldenberg². This again goes far to explain an otherwise puzzling expression in the Jain Uttarādhyayanāsūtra 0, 35 where we read:

kakalevaraseṇiṃ uttiyā siddhiṃ Goyama loyaṃ gacchasi |

hemaṃ ca sivaṃ anuttaraṃ samayaṃ Goyama mā pamāyae||

The word *akalevaraseṇi* is explained by Devendra in his *tīkā* in the following way³: *akalevaraśreṇiḥ | avidyamānaṃ kaḍevaram eṣāṃ akaḍavarāḥ siddhāś teṣāṃ śreṇir akaḍeva-raśreṇiḥ* etc, which only shows that even a good commentary

(1) This is exemplified by such passages as that dealing with the name of the pomegranate (Skt. *dāḍima-* etc.,) on p. 305; as Dr. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* p. 282 sq. had previously shown the word is traceable to some Iranian name of this tree which is decidedly not a native of India. Nor does the paragraph dealing with *kāla-* and *kāḷa-* (p. 300 sq.) inspire entire confidence etc.

(2) And also by Kern, *Toevoghselen*, I, 141.

(3) Cf. my edition of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* p. 319).

like that of Devendra is apt to produce, in dubious cases, almost unlimited nonsense. For, compared with the Pāli word it is at once obvious that *akalevara-śreṇi* can mean nothing but "a ladder without steps or rungs".

As it would be rather out of the way to assume the existence of two different words *kalevara-* (*kaḍevara-* etc.) one is entitled to ask for some sort of connection between the meanings, "body, carcass" and "step of a flight of stairs, rung of a ladder". Such a connection, I venture to believe, is established by the Prakrit word *kalero kaṅkālaḥ karālaśca* (*Deśināmamālā* 2, 53, cf. *Trivikrama* I, 3, 105) which Pische¹ has correctly derived from *kalevara*². This seems to make the whole thing tolerably clear: *kalevara-* (*kaḍevara-*) originally means "the ribs, the thorax", and it thus naturally enough developed the sense of "carcass" and "body". As, on the other hand, the steps in a flight of stairs or the rungs of a ladder were not ineptly compared with the ribs of the thorax this gave rise to the expressions *sopāṇa-kalevara-* and *akalevara-śreṇi-* dealt with above. Thus *sopāṇa-kalevara-* originally means something like "the ribs of staircase".

4. P. iṭṭhi.

In the *Mahānārada-kassapa-jātaka* (544), V. 22³ we read in the description of an excursion of the King of Videha:

**Taṃ anuyāyūṃ bahavo iṭṭhikhaggadharā bali
assapiṭṭhigatā dhīrā narā naravarādhīpaṃ.**

The commentary does not explain the word *iṭṭhi*⁴, and it does not seem to have been understood. For, Kern, *Toevoegselen* I, 139 suggests that the true reading should be *iddhakhaggadharā* "carrying flaming swords" which is accepted without further commentaries by the PTS *Pali Dict.* I, 119.

(1) Bezz. Beitr. VI, 95; Pkt. Gr. §149.

(2) I do not here touch upon *kalera-* = *karāla-* as I shall hope to deal with that later on.

(3) *Jātaka* ed. Fausbøll VI, 223, 18.

(4) For which the Ms. B⁴ = reads *inda*⁵.

It is, of course, scarcely methodical to exchange the lectio difficilior *iṭṭhi*^o against an *iddha*^o which has not even the real support of the manuscripts. Besides there is not the slightest doubt that *iṭṭhi*- must be explained as being the Pāli form of Skt. *ṛṣṭi*-, a word that originally means "a spear"¹ but is also given by the lexicographers as meaning "a sword".² So it remains somewhat difficult to decide whether we ought to translate here "carrying spears and swords" or "carrying *iṭṭhi*- swords, the special form of swords called *iṭṭhi*", but on the whole I think there can be little doubt that the former one must be the correct translation of the passage.

Of this word no other Middle Indian forms seem so far to have become known. But from the modern languages I find in the excellent work of M. Bloch Mar. *iṭā*, *viṭā* "pique servant de masse d'armes", *iṭi*, *viṭ* "bâton servant au jeu de *iṭidāṇḍū*" as well as hi. *iṭhī*, *iṭi* and si. *iṭi*. From the meaning of the Marāṭhi words it seems obvious that the word has conserved through the ages its old sense, viz. "a spear", and that such should also be the sense of p. *iṭṭhi*-. On the other hand the sense of "sword" seems especially to belong to the late "Sanskrit" form *ṛṣṭi*- which is found also in pkt. *ṛiṭṭhi* (*khadga iti ṛiṣṭiśabdabhavaḥ*, *Deśināma-mālā*, 7, 6). Of this form no modern representatives are known to me.

5. P. danta-poṇa-

The PTS Diet. knows two words *poṇa*- both of which its authors, though with some doubt, seem to regard as being identical. The one of them, which means "sloping down, prone, sloping towards, leading to", must undoubtedly be identic with the Vedic

(1) In the *Rigveda* it is the special weapon of the Maruts.

(2) Cf. e. g. *Amarakośa*, I, 8, 2, 57 (= I, 8, 90 ed. K. G. Oka). *Kṣīrasvāmin* who suggests two different etymological derivations (for *ṛṣṭi*- and *ṛiṣṭi*-) does not tell us what sort of sword it means.

(3) La formation de la langue Marathe, p. 294 (cf. p. 156).

word **pravāṇa-** the sense of which is clearly “declivis, pronus”. The other word **paṇa-** however, only occurs in the compounds **danta-paṇa-** and **°paṇika-**, and there can be no doubt that it must be a word of wholly different origin.

danta-paṇa- means “a tooth-pick” and is known to me from the following passages: in **Jātaka** IV, 363, 7 sq. the wise minister **Vidhūra** describes to King **Kauravya** certain Brahmins who deal in perfumes, fruit etc.:

hārīṭakam āmalakam ambajambuvibhīṭakam |
labujam dantapaṇāni beluvā padarāni ca ||
 **vipaṇenti janādhipa. ||**²

In **Mil**, p 15 **dantapaṇa-** is used interchanging with **danta-katṭha-**, the well-known twig used for cleansing the teeth. And in **Vin**, P. IV, 90, 5.7; **Jātaka**, IV, 69, 15 and **Paramatthajotikā** II, 272, 12 it is used in the compound **udaka-dantapaṇa-**. Finally there is the derivative **dantapaṇaka-** in **Dāṭhāvamsa**, 1, 57:³

dume pi Rājāyatāne samādhinā
viḥāsi rattindivasattakam muni |
sahassanetto atha dantapaṇakam
mukhodakañ cāpi adāsi satthuno ||⁴

As the meaning of “tooth-pick, tooth-brush” is quite clear there can be no doubt about the real derivation of the word: **dantapaṇa-** is = Skt. **danta-pavana-** which is only found in

(1) I am totally at a loss to understand the circuitous explanation of the PTS Pāli Diet.: from **pra+ava+nam-**; **pravāṇa-** could have nothing to do with **nam-** unless we derive it from ***prānava- < *pra-nama-** which is incredible, not to say impossible. As for **pravāṇa-** I should prefer to keep to the old etymology (cf. Bopp, Gloss. Sanscr.⁵ p. 254; A. Kuhn, Zeitsch. f. vgl. Spr. III, 399 f.; Ebel ibid. VI, 212; W. Meyer. ibid XXVIII, 165; Froehde-Bezz. Beitr., III, 10; Solmsen, Studien z. lat. Laut. gesch. p. 97) according to which it is really identical with Lat. **pronus** (from ***proneno-**).

(2) Fick, Social Gliederung, p. 142 has translated **paarānid-** with “Bretter” (“boards”); as in VI, 529, 21 it is a false reading instead of **padarāni**.

(3) JPTS, 1884, p. 115.

(4) In the **Mahāvagga**, I, 4 there is no mention of this.

Suśruta and may well be a later formation than the Pāli word. This, however, is of no consequence; for, °poṇa- is pavana- meaning "an instrument for cleansing, rinsing (the teeth)".¹

The -n- in *poṇa- is out of order from the ordinary point of view and simply belongs to those not uncommon cases where Pāli shares with the later Prakrits the cerebralisation of an intervocalic -n-. A word of exactly the same formaton is moṇi- "a basket for keeping snakes", Hc. au. II, 151; it must be derived from Skt. *mavana-² which belongs to mav- "to bind" (Pāṇ. VI, 4, 20). Another word which seems to be identical in its structure with these both is p. Pkt. loṇa- "salt" (for which the modern vernaculars, as is well known, have forms beginning with l- or n-)³. There, however, already the Sanskrit shows a cerebral in the form lavaṇa-. The etymology of this word remains unknown;⁴ there is nothing to correspond to it even in the Iranian languages.⁵ Nor can the exact meaning be said to be absolutely clear; at any rate the meaning of the derivation lāv-anya- might easily suggest that the original sense was both that of "salt" and "sweet"—a case which is by no means without parallels. However, this is probably not the case: lavaṇa-

(1) For the sake of the meaning cf. pavani "a broom". Whether poṇiā sūtrabhṛt tarkuḥ (Deśināmamālā, 6, 61) could be connected with these words I dare not decide. If so it would correspond to Sanskrit *pavanikā.

(2) In Indog. Forsch., XXIX, 399 n. 3. I less correctly derived it from *mauna-.

(3) Cf. e.g. Bloch, La formation de la langue Marathe, p.400.

(4) The suggestions of professor Reichelt, Streitberg Festgabe, p. 295 sq. are wholly unconvincing.

(5) The Indo-Iranian languages have no common name of the salt; nor do they share in the common European name of this mineral, which was something like *sāl-d, *sal-n-és (cf. J. Schmidt, Pluralbildungen, p. 182 sq.). This still forms a weighty argument in favour of the theory that the unbroken Indo-European community did not know the use of salt (cf. Schrader, Reallexikon, 2nd ed., II, 273, and the present writer in BSOS., IV, 156). The European tribes probably learnt to use it, after the separation from the Aryans, on the northern shores of the Black Sea.

originally meant "salt" and especially "sea salt".¹ The word is first met with in Av. VII, 76, 1; and there is, of course, no reason for thinking it impossible that the -ṇ- could already at that time be due to "Prākritic" influences.² However in, consideration of the curious interchange between śrona- : śloṇa- and śravaṇa- : ślavāṇa- "lame, crippled" already in early texts³ I should feel inclined to suggest that lavāṇa- has really developed from an older form *ravāṇa- of which there is now no trace.⁴

We find a cerebral ṇ in about the same position in the curious Pāli verb *oṇojeti* "to cause to wash off, to cleanse; to give as a present, to dedicate (with the rite of washing one's hands)", *oṇojana-* "washing one's hands". According to Kern⁵ this represents Skt. *ava-nejayati*, *ava-nejana-*; and although the suggested transposition of -e- into an -o- is extraordinary and unexplained there can be little doubt that this is really the correct explanation. In that case the cerebral -ṇ- is rather out of order. We also find a verb *oṇati* "to drag away", Dhṛp. 13, 12 which, according to an old but still valid explanation is really = Skt. *ava(apa)-nayati*.⁶ Even here we find the cerebral -ṇ- in a similar position; the same is the case in *oṇamati*, *oṇamana-*, *oṇata-* (inter-changing with *o-nam-* cf. Morris JPTS. 1887, 125).

(1) Compared with *saindhava-* "salt from the Salt Range" etc.

(2) No possible influence in the case of the cerebralisation can be ascribed to the neighbourhood of the l- sound; the form *anulepana-* mentioned by Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 194 is purely Prākritic.

(3) Cf. Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 193.

(4) If this be so **ravāṇa-*, *lavāṇa-* is certainly a word which the Aryans picked up from some aboriginal stem in India. Certain Indo-European connections would perhaps suggest themselves, but they would certainly be far too hazy to be of any value whatsoever.

(5) Cf. Buddhism, p. 92; Toevoghselen II, 5. 138; also Morris, JPTS. 1887, 150; Müller, Pali Grammar p. 9.

(6) Cf. Pott, Etym. Forsch. I, 169; Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 194.

It is rather apparent that in all these cases the cerebral **-ṇ-** comes immediately after an **-o-**vowel.¹ The Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammar knows of no possible influence of such a vowel in the direction of a cerebralisation of a following **n**, and it may be well doubted whether such an influence could really be traced. However, a cerebralised **ṇ** in such a position would be of very high age if the Rigvedic word **oṇi-** could also be brought under this head. The real meaning of this Vedic word seems to be far from clear;² according to the Nighaṇṭu 3, 30 the dual **oṇyau** means "heaven and earth", and Sāyaṇi, commenting on RV, X, 96, 12, interprets it as "finger", cf. the proper name **daśoṇi-**. Modern interpreters have tried, with no great success, still other possibilities.³ But whatever may be the original meaning of **oṇi-**⁴ I am firmly convinced that it is only a very early "Prakrit" form of **avani-**. Of this word there are three traditional meanings; according to Nighaṇṭu 1, 1 it is **=prthivī**, "earth", according to 1, 13 **=nadī**, "stream, river", and according to 2, 5 **=aṅguli**, "finger". No doubt the first and last one are those ascribed by the native tradition to **oṇi-**; and it seems fairly obvious that even the old Indians interpreters may have had a vague idea of the identity of these two words.

(1) Still other such instances present themselves within the Sanskrit dictionary as e.g. **koṇa-** and **kaphoṇi-** (on which cf. Morgenstierne, Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan p. 88; Chatterji, Bengali Language I, 315). But for these words no plausible derivations suggest themselves—at least not to me—and I highly doubt whether they can be considered as real Sanskrit words. For **kaphoṇi-** (there also seems to be **kaphaṇi-** which is, however, doubtful) and the related Bengali and Iranian words a common original form can scarcely be found.

(2) A certain difficulty also seems to beset the Pali word **oṇi-** in **oṇi-rakkha-**, cf. Morris, JPTS. 1887, 150; Kern, Toevoegselen II, 5.

(3) Cf. e.g. Baunack, Zeitschr. f. vgl.-Sprf. XXXV, 520 sq.; Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm, I 191; Oldenberg, RV. Noten I, 61. II, 311; Neisser, Z. Wb. des RV. I, 197 f.

(4) The TS.-variant **ūṇi-** seems to be of no importance.

6. P. rajassira-

The Pāli word **rajassira-** is known to me only from the following six passages, five of which apply it as an epithet to ascetics or brahmins: **Suttanipāta** v. 980:

ugghaṭṭapādo tasito paṅkadanto rajassiro |

"foot-sore, thirsty, with dirty teeth, covered with dust" (in the description of a wandering Brahmin); there is no commentary on the word here.

Jātaka IV, 184, 10 sq:

diḡhuttarotthā jaṭilā paṅkadantā rajassirā |

inaṃ vodāya¹ gacchanti tadā Kaṇho pamokkhati||

"When ascetics with long moustaches, with braided hair, with dirty teeth, and covered with dust will live by usury² then will (the dog) **Kṛṣṇa** be let loose". No commentary on **rajassira**.

Jātaka IV, 362, 25 sq.

parūḷhakacchanakhalomā paṅkadantā rajassirā |

okiṇṇā rajarenūhi yācakā vicaranti te||

"with long hair in the armpits and long nails, with dirty teeth and covered with dust, sprinkled with dirt and dust these (false Brahmins) run round like beggars." No commentary on **rajassira**.

Jātaka IV, 371, 19 sq.

isiṇ ca dāni pucchāmi kiṣaṃ dhamanisanthatam |

parūḷhakacchanakhalomam paṅkadantam rajassiram||

"Now I ask the lean ascetic with veins showing, the one with long hair in the armpits and long nails, with dirty teeth and covered with dust". No commentary on **rajassira**.

Jātaka IV, 476, 23:

cirassaṃ vata passāma brāhmaṇaṃ devavaṇṇinaṃ |

mahājaṭam bhāradharaṃ paṅkadaṭṭam rajassiram||

(1) There is a v. l. **codāya** which would give a better sense (or rather would alone make the passage intelligible); but I do not see my way for explaining a form like ***codāya**.

(2) Such ought to be the interpretation according to the commentary.

"At last we get sight of the Brahmin of godly hue, with long braid, carrying his load, with dirty teeth, covered with dust". No commentary on **rajassira**.

Finally we find it in another connection in *Jātaka* IV, 398, 14:

upaniyati jivitaṃ appamāyu
jārūpaniṭassa na santi tāṇā |
karohi pañcāla mam'eta vākyam
mā kāsi kammāni rajassirāni||

"Life, of short duration, draws towards its end, there is no safeguarding for one who has reached old age. O King of Pañcāla, act now (etc.) according to my word, fulfil no sinful actions". Commentary: **rajassira**ṇi kilesarajena okiṇṇasīsāni.

This commentatorial passage thus seems to derive **rajassira**- from **rajas**- "dust" and **sira(s)**- "head"; and such an opinion seems to have won the applause of modern scholars, cf. Kern, *Toevoegselen* II, p. 46 and *PTS Pāli Diet.* s. v.

There is in Sanskrit literature at least one passage known to me which might make us feel uncertain concerning such an explanation. In the *Suparṇādhyaṃya* 8, 5 we read the following verse:

rajasvalo jaṭilaḥ paṅkadanta unnītaśikho vadati satyam
eva |
amitramadhye na bibhetti mṛtyoḥ sa brāhmaṇas taṃ sma
mā han garutman||

(1) This **eta** the commentary explains as **-etaṃ**. As far as I understand it is rather = **etta** "here" which is again = **etra** in *Shālbhāzgarhi* VI, 15 and is derived from ***itra** = av. **ibra**, cf. Lassen, *Institutiones*, p. 129; Brugmann, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. sprf.* XXVII, 198 sq; Johansson, *Shālbhāzgarhi* I, 19 sq. Here also belongs **ettha** "here, now" (with the same aspiration as in **tattha** etc.). On other explanations of this word cf. *Kaccāyana* II, 4, 23; Hemacandra, I, 57; III, 83; Fausbøll, *Dhammapada* p. 350; Childers s. v.; Kuhn, *Beitrage* p. 21; S. Goldschmidt, *Prākṛitica* pp. 6. 21 ff.; *ZDMG.* XXXVII, 457 sq.; Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. XXXI n. 2; II, p. 88; *Pkt. Gr.* p. 89 sq.

“Covered with dust, with braided hair, with dirty teeth, with raised top-knot¹ he speaks the truth only; even in the middle of his foemen he fears not death—he is a Brahmin, kill him not, O Garutmant”.

The word **rajasvala-**, which we meet with here, is found in other passages too in the sense of “covered with dust”; thus in the passages MBh VII, 1454 and 8896 (of warriors vanquished in battle) and IX, 1370 (of elephants fleeing before the onslaught of Bhīma). It is further found in the sense of “filled with **rajas**, with passion, sinful”, a sense which tallies completely with that of **rajassira-** in Jātaka IV, 393, 14(**kammāni rajassirāni**). As is well-known **rajasvala-** (in its feminine form) also means “a woman having her menses”² with which sense we are not concerned here. The formation of the word is prescribed by Pāṇini V, 2, 112 where the suffix **-vala-** (**-valac**) is applied to the words **rajas-**, **kṛṣi-**, **āsuti-** and **pariṣad-**; to these examples Patañjali adds some other ones, viz. **bhrātrvala-**, **puttravala-** and **utsaṅgavala-**. In the next sūtra (V, 2, 113) Pāṇini himself mentions two more **-vala-** formations, viz. **dantāvala-** and **śikhāvala-**, but with the addition that they are only used **saṃjñāyām**³; in sūtra VI, 3, 118 he mentions the allongation of the vowel preceding **-vala-** which takes place (e.g. in **dantāvala-**) when the syllable is not by nature a long one⁴.

It cannot escape our attention that the Pāli word **rajassira-** in both its senses tallies very well with those of **rajasvala-**. And according to my humble opinion there can be no doubt that the

(1) On this word cf. my work *Die Suparṇasage*, p. 243 with n. 2.

(2) **rajas-** “dirt, impurity” has the sense of “menses” already in the *Nirukta*, 4, 19 where it is derived from the root **ra(ñ)j-**.

(3) Still other examples are found in Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, I, 261 where I miss **naḍvala-** and **śādvala-** mentioned by Pāṇini IV, 2, 88.

(4) This allongation, however, does not seem to be de rigueur with Patañjali (cf. **puttravala-** etc.)

two words are in reality identical. That the suffix **-vala-** is only a variation, and generally a younger one, of **-vara-** is too well known to need any discussion here. It is therefore perhaps scarcely needed to derive a formation ***rajasvara-** from **rajasvala-**; they could both have existed by side of each other, nay, **rajasvala-** could even have arisen out of ***rajasvara-** through dissimilation. It has also been observed—*e.g.* by J. Schmidt, *Vocalismus II*, 211 sq.—that before an **r** the **a** does sometimes in Sanskrit (and Prākṛit) show a tendency of developing into an **i**; thus ***rajasvara-** could very well at a certain time and within a certain area have developed into ***rajasvira-**. And such a form would of course, within Pāli develop into the existing **rajassira-**². Thus we should find the following line of development: ***rajasvara-** (= **rajasvala-**) > ***rajasvira-** > **rajassira-**.

7. Skt. **nistrimśa-**.

The Sanskrit word **nistrimśa-** according to Pāṇini V, 4, 73 and the commentaries must originally mean “more than, exceeding thirty”. It further means ‘a sword’ and also—chiefly according to lexicographers—‘cruel, merciless’.

That the word **nistrimśa-** meaning “a sword” does really mean “exceeding thirty (**aṅgula**’s)” is clear from Siddh. Kaumudī on Pāṇini V, 4, 73, from Kṣīrasvāmin on Amarakośa, II. 8, 90, and from the commentary on Kauṭilya I, p. 61, 3 ed. Jolly, and should not be doubted as is sometimes done in modern works.³

(1) Of this development I have collected several examples with which I hope to deal later on as I cannot, for want of space, do it here. I should only like to point out that in cases like **giri-** = Avest. **gari-** or **śiras-** = Avest. **sarah-** the Sanskrit vocalism is no doubt a secondary one.

(2) Cf. examples like **assa-** < **aśva-**; **parissajati** < **parisvajate** or **bhassara-** < **bhāsvara-**.

(3) Cf. *e.g.* PTS Pāli Dict. s.v. **nettimśa**; to the passages quoted there might be added the following from the *Jātaka*: 141, 338. VI, 153. 449.

What is wanted here is only to point to one or two passages from the **Jātaka-** book which definitely prove that this “etymology” is not any learned construction like so many modern ones. Thus in the well known tale of Prince Pañcāvudha and the ogre (**Jātaka** No. 55) we read in I, 273, 28: **tettiṃsaṃgulāyato khaggo lomesu yeva aliyi**; and in III, 338, 16 f., in the tale of a juggler, we find the following passage **eko pana puriso tettiṃsaṃgulam tikhipadhāraṃ asiratanam gilati**. These passages seem to prove that there existed a distinct sort of swords or rapiers the length of which exceeded thirty finger breadths¹.

Why the length of this special sort of sword – no doubt even the **nistrimśa** – should be given as thirty-three inches is not clear. It may rest on a tangible fact, it may also simply be due to the phonetic similarity between the Pali forms **nettimśa** and **tettiṃsa**². In any case it seems established even through popular texts that the grammatical explanation of the word **nistrimśa** is the correct one

8. P. Khajjopanaka.

The word **khajjopanaka**³ (sometimes also written **khajjūpanaka**)⁴ means “a fire-fly” and occurs in several pass-

(1) Whether **nistrimśa** – “cruel, merciless” (a meaning known also in Pāli, cf. **Jātaka** IV, 118, 24: **nettimso ti nikkaruṇo**) is really the same word as **nistrimśa** – “a sword” is beyond my power of judgment.

(2) The origin and development of a form like **tettiṃsa** = pkt. **tēttisa** is, unfortunately, not clear. That they should be derived from **trayastrimśat** (cf. Pischel, Pkt. Gr. p. 312.) seems to me possible but not very probable. Anyhow, how would it be possible that the same explanation should hold good also for p. **tāvatiṃsa** and AMg. **tāvattisā**, **tāyattisā** as seems to be generally suggested? In general the development of the numeral for three in certain compounds seems to be open to doubt and objections (cf. my remarks in JRAS. 1926, p. 139 which I fully uphold in spite of the objections of Professor Turner, BSOS. IV. p. 363 sq.)

(3) The PTS Pāli Dict. s. v. wrongly gives **khajjopakana**; also the quotations from JPTS. 1908, are formally wrong.

(4) Cf. Trenckner, JPTS. 1908, p. 133 n. 1. with an explanation which, according to my opinion, can scarcely be correct.

ages of the Pāli canon. Keeping only to some passages in the Jātakas we find in II 415, 14 sq. how the heretic teachers (**aññati-thiyā**) lost their glory by the entrance on the stage of the Buddha like fire-flies by the rise of the sun. In VI, 330, 6 sq. the king of Mithilā has the following dream in connection with the conception of the Bodhisattva:

rājaṅgaṇe catūsu kaṇṇesu cattāro aggikkhandhā mahāpākā-rappamāṇen' utthāya jalanti tesam majjhe khajjopanakappamāṇo aggi' utthahitvā taṃkhaṇe yeva cattāro aggikkhandhe atikkam-itvā Brahmālokaṇṇamāṇen' utthāya sakalacakkavālaṃ obhāsetvā tthito etc. And in VI, 441, 27 sq. the minister Devinda says of the foolish king: **ayaṃ rājā kiṃ karoti, aggimhi sante khajjopanakam dhamati** "what then is this king doing—in the presence of fire he blows at a fire-fly". Of the meaning of the word there can, consequently, be no doubt.

Nor is there any doubt that we have to start our explanation from a form ***khajjopana-** of which **°ka-** is only one of the usual **-ka-** formations. Now, in Sanskrit the name of the fire-fly is **kha-dyota-**; and it was only natural that Trenckner, in his extremely valuable Notes to the Milindapañha p. 59² should have tried to identify the Pāli and the Sanskrit word, ascribing to the neighbourhood of **p** (or) **(u)** the transition of **t** into **p**. However, such an explanation is scarcely possible as no clear case of a development **t > p** seems to be known.³ And I thus venture to think that we must give up the direct identification of **khadyota-** with ***khajjopana-**.⁴

(1) With this expression cf. the **aṅgāraḥ khadyotamātraḥ** of the Chānd. Up. VI, 7,3.

(2) JPTS. 1908, p. 109.

(3) It would perhaps be possible to suggest that **kha-dyota (na)-** had developed into ***kha-dyo(y)a(na)-** and this further into ***kha-dyova(na)-**. By a sharpening of the **-v-** this might finally have resulted in **khajjopa-(na)-**. But such a development seems to me too improbable to be taken into serious consideration.

(4) ***khajjopana-**, in such a case, should be = **khadyotana-** which is said to mean "sun" in Sanskrit.

It seems to me that ***khajjopana-** could only be safely derived from a form ***kha-dyopana-**. Now ***dyopana-** would, of course, be intimately connected with a causative formation ***dyopayati** of which Sanskrit, as far as my knowledge goes, does show no trace. It is, however, scarcely doubtful that such a formation might have originated in sheer mechanical imitation of really existing forms such as **knopayati**, **gopayati**, **ropayati** etc. And I should venture to find a real trace of a ***dyopayati** in the AMg. forms **ujjovemāṇa-**, **ujjoventa-**, **ujjoviya-** which can scarcely be explained except from a causative stem ***ud-dyopaya-**¹. Also the modern Indian languages seem to have preserved traces of such a formation². If then traces of a form ***dyopayati** be found in the AMg. as well as in the modern vernaculars there can be no hesitation about deriving p. ***khajjopana** from an original from ***kha-dyopana**.

9. P. dussa.

In the **Sasajāṭaka**, in the story of the four wise and pious creatures we read the following verse spoken by the jackal (**Jāṭaka** III, 54, 1 sq):

**dussa me khettpālassa rattibhattaṃ apābhattaṃ,
maṃsasūlā ca dve godhā ekañ ca dadhivārakaṃ,
idaṃ brāhmaṇa me atthi etaṃ bhutvā vane vasā 'ti.**

"From yonder fieldwatchman I have taken away his supper: two spits of roast meat³, a lizard, and a pot of curds. This, o Brahmin, is what I have—eat it, and live in the forest".

(1) The explanation of these forms given by Leumann, *Aupapātikasūtra* p. 105 is undoubtedly wrong. Pischel on *Hc.* IV, 332; *Pkt. Gr.* § 246, although he does not mention any form ***ud-dyopayati**, must apparently have been thinking of the same explanation that is given above.

(2) Such, at any rate, was the opinion of Pischel. I am at a loss to find out to what really amounts the explanation given by M. Bloch, *La formation de la langue Marathe* p. 337 (s.v. **jopāvnem**) Could all the forms quoted there possibly be derived from **dyotana-**?

(3) Cf. Morris, *JPTS.* 1834, p. 91 whose translation of the word is, however, not necessary.

Here **dussa** is admittedly a *crux interpretatorum* and has at one time been fully discussed by Professor Andersen¹. His own idea seems to be that we should read, with the Singhalese manuscripts, not **dussa** but **dussam** which should again be Skt. *dūṣya*—“corruptible, easily to be spoiled”. However, of the two alternatives **dussa** is undoubtedly the *lectio difficilior* which ought if possible to be explained, not to be simply neglected. Besides it seems curious that he jackal should design the proffered supper as “corruptible”—which, by the way, scarcely applies to roast meat and curds².

The commentary has preserved a tradition according to which **dussa** does really mean **amussa**, and that tradition has been endorsed by such a great authority as Trenckner³. Henry⁴ even goes to the length of putting **amussa** into the text which cannot well be right.

Personally I venture to think that **dussa**, although it seems not to be met with elsewhere, is the correct form. Of the pronoun **adaḥ** we find in Pāli mainly a stem **amu-** (besides which **asu** in nom. sg. (m. f.),⁵ besides which there is the nom. acc. sg. n. **adum**.⁶ Now just as besides **amum** we have **amussa** it would be well possible that besides **adum** there once existed a rather fortuitous formation ***adussa** which in Sandhi could, of

(1) Cf. Pāli Reader II, p. 124.

(2) The translation “wrongfully” given by Francis and Neil Jātaka III, p. 16 is, as far as I understand, rather out of the question.

(3) Unfortunately, I am at a loss to find out where Trenckner has referred to the word—perhaps in his unpublished collections at Copenhagen.

(4) *Precis de grammaire Pāli* p. 94.

(5) Mainly the same conditions obtain in the Prākritis, cf. Pischel, *Pkt. Gr.* §432.

(6) Whether this form is really identical with the particle **ādu** I do not venture to decide.

course, easily develop into **dussa**. This I venture to think is the form of which we find a single trace in the *Jātaka* passage quoted above.

10. **P. reruka-**.

In *Jātaka* II, 230, 15 sq. a lady is represented as addressing her unfaithful husband with the following verse:—

tvam eva dāniṃ akara yaṃ kāmo vyapagamā tayi |
so 'yaṃ appaṭṭisandhiko kharā chinnaṃ va rerukan ti ||

Here everything seems clear except the last **pāda** which is thus explained in the commentary: **kharo vuccati kakaco rerukaṃ vuccati hatthidanto, yathā kakacehi chinno va hatthidanto appaṭṭisandhiko hoti na puna purimanayena alliyati** etc. The translation of the verse would consequently run something like this: “thou hast now so arranged it that my love to thee has vanished; no more can it be patched up, just as little as an elephant’s tusk cut in twain by a saw.”

The word **reruka-** = **hatthidanta-**, “elephant’s tusk, ivory” is, as far as my very limited knowledge goes, only met with in this passage and seems to be of an entirely obscure origin.² An original form ***reru-**, of which this would be a derivation, is nowhere to be found, and even its formation seems rather obscure.

No doubt words exist, though few and far between, that would seem to betray the same morphological construction as the somewhat problematic ***reru-**. Of the two *Rigvedic* forms **perū-** and **péru-**, the meanings of which are not entirely clear, one is said to belong to **par-**, the other one to **pi-**; and to one or the

(1) Some offence might be taken at the use of the ablative **kharā** instead of the instrumental; but such cases, I believe, are not altogether strange to Pāli.

(2) The suggestion of the *PTS. Pāli Dictionary* “probably dialectical” does not help us much further.

(3) On the meaning and etymology of the words **perū-** and **peru-** (which are often considered to be identical) one may consult e.g. Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. 81. sq.; Ludwig, *Ueber Methode* etc. p. 24; Hopkins, *Amer. J. Phil.* XIV, 31. 38; Baunack, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprf.* XXXV, 529 sq. 552, 557; Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten* I, 44 sq. II, 127.

other may belong the derivation **peruka-**, the name of a man in RV. VI, 63, 9. In III, 2, 159 Pāṇini mentions a **seru-** which should mean "binding, fettering" and be a derivation from the root **si-**. There is further the famous mountain-name **Meru-** which, as to its origin, is completely obscure¹. Other derivations in **-eru**, of which there seem to exist a few², are in the main wholly unclear to me and can throw no light on the history of **reru-**, **reruka-**.

There is, however, perhaps a way for shedding at least some light, faint as it may be, on the problematic **reru(ka)-**. There exists in Sanskrit the word **kareṇu-**, well-known since the time of the Great Epics—but probably not earlier—which means "an elephant" but in the overwhelming number of passages is of feminine gender and means "elephant-cow". This form also exists in Pāli (chiefly in the derivation **kareṇukā**) and in the Prākṛits where the AMg. and the Śaurasenī have preserved a form **kareṇu-** while **kareṇuyā** exists in the Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī.³

(1) I cannot find with Professor Kiefel, *Kosmographie der Inder* pp. 16*, 182 that the suggestion of S. Goldschmidt *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprh.* XXV, 610 sq. according to which **Meru** should belong to **smi-** is very plausible. On the contrary the existence of all the other forms of the name, viz. **Sumeru-**, **Neru-**, **Sineru-**, **Suneru-** etc., seem to me obviously to point in the direction of a foreign origin.

(2) Completely obscure are **maderu-** and **saneru-** in the puzzling hymn RV. X, 106, 6. 8 (cf. Bezzenberger, *Beiträge* II, 269 sq.; Henry, *Mem. Soc. de Linguistique* XIV, 172. 174; Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten* II, 329), also **a-tameru-** in VS. I, 23. **mitreru-**, according to Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten* I, 174, seems to be a compound. For **himelu-** in Vārtt. 7 on Pāṇini V, 2, 122 one might suggest an original form ***himaryu-** (such is also the idea of Bezzenberger l. c.) if there were sufficient reason for assuming such a formation. Whether **seruma (dīpa)** which, according to Jātaka III, 187, 20 (cf. 189, 23), was the former name of **Nāgadīpa** suggests the existence of a ***seru-** is probably wholly irrelevant as the word would in no case be of an Aryan origin.

(3) Cf. Pischel, *Pkt. Gr.* § 354.

Generally, however, the Pāli form is **kaṇeru-**, and this form is prescribed by the grammarians as being the one denoting the she-elephant also in the Prākṛits.¹ From the passages I have looked up, viz. Jātaka II, 342, 3. 7, 20, 25; 343, 16; IV, 49, 20 (where **B⁴** have **kareṇu**); V, 39, 12; 50, 9; 416, 22; VI, 497, 1 it is quite obvious that **kaṇeru-** means "elephant-cow" and nothing else.² To me it seems fairly clear that the word **kareṇu-**, **kaṇeru-** originally meant nothing but "elephant-cow", and that its extension into the masculine gender is an innovation which is of no real importance for the original sense of the word.

Would it be too adventurous to suggest the **kareṇu-**, **kaṇeru-** is in reality a compound made up by the deteriorative particle **ka³+** a word ***reṇu-** or ***ṇeru-** meaning "an elephant's tusk". The compound would thus mean "having bad tusks" and would form a good epithet of a derisive nature applied to the elephant-cow. If so were the case I should venture to go a step further and suggest that this word ***reṇu-** or ***ṇeru-** were in reality identical with that **reruka-** "elephant's tusk" of which the Jātaka passage quoted above has preserved a scanty remembrance. The assimilation of ***reṇu-** or ***ṇeru-** to ***reru** would present no insurmountable difficulties; and on the whole I should deem it probable that ***ṇeru-** (perhaps across forms like ***ḷeru-**, ***leru-**) would be the preferable form. This also tallies with my opinion that of the two forms **kaṇeru-** and **kareṇu-** the former is the more original one. For, it is easier to believe that **kaṇeru** by the influence of **kariṇī**, should have developed into **kareṇu-** than to think of another way of development.

(1) Cf. Pischel ad Hc. II, 116.

(2) It baffles me why the PTS Pāli Dict. should give it the meaning "a young elephant".

(3) On this and related particles cf. Wackernagel, *Altind Gramm.* II: 1. 82 sq.; Charpentier, *Monde Oriental* XVIII, 12 sq. etc.

If there really existed a word ***neru->reru(ka)**- meaning "elephant's tusk" it goes without saying that it is not of Aryan origin but belongs to one of the aboriginal languages of India¹. It may at some period or other have been superseded by the Aryan denominations of elephant's tusk which are, like **danta**-, **rada**- etc., of a rather pale and uninteresting nature.

11. P. Vyamha-

A Pāli word **vyamha**- (v. J. **byamha**-) is known to me from the following passages:

Vimānavatthu 35, 1:

phalika rajata hemajā lacchannaṃ
vividhavicitrā phalaṃ addasaṃ surammaṃ
vyamhaṃ sunimmitaṃ toraṇūpapannaṃ
rājakūpa kiṇṇaṃ idaṃ subhaṃ vimānaṃ.

The commentary² explains the word and also tries an etymology which is, of course, impossible: **viharitukāmā vasanti etthā ti vyamhaṃ bhavanaṃ**. The word consequently means something like "a mansion, a palace."

The other four passages are all from the **Jātaka**.³

In IV, 464, 26 the king of Benares visits the palace of the Nāga Campeyya:

sa rājā pāvisi vyamhaṃ Campeyyassa nivesanaṃ
ādiccavaṇṇupanibhaṃ kamsavijjupabhassaraṃ.

The commentary explains **vyamhaṃ ti alaṃkātānāgabhavanaṃ** which does not bring us much further.⁴ Further in V, 454, 1 sqq. we read the following verse:

(1) If such be the case even the **ka** in **kaneru**-, **kareṇu**- may not be the Aryan deteriorative **ka**- but something quite different. A scholar like M. Przyluski might suggest a solution; personally I am, unfortunately, wholly out of my waters here.

(2) *Paramatthadīpanī*, pt. IV (PTS Publ. 36), p. 160.

(3) Cf. Kern, *Toevoegselen* II, 134. The passage V, 454, 3 (cf. below) is misquoted both by Kern (as IV, 454) and by the PTS Pāli Diet. (as III, 454).

(4) The corresponding passage in the *Mahāvastu* (II, 186. 5 sq.) differs very much (cf. Charpentier, *Monde Oriental* III, 42) and gives no word that would correspond to **vyamha**.

dibbakhiddharatiyo na dullabhā
 cakkavatticaritañ ca mānuse
 sovaṇṇavyamhanilayā va accharā
 ye caranti pamadāh' anattikā

"Divine pleasures are not difficult to obtain, nor the state of Universal Emperor in a human existence, nor the heavenly-nymphs sojourning in golden palaces to those who live away from the lewd womanfolk." The commentary explains: sovaṇṇavyamhanilayā suvaṇṇamayavimānavāsinyo.

In VI, 119, 9 sq. King Nimi accompanied by Mātali arrives at a crystal palace inhabited by fair Apsarases which is thus described:

pabhāsati idaṃ vyamaṃ phalikaṃ sunimmitaṃ
 nārivaraganākiṇṇaṃ kūṭāgāraavarocitaṃ
 upetaṃ annapānehi naccagītehi c'ūbhayaṃ.

The commentary simply gives: vyamaṃ ti vimānaṃ pāsādo ti vuttaṃ hoti. Finally in VI, 251, 20 sq. the wise Nārada speaks thus to a king:

annahatthā ca te vyamaṃ ghosayantu pure tava:
 ko chāto ko ca tasito etc.

Where the commentary runs thus: vyamaṃ ca pure ca rājanīvesane ca nagare ca. Of the sense which the commentators attributed to vyama- there can be no doubt: it means "palace, royal or heavenly abode".

I am far from sure that I can offer any explanation of this apparently old word which does not seem to occur in the later prose texts. If, however, a word vyamhita- does in some Jātaka passages stand for vimhita- = vismita- which undoubtedly seems to be the case, could not vyama- be = Skt. veśman-? This would undoubtedly develop into *vēmha- or even *vimha-;

(1) This I suppose must be the sense here cf. VI, 175, 13: na hi etādisā kāmā sulabhā honti mānuse.

(2) Cf. Kern, Toevoegselen II, 134.

(3) Cf. sēmha = śleṣmau- etc.

and the later form may perhaps, under circumstances unfortunately obscure to me, have further developed into **vyamha-**.

12. Skt. Potra-.

According to Pāṇini III, 2, 183 and to later lexicographers a word **potra-** (which according to them is a derivative from **pū-**) means "a plough-share" and "a hog's snout". This word cannot, of course, be identical with another **potra-**, which occurs in the *R̥gveda* in the sense of "Soma-vessel used by the **potar**" or once (II, 1, 2) "the priestly function of the **potar**."

The etymological connections of a word **potra-** "a plough-share"—the sense of "a hog's snout" is probably originally identical with this one—do not seem to be quite clear. Leaving aside the derivation from the root **pū-** we might suggest a relation with the word **pavi-** which according to Nigh. 2, 20 means **vajra-** and in the *Nir.* 12, 30 is a synonym of **śalya** "an arrow"; its other senses also seem to tally well with that of "plough-share". And this leads further to **pavīra-** (*Nir.* 12, 30) "a pointed weapon, a lance, a spear", **pavīrava-** "a thunderbolt", *RV.* I. 174, 4, and "provided with a metal edge (of a ploughshare)", *TS.* IV, 2, 5, 3, **paviravant-** (with about the same sense), and **pavīru-**, which probably means "a thunderbolt". It further seems to me that

(1) There seems to be still another word **potra-** which is partly explained by **vastra** and partly by **vajra**. Supposing the latter explanation to be the correct one it is no doubt identical with **potra-** "a plough-share". If, on the other hand, there exists a **potra-** = **vastra** this, I suppose, would be identical with **p. potthaka-** "cloth" (of various descriptions) and ultimately also with **pottha** in *Jātaka* II, 432, 16.

(2) Cf. also **kṣura-pavi-** in *ŚBr.* III, 2, 6, 9 (cf. Charpentier *Die Suparṇasage* p. 161.)

(3) On possible Persian relations of these words cf. *Korš, Někotoryja persidskija etimologii* (known to me only through *Indogerm. Jahrbuch* I, 74); the suggestion does not seem very convincing to me.

we must in some way or other connect these words with the Latin **putāre** the original sense of which seems to be "to cut";² the idea that the above-mentioned Indian words should in some way belong to Latin **pavire**, which has again been connected with **putāre**, is by the way a time-honoured one,³ though **potra-** has so far not been mentioned in this connection.³

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(1) Cf. Bugge, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprf.* XIX, 416; Walde, *Lat. etymol. Wb.*² 627.

(2) Cf. *e. g.* Fick, *Vergl Wb.*³ 1, 677; Curtius, *Grundzüge der griech. Etym.*² p. 263.

(3) There seem to exist in Pāli two words **potthani** 'a butcher's knife' and **potthanikā** 'a dagger'; but I dare not allow myself any judgement upon these somewhat doubtful words. No suggestion concerning them is made by Kern, *Toevogelselen*, II. 43.

UVAṬA AND MAHĪDHARA.

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Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara have both written commentaries on the Śukla Yajurveda i. e., the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā in the Mādhyandina recension.

There are several discrepancies in their commentaries. Their mutual relationship and chronology are not clear. In the introductory stanza, Mahīdhara acknowledges his indebtedness to the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mādhava.* From this, one would conclude that Uvaṭa was earlier than Mahīdhara. But in commenting on YV. XXIV. 3. Uvaṭa remarks: महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि। शुद्धवालः शुभ्रवालः etc. And the commentary of Uvaṭa on this stanza as well as on stanzas XXIV. 3—19; 21—40; XXV. 1—13 is identical with that of Mahīdhara. This tends to show that Uvaṭa is later than Mahīdhara and has borrowed the latter's commentary on several stanzas.

The express statements of the two commentators go to show that each is indebted to the other, that each has utilised the other's commentary. And the only conclusion which can possibly be drawn from this evidence is that the two writers were contemporaries. But such a conclusion is wrong as would be shown later on.

Further Uvaṭa is described as a son of Jaiyāta¹ in the

*प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं गणेशं भाष्यं विलोक्यौवटमाधवीयम् ।

वजुर्मनूनां विलिखामि चार्थं परोपकाराय निजेक्षणाय ॥

१. आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यजैय्यटाख्यस्य सुनुना ।

उषटेन कृतं भाष्यं पदवाक्यैः सुनिश्चितैः ॥

colophon at the end of Chapter XX but as a son of Vajrāṭa² in the colophon at the end of Chapter XL.

The object of this paper is to examine these discrepancies and to remove them if possible.

There are several editions. It would be well to compare them in order to obviate the errors of a particular edition.

(a) The commentary of Uvāṭa ed. by Prabhudatta, son of Śrīghana'yāma, resident of Sirsakhedi. On p. 524, the following remark is found on XXIV. 3:—महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि । शुद्धवालः शुभ्रवालः etc. On p. 472^r. Jaiyāṭa is mentioned as the father of Uvāṭa but on p. 698.^r Vajrāṭa is stated to be the father of Uvāṭa.

(b) Śuklayajurvedasaṃhitā with the commentaries of Uvāṭa and Mahīdhara ed. by Paṇṣīkara, Bombay 1912. On p. 1 Mahīdhara expresses his obligation to Uvāṭa but on p. 447 Uvāṭa says:—महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि etc. On p. 404 Jaiyāṭa is stated to be the father of Uvāṭa but on p. 610, it is Vajrāṭa.

(c) Śuklayajurvedasaṃhitā with the commentaries of Uvāṭa and Mahīdhara ed. by Śrī Rāmasakalamīśra, 4 Vols. Benares 1912-15. On p. 10. Mahīdhara mentions Uvāṭa as his predecessor. On p. 1212 the following note is added by the editor:—

अत्र महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामोति पाठ औव्वटभाष्ये कस्मिंश्चिदादर्शे केनचिद्विपर्ययां समुद्धृत इत्यनुमीयते परंतु मुम्बईमुद्रितपुस्तके शोधकेन मूलभाष्य-एव हठात् सन्निवेशिन इति वाराणसीस्थराजकोयसंस्कृतपाठशालीयौव्वटभाष्य-पुस्तकदर्शनात् सुस्पष्टं भवति । स च पाठो मया त्यक्तः । महीधरभाष्यस्यात्र सत्त्वेन पुनस्तत्सन्निवेशस्याप्रयोजकत्वादिति सुधीभिर्विभावनीयमिति । इतः परं बहुषु स्थलेषु औव्वटभाष्यं भाष्यकृता कृतमेव नास्तीति पूर्वोक्तौव्वटभाष्यपुस्तक-दर्शनात् सुस्पष्टं भवतीति बोध्यम् ।

२. आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवज्जटाक्ष्यस्य मनुना ।

उवटेन कृतं भाष्यं पदवाक्यैः सुनिश्चितैः ॥

The editor does not seem to be aware of Prabhudatta's edition described in *a*, as he merely refers to the Bombay edition. Here also on p. 1094 Jaiyaṭa is stated to be the father of Uvaṭa but on p. 1795 Vajraṭa is given as the name of Uvaṭa's father.

All the three editions agree in mentioning Jaiyaṭa as the father of Uvaṭa at the end of Chapter XX and Vajraṭa at the end of Chapter XL.

Two editions agree in making Uvaṭa indebted to Mahīdhara but the third denies the indebtedness and states that Uvaṭa did not write any commentary on certain stanzas. But the third edition also has no claim to be regarded as critical for it perpetrates the discrepancy with regard to the name of Uvaṭa's father. Its evidence therefore cannot be accepted with reliability. In any case its statement that Uvaṭa left a few stanzas without any explanation is incorrect as will be shown later on.

It is therefore necessary to examine the commentaries critically.

Internal evidence shows that Mahīdhara's commentary is not an independent *exegesis* but a mere amplification of the work of Uvaṭa.

That the commentary of Mahīdhara is a mere amplification of Uvāta is shown by the following example. Mahīdhara lacks originality. He merely expands the remarks of Uvāta.

XXV. 16. Uvāta's commentary.

तान् पूर्वया तान्देवान्पूर्वयाकृत्रिमया स्वयंभुवा निविदा ।
निविच्छब्दो वाग्वचनः । ह्रमहे आह्वयामो वयम् । तान्
कानित्यत आह । भगं मित्रमदिति दत्तमस्त्रिधमच्युतसद्-
भवाम् । दत्तस्यैतद्विशेषणम् । अयमणं वरुणं सोममश्विनौ
च । यैः सहिता सरस्वती सुभगा नः अस्माकं मयः सुखं
करतु कर्गेतिविति ॥ २५ ॥ १६ ॥

Words underlined in Uvāta's commentary are repeated by Mahīdhara.

XXV. 16. Mahīdhara's commentary.

पूर्वया प्राचीनया अकृत्रिमया स्वयंभुवा निविदा वाचा
वेदरूपया वयं तान्प्रसिद्धान्देवान् ह्रमहे आह्वयामः । निवि-
च्छब्दो वाग्वचकः । तान् कान् तत्राह । भगं मित्रमदिति
देवमातरं दत्तं प्रजापतिमयमणं वरुणं सोममश्विना अश्विनौ ।
अस्त्रिधमिति भगादीनां विशेषणम् । न संघते ज्योतेते
सोऽस्त्रित् तमच्युतसद्भवम् । किं च शोभनं भगं भाग्य
यस्याः सा सुभगा भजनीया सरस्वती भगादिसहिता
नोऽस्माकं मयः करतु सुखं करोतु ॥ २५ ॥ १६ ॥

Words underlined constitute the additional explanation of the words of Uvāta by Mahīdhara.

Mahidhara goes to the extent of borrowing the quotations cited by Uvaṭa. A few examples are given here:—

- I. 1. (a) यो वृष्टादूर्ध्वसो जायते तस्मै तदाह इति श्रुतिः ।
 (b) ऊर्जं बलप्राणनयोः ।
 (c) यज्ञो वै श्रेष्ठतमं कर्म इति श्रुतिः ।
 (d) छिनद्मीति चोभयोः साकांक्षत्वात्सन्नमयामीति वोत्तर इति ।

All these quotations cited by Uvaṭa are borrowed by Mahidhara in writing the explanation of the self same stanza.

I. 2. धामानि त्रीणि भवन्ति स्थानानि नामानि जन्मानीति च quoted by Uvaṭa is borrowed by Mahidhara on III. 8.

Examples are numerous and need not be multiplied.

On many stanzas, Mahidhara merely reiterates the remarks of Uvaṭa, e. g., XXII 24—33 Paṇḍikara's ed. pp. 429—430:

- उ० प्राच्यै । दिग्देवताः ॥२४॥
 म० प्राच्यै । दिग्देवताः ॥२४॥
 उ० अद्भ्यः । जलदेवताः ॥२५॥
 म० अद्भ्यः । जलदेवताः ॥२५॥
 उ० वाताय । मेघोपयोगदेवताः ॥२६॥
 म० वाताय । मेघोपयोगदेवताः ॥२६॥
 उ० अग्नये । अग्न्यादयः प्रसिद्धाः ॥२७॥
 म० अग्नये । अग्न्यादयः प्रसिद्धाः ॥२७॥
 उ० नक्षत्रेभ्यः । नक्षत्रादयः कालाधिष्ठात्र्यः ॥२८॥
 म० नक्षत्रेभ्यः । नक्षत्रादयः कालाधिष्ठात्र्यः ॥२८॥
 P. 430:—उ० पृथिव्यै । पृथिव्यादयो लोकाधिष्ठात्र्यः ॥२९॥
 म० पृथिव्यै । पृथिव्यादयो लोकाधिष्ठात्र्यः ॥२९॥
 P. 430. XXII. 30—33.
 उ० असवे । अस्वादयश्च ॥३०॥
 म० असवे । अस्वादयश्च ॥३०॥
 उ० मधवे । मध्वादयो मासाधिष्ठातारः ॥३१॥

म० मधवे । मध्वादयो मासाधिष्ठातारः ॥३१॥

उ० वाजाय । वाजादयोऽन्नाधीशः ॥३२॥

म० वाजाय । वाजादयोऽन्नाधीशः ॥३२॥

उ० आयुः । यज्ञेनाश्वमेधेनायुः कल्पताम् । एवमग्रेऽपि प्रार्थनामन्त्रः ॥३३॥

म० आयुः । यज्ञेनाश्वमेधेनायुः कल्पताम् । एवमग्रेऽपि प्रार्थनामन्त्राः ॥३३॥

The evidence of the Benares Ms. shows that the sentence **महीधरोक्तमथ विलिखामि** is not an authentic part of Uvaṭa's commentary. It also shows that Uvaṭa did not borrow Mahidhara's commentary as the same is not given in that Ms.

Mahidhara has himself clearly expressed his obligation to Uvaṭa, so it is clear that Uvaṭa is the earlier commentator and the former has utilised the work of the latter.

To attribute the sentence **महीधरोक्तमथ विलिखामि** to Uvaṭa and to print the former's commentary as the commentary of the latter is very misleading. It has actually misled at least one scholar. P. Bhagavaddatta B. A., Superintendent of the Research Department of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, consulted Paṇaśikara's edition. In the commentary attributed to Uvaṭa on XXV. 8. p. 460, Karka, the author of the commentary on Kātyāyana's *Śrauta Sūtra* is quoted. Bhagvaddatta accepted this commentary as genuine and assigned Karka to a period anterior to Uvaṭa on the authority of this quotation. As Karka himself quotes Harisvāmin, the latter was assigned to a still earlier period. This chronological chain, constructed by P. Bhagavaddatta is very weak indeed for the commentary ascribed to Uvaṭa is really that of Mahidhara. Karka is therefore not earlier than Uvaṭa but only earlier than Mahidhara. The dates assigned to Harisvāmin and Karka by P. Bhagavaddatta on the authority of this passage are wrong. It is surprising that P. Bhagavaddatta failed to notice the identity of the commentaries attributed to Uvaṭa and Mahidhara on this and several other stanzas,

although both of them are printed close to each other in the particular edition used by him.

The next point to be considered is Miśra's assertion that Uvaṭa did not write any commentary on the stanzas, mentioned above. It is true that Uvaṭa sometimes does not give a detailed explanation of easy stanzas and contents himself by stating that the stanza does not stand in need of any comment, *e.g.* on XI. 65 p. 204 he remarks: निगदव्याख्यातम्.

On XXII. 6. p. 423, he says:—अग्नये स्वाहेति ऋजवो मन्त्राः

On XXII. 8. p. 424, he remarks:—यते स्वाहा एतीति यन तस्मै यते । स्पष्टमन्यत् ॥८॥

But Uvaṭa does not ignore any stanza—except two—and leave it without any comment. Whenever he does not explain any stanza he makes some such remark as निगदव्याख्यातम् । ऋजवो मन्त्राः । स्पष्टम् etc. Miśra's assertion therefore cannot be accepted.

Chapter XXIV gives a list of animals sacred to different deities with reference to the aśvamedha sacrifice. It is unnecessary to explain the stanzas in detail. But a general explanation is given by Uvaṭa. While commenting on XXIV. 2 he remarks:—

रोहित (YV. XXIV. 2)

इत्यादयः श्वेता वायव्याः श्वेताः सौर्याः (XXIV. 19) इत्येवमन्तः । इतरेषु यूपेषु रोहितादिषु ये गुणवचनाः शब्दास्ते गुणिनं पशुं लक्षयन्ति ।

Hence there was no further comment on stanzas XXIV. 3—XXIV. 19.

He remarks on XXIV. 20:—

वसन्ताथ कपिर्ब्रजलानामभते (XXIV. 20) इत्यादयो विश्वेषां देवानां पृथतः (XXIV. 40) इत्येवमन्ता यूपान्तरेषु त्रयोदश त्रयोदशारण्याः पशव आलभ्यन्ते । Hence there could be no further comment on stanzas XXIV. 21—XXIV. 40 both inclusive.

He remarks on XXV. 1.

एवं द्रव्यदैवतमप्रसिद्धं यश्चपार्श्वोदिभ्योऽवगन्तव्यमिति पृथिवीं त्वचेति यावत् । (पृथिवीं त्वचा XXV. 9) There was no further comment on the stanza XXV. 2—XXV. 9, both inclusive.

The question now remains of the stanzas XXV. 10—13.

XXV. 10. occurs as XIII. 4, where Uvāṭa has fully explained it.

XXV. 11. occurs as XXIII. 3, where it has been commented upon.

XXV. 12. occurs once only in YV. and has not been previously explained.

XXV. 13. occurs only once in YV. and has not been previously explained.

The Benares Ms. of Uvāṭa's commentary ed. by Mi ra gives the so-called explanation of Uvāṭa on these two stanzas. But a comparison with the commentary of Mahidhara shows that it is not genuine but merely an adaptation from Mahidhara. Evidently some later reader has tried to fill up the lacuna in Uvāṭa's Ms. But it is clear Uvāṭa's commentary on these two stanzas is not available.

FATHER OF UVĀṬA.

The only support in favour of the colophon at the end of Chapter XX is furnished by Bhīmasena, a commentator of Mammāṭa's Kāvya Prakāśa. Uvāṭa is described as a younger brother of Mammāṭa and Kaiyāṭa and all three as sons of Jaiyāṭa. But the commentator does not mention the source of his information. His view however has not been accepted.

Uvāṭa has also written a commentary on the R̥gvedapṛā-tiśākhya. There are several Mss. of this commentary at the

University Sanskrit Library¹, Lahore. They all describe Uvaṭa as a son of Vajraṭa. The evidence of these Mss. supports the colophon at the end of Chapter XL.

Further, there is an old Ms. of the commentary of Uvaṭa on the Yajurveda at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The Ms. is dated sam. 1464 = 1407 A. D. The date is genuine and is confirmed by the old method of writing. The colophon at the end of Chapter XX clearly mentions Vajraṭa as the father of Uvaṭa. The colophon at the end of Chapter XL in this Ms. also gives out Vajraṭa as the name of Uvaṭa's father². This is further supported by colophons of the Benares Ms. of Uvaṭa's Commentary on the White Yajurveda. The colophon at the end of Chapter XX is the following: —(sic.) इति श्री उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये विंशति(त)मोध्यायः । २०। संवत् १६३४। मिति श्रावणशुद्धि ४ गुरौ ।

The name of father of Uvaṭa is not mentioned yet Miśra has printed it wrongly in his edition.

The colophon at the end of Chapter X is the following:—
sic. उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये दशमोध्यायः ।

आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवज्जाटस्य च सूनुना ।

मंत्रभाष्यमिदं क्लृप्तं भोजे पृथ्वीं प्रशासति ॥

At the end of Chapter XIII, the colophon is the following:—sic. इति उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये त्रयोदशोध्यायः । १३ ।

आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवज्जाटस्य च सूनुना ।

उवटेन कृतं भाष्यमुज्जयिन्यां स्थितेन तु ॥

From these colophons of the Benares and the Baroda Mss., it is clear that the name of Uvaṭa's father was Vajraṭa and not Jaiyāṭa. The occurrence of Jaiyāṭa in the colophon,

1. See Mss. Nos. 563, 3033, 2187.

2. See Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta p. 72, where both the colophons of this Ms. are copied.

at the end of Chapter XX in the extant editions of Uvāṭa's commentary is an error and should be corrected.

As Uvāṭa wrote at Avanti under the famous King Bhoja (1018—1060 A. D.), his time is the first half of the eleventh century A. D.

MAHĪDHARA.

There are at least three Mahīdharas:—

1. One is mentioned as a Mahāpañḍita-Srī Mahīdhara. His grandson Mahāpañḍita Hṛṣīkeśaśarman figures as the recipient of two villages in a copper plate grant of Mahārājādhirāja Jayacandra Deva of Kanauj. The grant is dated Sam. 1232 = 1175 A. D.¹ This Mahīdhara can be safely assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A. D. *i. e.* about a hundred years later than Uvāṭa.

2. Another Mahīdhara is the commentator of the Śuklayajurveda. From the introductory stanza, it is clear that he is later than Uvāṭa and Mādhava. If Mādhava stands for Sāyaṇa, then he is later than the 14th cen. A.D.

There is another Mahīdhara, the author of Mantramahodadhī². I am inclined to identify the author of Mantramahodadhī with the commentator of the Yajurveda. The first verse of the introductory stanzas in both the works is almost identical.

Commentary of Mahīdhara has the verse:—

प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं गणेशं

The Mantramahodadhī gives the first two verses in the following way:—

प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं महागणपतिं गुरुम् ।

In both cases, salutations are addressed in almost identical words to Lakshmi, Nṛhari, and the Lord of *ganas*

1. Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, pp. 73—74.

2. Ed. Calcutta 1892.

and in the same order. This shows the author of both stanzas to be one and the same person. The commentator is therefore to be identified with the author of *Mantramahodadhi*. A short description of the family is given by the author in the 25th Wave of the Mantra. Mahīdhara was the son of Phanūbhaṭṭa, grandson of Ratnākara, belonged to the Vatsa gotra. He left his own native place, migrated to Benares, was devoted to the God Narahari. He had a son named Kalyāṇa.*

3. The third Mahīdhara is a scholar-scribe. He has composed and copied several Mss. His literary activity covers the period from Sam. 1630—1670 *i. e.* 1573—1617 A. D. Fortunately several Mss. copied in the hand of Mahīdhara were acquired in 1928 by the Queen's Sanskrit College Library, Benares, from the descendants of Mahīdhara himself.

I had an opportunity of examining them at Benares in January 1931. I give below a list of the Mss. acquired by the Benares Library and written by Mahīdhara himself.

- (१) स्वरप्रक्रिया
- (२) नृसिंहपरिचर्यानुक्रमणी
- (३) षट्स्वरसामप्रकारः
- (४) नृसिंहपूर्वतापनीयोपनिषत्
- (४क) ०तापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

अहिच्छन्नद्विजच्छन्नं वत्सगोत्रसमुद्भवः ।
 आसीद् रत्नाकरो नाम विद्वान् ख्यातो धरातले ॥१२१॥
 तत्तनूजो रामभक्तः फनूभट्टाभिधोऽभवत् ।
 महोधरस्तदुत्पन्नः संसारासारतां विदन् ॥१२२॥
 निजदेशं परित्यज्य गतो वाराणसीं पुरीम् ।
 सेवमानो नरहरिस्तत्र ग्रन्थमिसं व्यधात् ॥१२३॥
 कल्याणामिधुपुत्रेण तथाम्यैर्द्विजसत्तमैः ।

- (४ख) तापनीयोपनिषद्दीपिका
 (५) वाजसनेयिप्रातिशाख्यमूलम्
 (६) हेमचन्द्रविरचित-अनेकार्थसंग्रहः
 (७) गरुडपुराणप्रेतखण्डम्
 (८) सांख्यकारिका with तत्त्वकौमुदी
 (९) मन्त्रराज—स्य दीपिका
 (१०) प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका by महिकिङ्करः
 (११) काव्यादर्शस्य टिप्पणी by भूमिदासः
 (१२) वैदिकीप्रक्रिया
 (१३) अशोकत्रिरात्रव्रतम्
 (१४) कात्यायनप्रातिशाख्यम्
 (१५) नीलोत्सर्गविधिः

Out of these, nos. 2, 10, and 11 are clearly stated to have been composed and the rest seem to have been copied by Mahidhara.

A few passages from these Mss. are given here. Colophons in other Mss. are similar. It is not necessary to give all the colophons of all the Mss. A few samples should suffice. The following will give some indication of the general manner:—

१ नारसिंहपूर्वतापनीयम्

इत्याथर्वणे तापनीये पञ्चमोपनिषत् ॥ इति नारसिंहपूर्वतापनीयं ॥
 महीदासोलिखत्काश्यां सं १६३४ चैत्रव १३ रवौ ॥

२ तापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्यम्

इति श्री गोविंदभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यस्य परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यस्य
 श्रीशंकरभगवतः कृतावाथर्वणतापनीयोपनिषद्भाष्ये पञ्चमोपनिषत्समाप्ता ॥

महीदासेन कृतं काश्यां संवत् १६५० वर्षे स्वपाठाय तेन नरकेश्वरी प्रीयतां ॥

३ तापनीयोपनिषद्दीपिका

॥ इति नवमखंडः समाप्तः । इत्युत्तरतापनीयोपनिषद्दीपिका समाप्ता ।
 श्री संवत् १६२७ वर्षे वैशाखशुदि ५ भौमे शुभमस्तु ॥ लेशवेन लेखितं ॥ श्रीः ॥
 प्रानुसिंहाय नमः ॥

महोदासेन क्रीतं काश्यां संवत् १६४० वष स्वपाठाय तेन नरकेसरी प्रीयतां
श्रीनृसिंह

४ स्वरप्रक्रिया

॥ इति प्रसादः संपूर्णः ॥—श्रीनृसिंहो जयतितमां भक्तावकः)

श्रीमन्नागातपत्रद्विजकुलतिलकविश्वरत्नाकरस्य सूनुभूमितलेऽस्मिन् जयति
फनुबुधो रामचंद्रेकचेताः । तत्सूनुभूमिदः सोऽधिरिशनगरं स्तान्जले जान्हवीये
स्वारीमेतां व्यलेखीस्वपठनकृतये प्रक्रियां विष्णुतुष्ट्यै ॥१॥ वगुणषष्टिमिते वर्षे पो-
षांत्याजदिने रवौ महोदासोऽलिखत्काश्यां प्रक्रियास्वरपूर्वि

५ वदिकी प्रक्रिया

स्वस्ति श्रीमति रवागि षोडशमिते सहस्ये सिते बन्हेरन्हिमितस्य वासरइमी
श्रीवैदिकीं प्रक्रियां । श्रीवत्सर्षिसुगोत्रजः फनुसुतो नाम्ना महीकिंकरः श्री
विश्वेश्वरपत्तने समलिखल्लक्ष्मीपतेस्तुष्ट्यै ॥ दुर्दिराजाय नमः ।

६ गरुडपुराणम्

इति गरुडपुराणे अष्टादशैकसहस्र्यां संहितायां उत्तरखंडे विष्णुतार्क्ष्यसंवादे
प्रतक्त्वो नाम षट्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥३६॥३०॥ श्रीमन्नृकेसरिणे नमः गुणनिगमरसत्त्मा-
संमिते हायने शोधवलमदनघस्त्रे फाल्गुने मासि काश्यां । इह गरुडपुराणप्रेतखंडं
व्यलेखीन्मही.....माध्रवस्तेन तुष्यात् ॥१॥ महोदासः पूर्णम्

७ पुराण

इति—पुराणे रुक्मिण्यै नारदप्रोक्तं अशोकत्रिरात्रव्रतं संपूर्णम् ॥१६४६

आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां महोदासेनालेखि ।

No. ४७६ अशोकत्रिरात्रव्रतम् ।

Fr. २ स त् १६४६ आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां महोदासेनालेखि ।

No. १४२३ काव्यादर्शटीका

Beginning F. 1 :—गणेशं नृहरिं शेषं वार्ष्णीं गिरिशमद्रिजाम्
प्रणम्य विलिखाम्येतत्काव्यादर्शं सुटिप्पणम् ॥

तं धन्दे यस्य नखरैरुपलादपि क्रोमलैः ।

शिक्षितं हस्तदैत्येन्द्रवत्तः पाटनपाटवम् ॥

इति काव्यादर्शटीकायां दुःकरविभावो नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥

बाणांगांशेष्वब्द ऊर्जे शिवाहे ब्रह्मो (१) काश्यां भूमिदासो व्यलेखीत् ।
काव्यादर्शे भाष्यमेतद्बुधोक्तं स्वीयालोकायोपकाराय यत्नात् ।

१० No. ६२८ प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका

इति प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीकायां समासप्रकरणम् । श्रीनरकेसरिमहागणपतिभ्यां
नमः । षड्विंशद्वसुभामितवत्सरे सहस्रिमार्गसिते षसुवासरे ।
विषरणं तु समासमर्षं मुदा निजकृते व्यलिखन्महिकिङ्करः ।

११ कात्यायनप्रातिशाख्यम्

ॐ नमः श्रीमद्व्यलक्ष्मीनृसिंहाय । भवानीशंकराभ्यां च ।

इति कात्यायनकृते प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रेऽष्टमोऽध्यायः । समाप्तमिदं प्रातिशाख्यम् ।
स्वस्ति संवत् । भूगुणांगधरणीमितवर्षस्योर्जमासि धवले फणिघन्ने । सौव-
पाठकृतये शिवपुर्यां प्रातिशाख्यमलिखन्महिदासः ।

संवत् १६३१ वर्षे कार्तिकशुक्लपञ्चम्यां महीदासः काश्यां प्रपद्यमानो व्यलेखीत् ।

One thing remarkable in these Mss. is the manner in which the name Mahīdhara is written.

Synonyms are used, *e. g.* Mahīdāsa, Mahikinkara, Bhūmidāsa. The real and the original name Mahīdhara found in the commentary on the Yajurveda is never used.

Salutations are everywhere to gods Nṛhari, Gaṇeśa, Narakesarī, Mahāgaṇapati, Lakshmī. Salutations of these Mss. bear a very close resemblance to the salutations of the commentary and the Mantramahodadhi.

Further in the Ms. of स्वरप्रक्रिया transcribed by himself, Mahīdhara gives the information that he was the son of Phanu, grandson of Ratnākara.

He describes his grandfather as श्रीमन्नागातपत्रिजकुलतिलकः । It is identical with the remark of the Mantra:—

अहिच्छत्रद्विजच्छत्रं etc. नागातपत्र is a synonym of अहिच्छत्र. From this identity of salutations and names of the family, it is clear that the scholar-scribe of these Mss. is

*See the colophon of Svaraprakriyā, above, p. 20,

to be identified with the author of the Mantramahodadhi and the commentator of the Śukla Yajurveda. His date can now be definitely settled as shown by these Mss. *i. e.* he is to be assigned to the later half of the 16th Cen. A. D. as the colophons of the Mss. cover the period Sam. 1630—1670, this being the period of his literary activity. All these Mss. were transcribed at Benares and we know from the Mantra that Mahidhara left his own native place and migrated to Benares. This date is corroborated by the date of the Mantramahodadhi, composed in Sam. 1645=1588 A. D.*

*अब्दे विक्रमतो जाते वेदबाणनृपैर्मिते ।

ज्येष्ठाष्टशं शिवस्याग्रे पूर्णो मन्त्रमहोदधिः ।

पञ्चचत्वारिंशदुत्तरषोडशशततमे विक्रमनृपाद्गते वर्षे ।

TATSAMA GY

by A. C. Woolner

(1) There are a few words in Hindi written with **jñ** but regularly pronounced with **gy**: for example **gyān** 'knowledge' and derivatives from the same root such as **gyānī**, **gyāpak**, **āgyā**; **yagya** 'sacrifice' etc.

Similar forms are found in Panjabi and Bengali **Pb. giān** 'knowledge', **giānī** or **gayānī** 'learned', **āgiā** 'command'. For Bengali see S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 462. He records **gy**, **-ggy** and **gey-**.

Pb. jagg, **B. O. jāg**, **Sindhi jagu** (quoted by Beames I. 302.) evidently come from a similar treatment of **yajña**.

The substitution of a vowel for **y** and the nasalisation of **y** may be ignored for the moment. It seems clear that these forms are based upon the pronunciation of Sanskrit **jñ** as **gy**, which is common to pandits in the North and East of India.

The **tadbhava** treatment of **jñ** is indicated by **H. nātā** 'kinship' (**jñātītva**) **Pb. nāttā. janeu** (**yajñopavīta**). **Pb. janeū**.

Rāṇī 'queen' may have been associated with **rāṇā** from **rājānaka**, but cf. **Romani rānī**.

(2) In Gujrat there is a pronunciation **gn** as in **gnān** 'knowledge' (Clair Tisdall records a *svarabhakti* variety of this; **ganān**.) **Tadbhava** forms are **janoi** (**yajñopavīta**) and **jān** 'knowledge. In the Marathi country there is the pronunciation of **jñ** as **dny**, as in the name **Dnyānoba**, while **tadbhava** treatment is seen in **nātē** 'kinship' (J. Bloch, *Langue marathee*, p. 357.) **jānavē** (**yajñopavīta**) and perhaps in **rāṇī** 'queen'.

(There is also **j** in **paij** from **pratijñā**. J. Bloch, p. 139. Cf. Old H. **jaj** for **yajña**.)

(3) These varieties **gy**, **gn** and **dny** do not seem to be **Prakritic**. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, §276. gives the following treatments of **jñ**.

- (i) Regularly **jñ** becomes **ṇṇ** (or **ṇ**) e. g. **āṇā** from **ājñā**,
- (ii) It becomes **nn** (**n**). AMg. **nāṇa** 'knowledge'. cf. H. **nātā**. **janeu**, M. **nātē**, **jānavē**.
- (iii) In Māgadhi and Pāṣāṇī **jñ** becomes **ññ** (**ñ**). according to Hemacandra. **yañña** from **yajña**.
- (iv) According to Hemacandra **jñ** also becomes **jj** in some words: **ajjā** from **ājñā**, **jāṇa** from **jñāna**.
cf. Mar. **paij** from **pratijñā**. Old H. **jaj** from **yajña**.

There was also the **svarabhakti** method: Pāli **rājinī**.
Old H. **rājinī**.

Three of these survive in Marathi and J. Bloch remarks (p. 139.) "ni dans l'histoire ancienne ni dans la répartition des dialectes modernes on ne trouve d'indication permettant de rendre compte de cette diversité."

It is clear that once the process of prakritic assimilation is complete as in the four treatments given above, there can be no phonetic reason for going on to **gy**, **gn** or **ḍny**.

In other words this variation in the pronunciation of Sanskrit is not due to the influence of the Prakrits or of modern Indian languages. Whence then can it come?

(4) If we are to form any idea as to how the diversity arose, we must determine a more ancient pronunciation of **jñ**.

If we assume this to have been **j+ñ** i. e. something like **ḍj+ñ**, we may be satisfied about the origin of **ḍny**.

If again **ḍj** is not a true palatal but comes forward nearer to an alveolar or dental **ḍ** or **dz**, then (**ḍj**)n or (**dz**)n would become by assimilation **nn** (**n**).

The survival of **j** in **paij** and **jaj** would show the other method of assimilation.

But we are no nearer to **gy** and **gn**.

(5) Now Sanskrit **j** is ultimately derived from a palatal stop **ḷ** or we may conveniently write **g'**.

S. K. Chatterji¹ tells us that the affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops seems to have been only dialectal in the Early M. I. A. period and that for some time the stop value and affricate value went on, side by side.

The present writer had long suspected that Old Indo-Aryan possessed true palatal stops not affricates.

Macdonell however thought the affricate pronunciation indicated by the Greek reproductions of Indian names made it likely that they were so pronounced in Vedic times. (Vedic Grammar, § 35. cf. Wackernagel, I. 119.) It is true that an affricate pronunciation of *j* in Iranian is required to account for the variation *z* in Avestan and *d* in Persian corresponding to Sanskrit *j*. (Cf. also Old Persian *xšnāsātiy* 'Let him recognise' and *adānā* 'he knew'. Meillet, Grammaire du Vieux Perse, pp. 60 and 99.)

But in either case to whatever date the palatal stop *g'* survived in pandits' speech it is quite possible that it survived still longer in the complex *g'n̄*.

(6) Supposing we start with *g'n̄*, this might change in two or three different ways.

- (i) where and when the palatal *n̄* was no longer correctly pronounced *g'n̄* could be replaced by *gn̄*.
- (ii) Before that the assimilation of the nasal to the stop but leaving an offglide *y* would result in *gy*. Cf. the assimilation of *gn̄* to *gg*.
- (iii) When *g'* had been replaced by palatal *d'* and then made affricate *dz̥* or *dz̄*, the complex *g'n̄* could become *d'n̄* and then *dny*.

Or we may state the matter thus:—

Pandit speech.

g'n̄ - *g'n̄* - (*g*)*g̃y*-*gy*.

gn̄.

d'n̄ - *dny*.

Prakrit.

d'n - ññ

ññ

Later (dʒ) n } j or n.
(dz) n }

If that is so, the variation **gy, gn, dny** goes back to a variation in pandits' speech caused by replacing **g'** by **d'**, to which standing by itself a sibilant was added instead of an off-glide resembling **y**.

(7) It may be asked whether there are any other instances where variations in the pronunciation of Sanskrit seem to be independent of ordinary prakritic changes.

One such instance may be the rendering of the cerebral **ṣ** by **kh**. Some pandits say **upanikhad** for **upanīṣad**. (Cf. the form **Oupnekbat** of Anquetil Duperron from a Persian transcription) Hindi and Panjabi represent Sanskrit cerebral **ṣ** as **kh**-**bhākhā** for **bhāṣā**. On this see S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Language*, p. 243. where he says "in certain forms of OIA. the [X] sound was actually the one employed for [ṣ], as we can infer from a mediaeval pronunciation of [ṣ] as [kh] which still obtains, -[kh] being the nearest Middle Indian approximation to a traditional [X]". He then mentions Slavonic **snŭxa**, **synŭxŭ** = Skt. **snuṣā**, **sūnuṣu** and the wellknown variation Pashto and Pakhto.

(8) If **ṣ** is a sibilant variant of **x** which survived dialectically in OIA. of Northern India and is still represented by Middle Indian and modern **kh**, we might expect to see the effect of this variation in the complex **kṣ**.

In an **x**-dialect this would be **kx**. Such may be the source of the tatsama pronunciation **khy** and the prakritic **kkh**.

In a sibilant dialect it would be **kṣ**, now the orthodox Sanskrit pronunciation. In this complex Prakrit has replaced **k** with a **t** sound.

kṣ·tṣ·tṣʰ·ttṣʰ i.e. **cch**.

Efforts to account for the variation **kṣ** becomes **kkh** or **cch** on the basis of a distinction in Indo-Iranian have not been successful. (See Pischel, *Prakrit Grammar*, §§318-321. Geiger, *Pali Grammar*, §56. J. Bloch, *Langue marathe*, §104.)

According to the view suggested above the variation depends on more or less of sibilant in OIA. and is parallel to the variation of **kh** and **ṣ** and at a little distance to that of **gy** and **ḍny**.

All three non-sibilant pronunciations are found in Northern India, though **gy** has extended into Bengal, and in the Prakrits forms with **kkh** and **cch** are considerably intermingled.

(9) It has to be realised however that these are not so much variations in local speech as variations in the habits of learned speech, which is much more conservative on one hand, while it has on the other hand a tendency to make a conscious effort to avoid vernacular errors, especially in periods when Sanskrit schools are flourishing. Consequently the exact form of a **semi-tatsama** will depend not merely on local phonetics, but also on the pandits and the degree of their influence at a particular period. This is illustrated by some of the modern forms of proper names *e.g.* **Krishan**, **Kishan** **Kisan** as opposed to **Kistna** and **tadbhava Kaṇha**.

From this point of view it would be of interest to reconstruct as far as possible the history of the pronunciation of Sanskrit in different parts of India.

YASNA XXXI

By Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala

The thirty-first chapter of the Yasna has been translated and annotated by Jackson under the title *A Hymn of Zoroaster*. Another translation of it is by Andreas and Wackernagel in the *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1911. A third one is that by Bartholomae. There have been others also much earlier, but these three mentioned here may be taken as the "latest". I have consulted all three and have here attempted to give my own version of this chapter basing my translation mainly upon what I conceive to be the main purpose of the Message of Zarathushtra. I give here merely the rendering, each verse followed by the translation *pāda* by *pāda*. In this place, however, it is not possible to indicate all my reasons for differing from these great predecessors of mine. My only object herein is to give a consistent and, as far as possible, as literal a rendering as I can. I have explained some points in the very short notes that follow each verse.

1. tā¹ vā² urvātā³ marəntō⁴
 aguštā⁵ vacā⁶ sānghāmahi⁷ ;
 aēibyō⁸ yōi⁹ urvātāiš¹⁰ drujō¹¹
 Ašahyā¹² gaēθā¹³ vīmərəncaitē¹⁴ ;
 at¹⁵ -ci¹¹ aēibyō¹⁷ vahištā¹⁸
 yōi¹⁹ zarazdā²⁰ anhən²¹ Mazdāi²².

Translation :

Heeding⁴ these¹ two-Laws,³ unto ye² (O men)
 do-we-proclaim⁷ the Message⁶ (so long) unheeded⁵ ;
 for those⁸ who⁹ because-of-the-lures¹⁰ of Untruth¹¹
 destroy¹⁴ the creation¹³ of Aša¹² ;
 and¹⁵ for them,¹⁶ indeed,¹⁷ most of-all¹⁹,
 who¹⁹ are²⁰ heartily-devoted²¹ unto Mazdā²².

(4. Lit., "remembering". 6. Lit., "words". 10. Lit., "through the teaching (or laws)", originally ins. plu. 18. Lit., "best of all".)

The two Laws referred to here are the laws which ordain "long punishment for the follower of the False, and happiness for the follower of the Truth" mentioned in the last verse of the previous chapter of the Yasna (xxx. 11).

2. yezi¹ āiš² nōi³ urvānā⁴
 advā⁵ aibi⁶ -dərəštā⁷ va⁸ yā⁹ ,
 at⁹ vā¹⁰ vīspāng¹¹ ayōi¹² ;
 yaθā¹³ ratūm¹⁴ Ahurō¹⁵ vaēdā
 Mazdā¹⁷ ayā¹⁸ ōsyā¹⁹ ,
 yā²⁰ Asāt²¹ hacā²² jvāmahi²³ .

Translation :

Since,¹ because-of-these² (lures, there is) not,³ while-choosing⁴
 the better⁵ path⁶ clear⁷ -in-sight⁸,
 therefore,⁹ to ye¹⁰ all¹¹ am-I-come¹²;

as¹³ Teacher¹⁴ appointed¹⁵ by Ahura¹⁶,
 the Creator¹⁷ (has sent me to stand) between these¹⁸
 parties-twain,¹⁹
 that²⁰ we-may-live²¹ in-harmony²² with Aša²³.

(4. Originally dat. inf. 13—16. Lit., "as Teacher Ahura knows". 21—22. Lit., "though Aša", i. e. devoted to Aša.)

I would like to point out that the arrangement of this verse is in two *Gāyatrīs*.

3. yām¹ dā² Mainyū³ Āθrā⁴ -cā,⁵
 Aša⁶ -cā⁷ cōiš⁸ rānōibyā⁹ ṣṣūtēm¹⁰,
 hyat¹¹ urvatēm¹² eazdōnghvadēbyō¹³;
 tat¹⁴ nō,¹⁵ Mazdā,¹⁶ vīdvanōi¹⁷ vaocā¹⁸
 hizvā¹⁹ θwahyā²⁰ ōnhō²¹,
 yā²² jvantō²³ vīpāng²⁴ vaurayā²⁵.

Translation :

What¹ Thou bestowest² through-(Thy)-Spirit³ and⁴
 through-(Thy)-Fire⁵,

and⁷ the Bliss¹⁰ (attainable) through Aša⁶
 has-thou-promised⁸ to-both-parties⁹,
 (and) what¹¹ the Law¹² (is) for the discerning¹³,
 that¹⁴ unto us¹⁵, O Mazdā¹⁶, declare¹⁸ for-(our)-enlightenment¹⁷,
 with words¹⁹ from-Thine-own²⁰ mouth¹
 that² I-may-convert²⁵ all²⁴ the living²³.

(8. Lit., "Thou hast taught". 19. Lit., "tongue.")

4. yadā¹ Asem² zəvīm³ anhen,⁴

Mazdā⁵ -cā⁶ Ahurā⁷hō.⁷

ašī⁸ -cā⁹ Armaitī¹⁰.

Vahistā¹¹ išasā¹² Mananhā¹³

maibyō¹⁴ Xšaθrəm¹⁵ aojōnghvat,¹⁶

yehyā¹⁷ vərədā¹⁸ vanaēmā¹⁹ drujem.²⁰

(8. I read the final vowel of this word long on the strength of the restored Ur-text as given by Andreas. No other text, nor any ms. supports this reading.)

Translation:

When¹ Aša² is⁴ to-(our)-prayer-inclined³,

(and Ye) Lords-of-Creation⁵ and⁶ Lords-of-Life,⁷

together-with⁹ the Holy¹⁰ Armaitī⁸,

(then) through-the-Best¹¹ Mind¹² shall-I-seek¹³

for ourselves¹⁴ the strengthening¹⁶ Power,¹⁵

through-whose¹⁷ increase¹⁸ we-may overcome¹⁹ the Enemy²

(4. Originally plu. 14. Originally sing.)

5. ta¹ mōi² vīcidyāi³ vaocā⁴,

hyat⁵ mōi,⁶ Ašā⁷, datā⁸ vahyō⁹;

vīduyē,¹⁰ Vohū¹¹ Mananhā,¹² ¹³

mēn¹⁴ -cā¹⁵ daidyāi,¹⁶ yehyā¹⁷ -mā¹⁸ ərəšiš;¹⁹

tā²⁰ -ci²¹ Mazdā²² Ahurā²³, ²⁴

yā nōit²⁵ vā²⁶ anhat²⁷ anhaitī²⁸ vā²⁹.

Translation:

That-I-may-decide,¹ declare⁴ unto me² this¹,

what⁵ better⁹ (reward) on me⁶, O Aša⁷,

shalt-Thou confer⁸;

(declare), O Vohu¹¹ Manō,¹² that-I-may-know¹⁰,
 and¹⁴ grant¹⁵ to me¹³ (that), whereby¹⁶ Blessings¹⁸ to me¹⁷
 (may-accrue);
 all²⁰ these,¹⁹ O Mazdā²¹ Ahura,²² (do Thou declare),
 whatever²³ there shall-be²⁷ or²⁵ shall-not²⁴ be²⁶.

(3 and 15 are both originally dative infinitives. 18. Originally sing. The last word of the verse, *vā*²⁸, has been omitted in the translation.)

6. ahmāi¹ anha² vahištəm³,
 yē⁴ mōi⁵ vīdvā⁶ vaocat⁷ haiōim⁸
 mōrəm⁹ yim¹⁰ Haurvatātō,¹¹
 Ašahyā¹² Amərətātas¹³ -cā¹⁴;
 Mazdāi¹⁵ avat¹⁶ Xšaθrəm¹⁷
 hyat¹⁸ hōi¹⁹ Vohū²⁰ vaṣṣat²¹ Manahhā²².

Translation:

Unto him¹ may the Best² befall³,
 who⁴, the Wise-One⁵, shall spread⁷ my⁸ Truth⁸
 the Word, which⁹ (giveth¹⁰ promise) of Perfection¹¹,
 (the Word) of Aša,¹² (giving promise) of Immortality¹³
 as well¹⁴;
 (unto him may) that¹⁶ Power¹⁷ of the Lord¹⁵ (accrue)
 which¹⁸ for him¹⁹ shall Good²⁰ Mind²² increase²¹.

(7. Lit., "shall tell". 15. Dat. used for gen.)

7. yas¹ -tā² mantā³ pouruyō⁴
 raocēbiš⁵ rōiθwən⁶ x'āθrā⁷
 hvō⁸ Xraθwā⁹ dāmis¹⁰ Ašəm¹¹:
 yā¹² drāvaya¹³ Vahištəm¹⁴ Manō¹⁵
 tā¹⁶, Mazdā¹⁷, Mainyū¹⁸ uxšyō¹⁹,
 yē²⁰ ā²¹ nūrəm²² -ci²³, Ahurā²⁴, hāmō²⁵.

Translation:

He,¹ (our) first⁴ Father², planned-out³
 the Realms-of-Light⁷ refulgent⁶ with-(His)-Glory⁵,
 Himself⁸ in-(His)-Wisdom⁹ the Creator¹⁰ of Aša;
 (that) by which¹² the Best¹⁴ Mind¹⁵ is upheld¹⁶,

through that¹⁴, O Mazdā¹⁷, increase¹⁹ (Thy)-Spirit¹⁸

(amongst us);

O Ahura²⁴, even²³ uptil²¹ now²² Thou²⁰ (art) the same²⁵.

(1. Lit., "who". 3. Lit., "thought". 6. Lit., "mixed with", "clothed in". 13. Lit., "He upholds" (active verb). 20. Lit., "who".)

8. yaṭ¹ θwā² mānghī³ pourvīm⁴.

Mazdā⁵, yazūm⁶ stōi⁷ mananhā⁸,

Vanhəuš⁹ patarəm¹⁰ Mananhō¹¹;

hyat²² θwā¹³ (hām)¹⁴ cašmainē¹⁵ hēngrabəm¹⁶,

haiθīm¹⁷ Aśahyā¹⁸ dāmīm¹⁹,

anhəuš²⁰ ahurəm²¹ šyaoθanaēšu²⁵.

(1. Geld. and others read aṭ: Geld. notes that only one ms. reads yaṭ. 6. Geld., Kan., Jack. and Mills read yezim. I have accepted the reading of Wester. and Barth. Andreas has yozūm. Geld. mentions the reading adopted here on p. 111 of the Yasna as also in his Prolegomena (xxvii). He also mentions the readings yazəm and yüzəm)

Translation:

That¹ I-may-recognise⁸ Thee³ (as) the Oldest⁴

in-(my)-mind⁵, O Mazdā⁵, (as also) being⁷ the Youngest⁸,
(and as) the Father¹⁰ of Vohu⁹ Manō¹¹;

that²² I-may-apprehend^{14,16} Thee¹³ in-(mine)-eye¹⁵

(as) the true¹⁷ Creator¹⁹ of Aša¹⁸,

(and) Lord-Supreme²¹ over-actions in-(this)-world²⁰.

(4. Lit., "First". 8. Originally ins. sing. 16. The hēn- is clearly tautological. 20. Originally gen. sing.)

9. θwōi¹ as² Armaitiš³,

θwōi⁴ ā⁵ gəuš⁶ -tašā⁷ as⁸ xratuš⁹,

Manyəuš¹⁰, Mazdā¹¹ Ahurā¹²;

hyat¹³ ašyāi¹⁴ dadā¹⁵ paθəm¹⁶,

vāstryāt¹⁷ vā¹⁸ āitē¹⁹,

yə²⁰ vā²¹ nōit²² anhat²³ vāstryō²⁴.

(6—7. I have ventured to join these two words as a compound.)

Translation:

Thine¹, has-been² Ārmaiti³,

Thine⁴, too⁵, has-been⁶ the Wisdom⁹ World⁸-creating⁷,

(the Wisdom) of the Spirit¹⁰, O Mazdā¹¹ Ahurā¹²;

then¹³ Thou-hast-granted¹⁵ unto her¹⁴ the choice¹⁶

either¹⁸ to come-away¹⁹ from-(her)-Protector¹⁷,

or²¹ (from him) who²⁰ never²² was¹³ (her) Protector⁴.

(14. Namely, Mother-Earth, implied in the word gəuš.

16. Lit., "path".)

10. aṭ¹ hī² ayǵ³ fravarētā⁴

vāstrīm⁵ aḫyāi⁶ fšuyantəm⁷,

ahurəm⁸ ašavanəm⁹,

Vanḥəuš¹⁰ fšəṅghīm¹¹ Mauanḥō¹²;

nōit¹³ Mazdā¹⁴ avāstryō¹⁵

davās¹⁶ -cinā¹⁷ humərətōiš¹⁸ baḥstā¹⁹.

(2. V. l. hō. 16. V. l. daēvās-, daēvās-.)

Translation:

So¹ she² chose⁴ out-of-these-two³

(as) Protector⁵ (and as) Shepherd⁷ for herself⁶

a Lord⁸ possessing-Aša⁹,

a promoter¹¹ of Good¹⁰ Thought¹²;

never¹³, O Mazdā¹⁴ (can) the Destroyer¹⁵

even-though¹⁷ -he-strive¹⁶, partake¹⁹ of-the-blessed-Message¹⁸.

(For the ideas of the first two pādas compare Yas, xxix 6. 10, 12. These words almost mean "Goodwill to mankind". 15. Lit., "non-protector" 16. Originally present participle. 18. The ev'αγγέλιον.

Verses 11 and 12 are closely connected together in thought, hence they are to be taken together.

11. hyaṭ¹ nē² Mazdā⁵, paourvīm⁴

gaēθǵs⁵ -cā⁶ tašō⁷ daēnǵs⁸ cā⁴,

əwā¹⁰ Mananḥā¹¹ xratuś¹² cā¹³ :
 hyat¹⁴ astvañtəm¹⁵ dadḡ¹⁶ uštanəm¹⁷,
 hyat¹⁸ šyaəθinā¹⁹ -cā²⁰ sənḡgēs²¹ -cā²²,
 yaəṛā²³ varənēng²⁴ vaśḡ²⁵ dāyetē²⁶.

12. aəṛā¹ vācim² baraiti³
 miəah⁴ -vacḡ⁵ vā⁶ ərēs⁷ -vacḡ⁸ vā⁹,
 vīdvḡ¹⁰ vā¹¹ əvīdvḡ¹² vā¹³ :
 ahyā¹⁴ zərədā¹⁵ -cā¹⁶ mananḥā¹⁷ -cā¹⁸
 ānuš¹⁹ -haXš²⁰ Ārmaitiś²¹ Muinyū²²
 pərəsāitē²³ yaəṛā²⁴ maeəṛā²⁵.

Translation :

- (11) Since¹ for² us, O Mazdā³, in-the-beginning⁴
 Thou-didst-create⁷ both⁶ Body⁵ as-well-as⁹ Spirit⁸
 and¹³ Mental-Power¹², (too,) through Thine own¹⁰
 Thought¹¹;
 since¹⁴ Thou-hast created¹⁶ Life¹⁷ in flesh enmeshed,¹⁵
 since¹⁸ power-to act¹⁹ and²⁰ Words-to guide²¹
 (Thou hast bestowed)
 whereby²³ one-may-hold²⁶ (what) Faith²⁴ he-will;²⁵
 (12) (so) here¹ (each) doth-lift-up³ (his) voice².
 whether⁶ false⁴ speaker⁵ or⁹ true⁷ -speaker⁸,
 whether¹¹ enlightened¹⁰ or¹³ unenlightened¹²;
 (but) both¹⁶ to the Heart¹⁵ and¹⁸ to the Head¹⁷ of each,¹⁴
 to the spirit²², Armaiti²¹ standing-by¹⁹⁻²⁰
 appeals²³ whenever²⁴ (there is) doubt²⁵.

(Verse 11: 6. Lit., "(material) worlds", plu. 6. Lit., "and"
 8. Lit., "spiritual Egos", plu. 15. Lit., "made up of bones".
 19. Lit., "works", plu. 22. This cā is omitted. 23-26. The
 literal rendering of the last pāda of verse 11 is: "whereby²³
 wishing²⁵ (they) may hold²⁶ (their) Faiths²⁴".

Verse 12: 1. I. e., in this world, 14. Lit., "of him". 15 and
 17. Both originally ins. sing. 22. Originally ins. sing. 23. Lit.,
 "confer with".)

13. yā¹ frasā² āvišyā³,
 yā⁴ vā⁵, Mazdā⁶, pərəsāitē⁷ tāyā⁸;
 yē⁹ vā¹⁰ kasəuś¹¹ aēnaṛḥō¹²

ā¹⁰ mazištām¹⁴ yamaitē¹⁵ būjəm¹⁶;
 tā¹⁷ cašmāng¹⁸ θwisrā¹⁹ hārō²⁰
 aibī²¹ Aša²² vaēnahī²³ vīspā²⁴.

(8. So Andreas, others read tayā. 15. So Andreas, others read ayamaitē. 22. After this word all mss. and all scholars read another aibī. Geld. and others have clearly indicated that this second aibī is redundant. Andreas, therefore, omits it from his Urtext, and I have accepted his emendation.)

Translation:

When¹ (there is) an open² appeal³,
 or⁵ when⁴, O Mazdā⁶, (she) appeals⁷ in secret⁸;
 and¹⁰ thus⁹ for a small¹¹ fault¹²
 (one) undertakes^{13,15} a great¹⁴ atonement;¹⁶
 this¹⁷, watching²⁰ through (Thy) radiant¹⁹ Eye¹⁸,
 with Aša²², all²⁴ - (this) Thou close²¹ observest²³.

7. (Refers to Ārmaiti mentioned in the previous verse. 9-10. Lit., "or⁹ when¹⁰". 11—12. Both originally gen. sing. 14. Lit., "greatest").

14. tā¹ θwā² pəresā³, Ahurā⁴,
 yā⁵ -zī⁶ āitī⁷ jənghatī⁸ -cā⁹,
 yā¹⁰ išudō¹¹ dadəntē¹²
 dāθranām¹³ hacā¹⁴ ašāunō¹⁵,
 yās¹⁶ -cā¹⁷, Mazdā¹⁸, drəgvōdəbyō¹⁹,
 yaθā²⁰ tš²¹ anhen²² hənkeretā²³ hyat²⁴.

Translation:

I ask³ Thee², O Ahura⁴, of-those-(things)¹
 which⁵ have, indeed⁶, come⁷ and 'are-(yet)-to-come⁸;
 what¹⁰ accounts¹¹ are-to-be-adjusted¹²
 according to (Thy)-record¹³ with¹⁴ the Righteous¹⁵,
 and¹⁷ what¹⁶, O Mazdā¹⁸, with the Unrighteous¹⁹;
 how²⁰ these²¹ do stand²² when²⁴ the-account is closed²³.

(10-12. Lit., "what¹⁰ dues¹¹ are fixed¹²". 13. Originally gen. sing. 15. Originally abl. sing. 19. Originally abl. plu. 22. Lit., "are".)

15. pərəsā¹ avat² yā³ maēnis⁴,
 yē⁵ drəgvaitē⁶ Xšaθrəm⁷ hunāitī⁸,
 duš⁹ šyaoθanāi¹⁰, Ahurā¹¹;
 yē¹¹ nōi¹³ jyōtūm¹⁴ hunar¹⁵ vīnastī¹⁶
 vāstryehyā¹⁷ aēnanhō¹⁸
 pasēuš¹⁹ vīrāat²⁰ cā²¹ adrujyantō²².

(4. Geld. reads mainis. 15. All read hunarə except Andreas, whose reading I have adopted.)

Translation:

I ask¹ this²:— what³ punishment⁴ (there is)
 (for him) who⁵ seeks-to-achieve⁶ power⁷ for the False-One⁸
 for the Evil-Doer⁹ ¹⁰, O Ahura¹¹;
 who¹² finds¹⁶ no¹³ fulfilment¹⁵ of-(his)-life¹⁴
 but-in-separating¹⁸ the Shepherd¹⁷,
 the Loving-One²² from (his) flock¹⁹ and²² from the men²⁰.
 (12. I.e. the False One. 14. Originally acc. inf., “in order to live”. 15. Lit., “gain”. 18. Lit., “driving away”, originally abl. sing. 22. Lit., “not-inimical”, this word (as well as 17) is originally gen. sing.)

16. peresā¹ avat² yaθā³ hvō⁴,
 yē⁵ hudānuš⁶ dēmānahyā⁷ xšaθrəm⁸
 šōiθrahyā⁹ vā¹⁰ daxyāuš¹¹ vā¹²,
 Aša¹³ fradaθāi¹⁴ aspərəzatā¹⁵,
 θwāvāš¹⁶, Mazdā¹⁷ Ahurā¹⁸,
 yadā¹⁹ hvō²⁰ anhat²¹ yā²² -syaoθanas²³ -cā²⁴.

Translation:

I ask¹ this² : how³ one⁴,
 who⁵ (being) of-good-understanding⁶, (Thy) Power⁸
 in-the-house⁷, or¹⁰ in the province⁹, or¹² in-the-land¹¹,
 striveth¹⁵, through Aša¹³, to-advance¹⁴,
 at-what-time¹⁹ and²⁴ acting²³ -how²² shall such²⁰ become²¹,
 O Mazdā¹⁷ Ahura¹⁸ , merged-in-Thee¹⁶?

(7, 9 and 11. All three originally gen. sing. 16-24. Owing to the exigencies of English style, I have had to transpose *pādas* 5 and 6.)

17. katārem¹ aṣavā² vā³
 dregvā⁴ vā⁵ vərənvaite⁶ mazyō⁷,
 vīdvā⁸ vīdušā⁹ mraoṭū¹⁰;
 mā¹¹ vīdvā¹² aipī¹³ -dābāvaya¹⁴;
 zdī¹⁵-nā¹⁶, Mazdā¹⁷ Ahurā¹⁸,
 Vanhōus¹⁹ fradaṣtā²⁰ Mananhō²¹.

Translation:

Which-of-the-two¹— whether² the Righteous³
 or⁵ the Unrighteous⁴— chooseth⁶ the better⁷,
 (that) let the Enlightened⁸ declare¹⁰ unto the wise⁹;
 let not¹¹ the Ignorant¹² lead-(us)-astray^{13,14};
 be¹⁵ unto us¹⁶, O Mazdā¹⁷ Ahurā¹⁸,
 the Revealer²⁰ of Good¹⁹ Mind²¹.

(7. Lit., “greater”.)

18. mā¹ eiš² aṣ³ vā⁴ dregvatō⁵
 mā⁶ōrās⁵ -cā⁷ gūstā⁸ sāsnaš⁹ -cā¹⁰;
 ā¹¹ zī¹² dēmanēm¹³ višom¹⁴ vā¹⁵
 sōiōrēm¹⁶ vā¹⁷ daṣyūm¹⁸ vā¹⁹ ādā²⁰
 dušitā²¹ -cā²² marakaē²³ -cā²⁴;
 aōā²⁵ iš²⁶ sāzdūm²⁷ snaiō²⁸šā²⁸.

(11-12. Barth. and Andreas read the words separate, Geld. puts together as one.)

Translation:

And⁵ let not¹ any² of you⁴ unto the False-One³
 and⁷ unto (his)-words⁶ and¹⁰ unto (his)-teachings⁹ give-ear⁸;
 for¹² the house¹³ and¹⁵ the village¹⁴
 and¹⁷ the province¹⁶ and¹⁹ the country¹⁸ doth-he-hurl^{14,20}
 into the place of torment²¹, even²⁴ into annihilation²³;
 so²⁵ resist²⁷ these²⁶ with-(your)-(holy)-weapons²⁸.

(5. Originally gen. sing. 15, 17 and 19. Lit., “or”. 20. Lit., “unite with. 22. The *cā* is omitted. 24. Lit., “and”.)

19. gūstā¹ yš⁴ mañtā³ Ašəm⁴,
 ahum⁵ -biš⁶ vīdvā⁷, Ahurā⁸,
 ərəzuχδāi⁹ vacanham¹⁰
 χšayamnō¹¹ hizvō¹² -vasō¹³;
 ǝwā¹⁴ Āθrā¹⁵ suχrā¹⁶, Mazdā¹⁷,
 vañhāu¹⁸ vīdātā¹⁹ rānaya²⁰.

Translation:

Who² giveth-ear-unto¹ (and) realises³ Aša,⁴
 the⁵ soul-healing⁶ Lord-of-Wisdom,⁷ O Ahura,⁸
 (he,) tongue¹² -well-controlled,¹³ (is) capable¹¹
 of-proving-the-truth⁹ of-(his)-words:¹⁰
 through Thy¹⁴ radiant¹⁶ Fire,¹⁵ O Mazdā¹⁷
 the rewards¹⁸ of-both-parties²⁰ do-(Ye)-assign.¹⁹

(3. Lit., "thought over" (and grasped). 9. Originally dat., "for the truthful word". 19. The "Ye" refers to Ahura Mazdā and the "Holy Immortals". In order to avoid an awkward sentence I have transposed pādas 3 and 4.)

20. yā¹ āyat² ašavanəm,³
 divamnəm⁴ hōi⁵ aparəm⁶ χšayō,⁷
 darəgəm⁸ āyu⁹ təmanhō¹⁰
 duš¹¹ -χ¹²āθrem¹³ avaētās¹⁴ vacō;¹⁵
 təm¹⁶ vā¹⁷ ahum¹⁸ drəgvantō¹⁹
 syaoθanāis²⁰ χ²¹āiš²² daēnā²³ māšat.²⁴

(7. Geld., Jack. and Barth. read χšyō; I have accepted the reading of Kanga, Mills and Andreas. 16. Thus Geld., all others read vā.)

Translation:

(He) who¹ goeth-over² to the Righteous,³
 from him⁵ henceforth⁶ misery⁷ keeps-a-far⁴
 (and) long⁸ ages⁹ of darkness¹⁰,
 (as also) bad¹¹ -nourishment¹² (and) woeful¹³ -speech¹⁴;
 to such¹⁵ life¹⁷, indeed¹⁶, the followers of-the-false¹⁸
 by their-own²⁰ actions¹⁹ (their own) self²¹ doth-lead²².

(4. Originally pres. part. ātm. 9. Originally sing. 13-14. Lit., "woefulness of speech". 15. Lit., "this".)

21. Mazdā¹ dadāt² Ahurō³

Haurvatō⁴ Amərotātas⁵ cā⁶,

būrōis⁷ ā⁸ Asaxyā⁹ -cā¹⁰

x^vāpaiθyāt²¹ Xšaθrahyā¹² sarō¹³,

Vaṇhəuš¹⁴ vazdvarə¹⁵ Manahō¹⁶,

yə¹⁷ Hōi¹⁸ Mainyu¹⁹ šyaoθanāiš²⁰ -cā²¹ -curvaθ²²

Translation:

Mazdā¹ Ahura² doth bestow³

Wholeness⁴ and⁵ Immortality⁶,

out-of⁷ (His) fulness⁸ (He bestows) Aša⁹ also¹⁰,

(and) through-His-Lordship¹¹ union¹² with-Power-Divine,¹³

(and) full-vigour¹⁴ of Good¹⁵ Mind¹⁶

(on him) who¹⁷ in Spirit¹⁸ and¹⁹ in act²⁰ (is) His¹⁸ friend²².

(4, 5, 9, 13 and 15. All are genetives "governed by dadāt

19. Originally gen. sing. 20. Originally ins. plu)

22. ciθrā¹ i² hudāyā³

yaθanā⁴ vaēdomnāi⁵ Manahā,⁶

Vohu⁷ hvō⁸ Xšaθrā⁹ Ašom¹⁰

vacahā¹¹ šyaoθanā¹² -cā¹³ hapti,¹⁴

hvō¹⁵ Tōi,¹⁶ Mazdā¹⁷ Ahurā,¹⁸

vāzištō¹⁹ aṇhaiti²⁰ astis.²¹

(2. V. l. ē.)

Translation:

Clear¹ (are) these² (teachings) to the Lord-of-Wisdom,³

likewise⁴ (to him) realising⁵ with(Good⁷)* Mind,⁶

such,⁸ with-(the-help-of)-Divine⁷ Power,⁹ Aša¹⁰

doth-promote¹⁴ with word¹¹ and¹³ deed,¹²

he indeed,¹⁵ O Mazdā¹⁷ Ahura,¹⁸ for Thee¹⁶

the most-helpful¹⁹ servant²¹ doth-decome.²²

(*This word has to be supplied from the 3rd pāda. 6. The implication is also "with his mind", hence also the word "mind" is not used again in pāda 4. 7. Lit., "good".)

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THE PRAKRIT IN KUNDAMĀLĀ.

*Paravastu Venkata Rāmānūjaswāmin, M. A.,
Vizianagaram.*

INTRODUCTION

The **Kundamālā** was first published in 1923 by Messrs. Rāmakrishna Kavi and Rāmanātha Śāstri in the *Dakṣiṇabhārati* Series. The edition was based on four incomplete Mss., two from Mysore and the other two from Tanjore. The latter are wanting in the beginning and the former in the Prologue mention Dīnāga as the author of the work. The Tanjore Mss. however ascribe the work to Dhīranāga in the colophon. I do not propose to discuss directly the question of authorship and decide between them, but I am now concerned with the exhibition of the nature of the Prākṛit contained in the drama and the determination of the period to which the language can be assigned. I shall thus try to throw side light on the question of authorship.

I know some scholars urge that the character of the Prākṛit found in a drama cannot be accepted as a criterion for the determination of the age of composition of the work, for it depends more upon the place of origin of the Mss. rather than the age of the language. The Prākṛit in the dramas is also subject to a good deal of corruption at the hands of ignorant copyists. It is further greatly influenced by Sanskrit in which, rather than in Prākṛit, the writers were well versed. They depend more on the conventional rules of grammar rather than on tradition and thus the language of the dramas, to whichever age they may belong, assumes a uniformity of character and frustrates any attempt to use it as a test of age. These remarks, however true they may be, need not drive us into despair. The last applies equally well to every dead language, and particularly to Sanskrit which had been stereotyped long before Prākṛit was; and yet the linguistic test as applied to Sanskrit is generally accepted as a criterion for

determining the age of a work. There is an inner life in language behind the outer form of words which presents a new appearance from age to age; and the Prākṛit language is no exception to this rule. We can by discrimination eliminate local peculiarities and scribal mistakes to a high degree of certainty.

The **Kundamālā** is a drama in six Acts recounting the story of Sītā subsequent to her second exile from Ayodhyā. Sītā succumbs to a second ordeal and is reunited with Rāma to spend many a year of further happiness in his company. It is conventional to close a drama with a happy ending and hence the deviation from the **Rāmāyaṇa**. A distinguishing feature of this drama is that it includes the character of the Vidūṣaka, which does not generally appear in the Rāma Plays¹. The characters in the drama are few and those that speak Prākṛit are fewer still in number. The female characters, Sītā and Yajñavedī and Vedavati, and the male characters, the Vidūṣaka and a tāpasa, are the only ones that employ Prākṛit; but the amount of Prākṛit in the drama is considerable. The whole of Act. II with a major part of Acts I, III and IV besides considerable portions of Acts V and VI are in Prākṛit. Unfortunately there are lacunae in the Prākṛit passages wherever they happen to be considerably long and the readings of many an other passage are corrupt². But the passages that are free from doubt are considerable enough to enable us to form an idea of the nature of the language. The uniformity of dialect is also a favourable circumstance; all the characters employ only one dialect, the Sauraseni.

The chief peculiarities of the Prākṛit dialect in the drama are the following: -**mātra** is represented by -**matta** although -**metta** occurs in a single phrase (§1). **pūrva** always appears as **puvva** (§2) but in **puruṣa** the **u** remains unchanged. **t** is as frequently lost as it is voiced (§6) and **punar** always appears as **uṇa** (even

1. The **Adbhutadarpaṇa** which presents the same feature is also from South India.

2. The other edition printed at Lahore is little better.

after **anusvāra**) and only once as **puna** (after **anusvāra**) (§6). **l** is frequently changed into cerebral **ḷ** (§11). **jñ** is always represented by **ṇṇ**, never by **ññ** (§16). **kṣ** always assumes the form **kkh** (§18). **ny** is always turned into **ṇṇ** (§20). **ry** is always changed into **yy** (§22). This last is not a sign of antiquity but only a local peculiarity. The Acc. pl. n. of stems in **-a** ends in **-āim** (§24) and the Loc. Sg. of stems in **-ā** in **-āe** and not **-āam** (§25). The Gen. Sg. of **ātman** is either **attāṇaassa** or **appāṇaassa** beside **attano** (§30). The Nom. pl. and Gen. Pl. of **aham** are **aṃhe** and **ahmāṇam** (§32). **tava** appears beside **tuha** (§33). The fem. of **bhavam** is always **hodi** (§29). **dīsa** appears regularly instead of **dissa** (§46) and **kīsa** instead of **kissa** (§2); **kocci** never occurs (§36). **drś** appears as **daṃs** always except once (§10), but **grah** appears as **gahṇa** (§44). The Inf. of **kṛ** is **kādum** (§53) and indecl. part. of **kṛ** and **gam** are **kadua** and **gadua**, although **gacchia** is once found (§52). **khu** (**khalu**) never appears as **hu** (earlier) or **kkhu** (later) (§55). **dāṇim** always appears with final **anusvāra** and **api** as **vi** (§55). **haddhī** (with long final vowel) is more frequent than **haddhi** (§55). The particle **āma**, which is frequent in **Bhāsa** and **Kālidāsa**, is strangely missing in the present drama. The above peculiarities show that the **Kundamālā** presents the normal **Prākṛit** of the later dramas. The following detailed exposition points to the conclusion that the **Prākṛit** in the present drama has passed the stage of transition and presents the settled form of the 6th or 7th century, stereotyped by the grammarians. As is to be expected of a drama discovered in South India, its language shows some of the peculiarities of South Indian orthography, the chief of which are the representation of **ry** by **yy** (§22) and of the doubling of a consonant by a small circle placed before it (§10) which is usually represented by the sign for **anusvāra**. I have drawn attention to these in their proper places in the following exposition.

PHONOLOGY—Vowels.

§ 1. **Changes of quality**.—Medially **Skt. ṛ** is never represented by **a** except in the forms of the rt. **grah**. It is usually repre-

sented by i, but in the neighbourhood of labials, it appears as u. Thus hiaa (hrdaya) i. 18; ii. 13, 25, 26; diṭṭī (drṣṭi) i. 82, diṭṭhī, diṭṭhīm iii. 30 diṭṭho ii. 12 diṭṭhā v. 21 (probably all to be corrected into tṭh); ākidi (ākṛti) iv. 75, paḍikidi (pratikṛti) i. 82, kide (krte) ii. 19; also kiḍaṃ (kṛtaṃ) i. 82, kido (kṛtaḥ) ii. 13; ṇisamsattana (nṛsamsatva) ii. 43; diḍha (dṛḍha) vi. 59, ii. 39; paḍi (prakṛti) ii. 12; jaṇcehā (yadṛcehā) ii. 55.—utta (vṛtta) i. 6, 86, 108. iv. 79 vi. 129 and uttanta (vṛttānta) i. 48, ii. 6, 7, iv. 7 beside -vutta ii. 12, 42, iii. 1, iv. 2, 42, 68 v. 7 and vuttanta ii. 17, iv. 70, v. 25; ṇihuda (nibhṛta) iv. 75; pahudi (prabhṛti) i. 96, iv. 77 beside paḍi iv. 5 (probably to be corrected).—asadisa (asadrśa) iii. 39, iḍisa (idrśa) iv. 40, kiḍisa (kidrśa) ii. 17, iii. 30, 47, tāḍisa (tādrśa) i. 80, ii. 42 tāisī (tādrśī) i. 96 beside amhārisa (asmādrśa) v. 13, īrisa ii. 43, v. 19, 123, eḍārisa (etādrśa) iv. 40, mārisī (mādrśī) ii. 12, sāricca (sādrśya); vāvuda (vyāpṛta) iv. 36.—Initial ṛ is very rare: mahesi (maharṣi) i. 82, iv. 38, v. 25, vi. 90 and rāesi (rājarṣi) v. 25.

The change of a into i is found in diṇṇa (datta) iii. 27, v. 86 and baliṃ (balavat) iv. 16. It is not changed into i in sampakka (sampakva) iii. 1. It is changed into e in bhāruvvehana (bhār-odvahana) beside bharuvvahana i. 12 (probably to be corrected) metta (mātra) i. 40, beside matta ii. 19, iii. 55, mahesi (maharṣi) i. 82 etc., and to o in sonti (santi) i. 64 (probably to be corrected.) adimuttu (atimuktā) iv. 79 beside muttākalāva (muktākalāpa) v. 7 may be due to Dravidian influence.

On the other hand i is changed into a in puḍavi (pṛthivī) ii. 12, puḍhavī v. 7, pahādae (prābhātike) iv. 79 and into u in dudia (dvitīya) ii. 3, iv. 74—u is changed into a in pāṇḍara (pāṇḍura) ii. 13 beside paṇḍura iv. 13. It never appears as i in purusa i. 88 ii. 12, iii. 30, v. 25, iv. 5, 38.

i for e is met with in ṇarinda (narendra) v. 5 and pavisida (praveśita) iii. 30; ettiā i. 64 for itthiā (strī) may be a mistake.—u for o is found in Tiluttamā (Tilottamā) iv. 1, 3, 87 and in the analogous Siḷuttamā iv. 87. Also in maṇuhara

(**maṇohara**) iv. 13 beside **maṇohara** iv. 75, **vandaṇuvvaāra** (**vandanopacāra**) ii. 13, **pucciadi** (**procyate**) iv. 15 and **bharuvvahaṇa** cited above.

The usual representation of **ai** and **au** are **e** and **o**; thus **Kekaī** (**Kaikeyī**) i. 22, **ṇemisa** (**naimiśa**) ii. 7, iii. 1 and **Kosio** (**Kauśikah**) iv. 74 **Somitti** (**Saumitriḥ**); but the following are noteworthy: **mumde** (**maugdhye**) ii. 42; **Vaidehī** ii. 13, iii. 50, v. 13 without change. **kūdūhala** i. 14 is from **kutūhala** and not from **kautūhala** as in the **chāyā**.

§ 2. **Changes of quantity**:—**ě** and **ō** are frequently met with: **bhuvaṇēkka** (**bhuvanaika**) vi. 93, **Umāmahēssarā** (**Umāmaheśvarau**) ii. 12, **ēṭṭha** (**no chāyā**) i. 6 and many times, but **ēṭṭā**, once (probably to be corrected), **ěvva** and **ěvvaṃ** (17 and 28 times) beside **eva** and **evaṃ** (twice each) **ēkkaṃ** v. 77 and **ēkkena** i. 64, **jēṭṭha** i. 76, ii. 3, v. 86; **Ayōjjā** (**Ayodhyā**) i. 66, **jōgga** (**yogya**) iii. 27, iv. 52.

The other long vowels are also regularly shortened before conjunct consonants: **āsannātthamaya** (**āsannāstamaya**) i. 68, **pūvva** (**pūrva**) iv. 70 beside **apūvva** iv. 11 and **pūvva** may be due to mistake in copying or printing. **rūpa-** v. 21 for **rūpa** beside **rūva** iv. 1 and **rūpa** vi. 93 and **ṇivvāsīdum** (**nirvāsayitum**) i. 60 beside **ṇivvāsīdā** (**nirvāsītā**) i. 96, iii. 39 are to be similarly estimated. In **ācchāra** (**ācchādita**) ii. 13 and **āṇa-** (**ājña-**) i. 66, 84, 98, iv. 52, v. 21, 31, 119, vi. 115, the **ā** remains long. **paḍihāra** v. 21 is perhaps to be referred to **pratihāra** and not to **pratihāra** as in the **chāyā**.

Shortening of unaccented vowels: **dakkhinapaha** (**dakṣiṇāpatha**) iv. 14, **taha** (**tathā**) always, **jaha** (**yathā**) i. 14 etc., (9 times) beside **jahā** ii. 42, **jahāhippāṃ** (**yathābhiprāyam** v. 43, **alia** (**alika**) ii. 12, iv. 85, v. 13, **aḍavi-** (**aṭavi-**) iii. 1, **aṇuggahida** (**anugrḥita**) iv. 38, **ṇigahida** (**nigrḥita**) i. 40 and **gahida** ii. 50, iv. 3 beside **gahīda** v. 49, **tapassini-** (**tapasvinī-**) ii. 5 (in verse), **dudia** (**dvitiya**) ii. 3, iv. 74, **patthaṇia** (**prārthanīyā**) ii. 12, **haddhi** (**hādhik**) vi. 80 beside **haddhi** i. 82, iv. 36, 40, always repeated except

once (iv. 36). **añṇahā** (**anyathā**) iv. 91, **savvahā** (**sarvathā**) iv. 40, 68, v. 58 and **ahavā** (**athavā**) iii. 30, 55. iv. 40 are never shortened.

Compensatory lengthening: **kādum** (**kartum**) iii. 1, **tā** (**tat**) i. 12 etc., **kīsa-** (**kiyat-**) i. 12, **ñīsāsa** (**ñiḥśvāsa**) ii. 34, iv. 16 beside **ñissāsa** ii. 42, **-ñihāṇaṇ** (**simhānām**) ii. 5 (in verse) beside **simhāsana** v. 5, 62, 64, **dīsa-** i. 82, iv. 38, 89, vi. 93; never **dissa**. **gaīm** (**gatim**) ii. 12 beside **gaṃ** iii. 1, v. 15 may be a mistake. **bāhūjaleṇa** v. 7 **bāhujaleṇa** may be due to accent. As to **-ādo**, Abl. suffix, see below §24.

§ 3. **Loss of vowels**:—**api** regularly appears as **avi** at the beginning of the sentence and as **vi** elsewhere (6:40). **idānim** always appears without **i**: 11 times as **dāṇiṃ** and once as **dāni**, i. 82 (perhaps to be corrected), and once even at the beginning of the sentence (iii. 27). **iti** regularly loses its initial, appearing as **ti** after a consonant and as **tṭi** after a vowel, only once (iv. 14) after a consonant (probably to be corrected). **ṇaṃ** (**nanu**) ii. 37, 47; **ṇu** is once (i. 48) rendered as **nanu** in the **chāyā**, perhaps wrongly (cf. §55)

§ 4. **Changes of syllables**:—**soṭṭhiṇī** (**chāyā: sukhena**) i. 103 is perhaps connected with **svasti**; **doṇṇaṃ** (**dvayoh**) v. 77.

aya into **e**: The affix **aya** alone is changed into **e** but not the product of **i** and **ana**: **adivāhemi** (**ativāhayāmi**) ii. 11 etc. **nāsā-demi** (**nāsādayāmi**) iii. 1, **daṃsedu** (**darśayatu**) iv. 1 etc. But **Rāmāṇa** (**Rāmāyaṇa**) ii. 5, **ṇaṇa** (**nayana**) ii. 13 etc. **saṇa** (**sayana**) i. 18 etc.

apa and **ava** into **o**: **apa** always appears as **ava** except in **osarissaṃ** (**chāyā** wrongly **apasarāmi**) iv. 36, 38, 74. But **apacaya** iv. 5 **apasara-** iv. 19 **apakka-** iv. 74 are peculiar. They are perhaps mistakes. **ava** frequently appears as **o**, thus **odara** (**avatara**) i. 14, 6, v. 62, **ociṇomi** (**avacinomi**) iii. 27, **oaria** (**avatīrya**) iv. 1 but **ogāha** iii. 27. iv. 5 beside **avagāha** i. 14; also **avaṇāhayadi** iii. 30, **avaloaantī** iv. 17, **avamāṇidā** v. 104 and **avaṭṭhidā** v. 21.

§ 5. **Intrusion of vowels:**—a: **sakkaṇomi** (śaknōmi) iv. 40 **saa-?** (sva-) i. 64, 108, **parihariasi** (parihriyase) iv. 72.

i: **itthiā** (strī) i. 52, 88, ii. 12, iv. 5, 38: **ettiā** i. 64 is doubtful; **parisa** (sparśa) i. 14, ii. 12, iv. 68; **silāhā** (ślāghā) i. 78, ii. 29, **siṇeha** (sneha) iv. 14 **siṇiddha** (snigdha) v. 5, 21.

u: **tuvara-** (tvara-) ii. 50, v. 1, **duve** (dvau) ii. 1, v. 21, **paduma** (padma) v. 5, **sumara-** (smara-) i. 62, 66, iii. 33, iv. 14, v. 11, 15, 27, 58.

Simple consonants.

§ 6. **Breathed consonants:**—Medially **k** and **c** are, as a rule, dropped but in compounds initial consonants of the latter member are sometimes retained; thus **Rāhava-ula** i. 66, vi. 90 beside **Rāhavakula** i. 82. Other exceptions are **Kekaī** (**Kaikeyyā**) i. 22, **Sākeda** (**Sāketa**) v. 64 and **parakeraa** ii. 26, iv. 64 beside **paraṛraa** ii. 26, **kiṃ**, often beside **iṃ**, thrice. **ca** v. 27 (only once) after **anusvāra** beside **a** (fifteen times) after a vowel, (six times) after **anusvāra**. **ṭ** as is a rule voiced; exceptions are: **Cittaūṭa** (**Chitra-kūṭa**) iv. 14 and **pīaa** (**piṭaka**) iii. 1. **t** is as frequently lost as it is voiced. Exceptions are: **tatappaūdi** (**tataḥ-**) iv. 5, **vaṇadevatā** i. 82 beside **vaṇadevadā** iv. 14, **sampāta** v. 1 beside **sampāda** i. 68, probably all to be corrected. **prati-** is always changed into **paḍi-**. **p** is either retained or changed into **v**. It is lost only in two words, **palāa** (**pralāpa**) ii. 12 and **ṇiṇa** (**nipuna**) iv. 18. All the above consonants are never lost initially. Only **p** in **punar** is regularly lost.

§ 7. **Voiced consonants:**—Medially **g** and **j** are as a rule lost; exceptions are found only in compounds: **gūḍhagabbha** iv. 79, **pīajāṇa** iv. 68 beside **pariaṇa** iv. 56. Other exceptions are **bhagavaī** iii. 27 beside **bhaavadī** i. 66, 108, **pavvajami** (**pravrajāmi**) i. 82 perhaps to be corrected into **pavvajāmi**. **bāhadhea** (**bhāgadheya**) i. 80 is perhaps by transfer of aspiration like **bahiṇiā** (**bhagini**) (**Śakuntalā** iv. 80). **ḍ** and **b** undergo no change. **d** is rarely lost. **tāisīṇam** (**tādrśānām**) i. 96 beside **tādiso** (**tādrśaḥ**) i. 80, **pāava** ii. 11 beside **pādapa** ii. 13, **sāara** iv. 14 beside **sādara** ii. 12,

jaī (yadi) i. 62, paam (padam) i. 108, roṣṣam (rodiṣyāmi) iv. 16, vaana (vadana) v. 27, hiaa (hr̥daya) i. 18, 60, ii. 5, 13, iv. 18, v. 5 etc. **d** is changed to **r** through the influence of a following **ṛ** which passes into **i** (cf. §1 above).

§ 8. **Breathed aspirates**:—Medial **kh** and **th** are regularly represented by **h**. Exceptions: **mukhaa** (**mukhaka**) iv. 19 and **saṃgadhita** (**saṅgrathita**) v. 25 are apparently corruptions. **th** is changed into **dh** in **puḍhavī** (**pr̥thivī**) v. 7; **puḍavī** ii. 12 is to be corrected accordingly or is due to Dravidian influence. **ch** remains unchanged. **ph** does not occur medially. **ṭh** occurs only in **paḍanti** (rt **paṭh-**) ii. 5 which is to be corrected into **paḍhanti**.

§ 9. **Voiced aspirates**:—Medial **gh** is, without exception, turned into **h**. **jh** does not occur medially. **ḍh** remains unchanged. **dh** and **bh** are often changed into **h**. The following forms are peculiar: **paūdi** (**prabhṛti**) iv. 5, **bādu-** (**bhrātr-**) i. 64, **bāṇa** (**bhājana**) iii. 30 and **soṇagga** (**saubhāgya**) v. 21 all due, perhaps, to Dravidian influence; **Bhāiraī** (**Bhāgīrathī**) i. 12, 14, 108 beside **Bhāirahī** iii. 27 may be a mistake.

§ 10. **Nasals**:—**ṇ** and **ṅ** are regularly represented by **anusvāra**. Besides in a number of cases doubling is indicated by the **anusvāra** sign, which is due to Dravidian influence; thus **ama-** (**ārya**), several times, beside **ayya** i. 34 (only once), **umḍisia** (**uddiṣya**) ii. 28, **uvaṃṇāsa** (**upanyāsa**) v. 23, **daṃsaṇa** (**darśana**) ii. 5, 39, 46, 47. iii. 55, iv. 1, 36, 38, v. 21 beside **dassaṇa** iii. 30, **ṇimṃṇaṇsa** (**nirmānuṣa**) i. 82 and **ṇimṃṇeṇa** (**nirmitena**) iv. 1, **maṃṇu** (**maṇya**) iii. 30, **mahantha** (**mahārtha**) v. 25 probably a misprint for **mahaṃdha**, **Vaṃṃṃī** (**Vālmiki**) i. 82, ii. 2, 9, 10, 12, iv. 1, 5, v. 25 beside **Vaṃṃṃī** i. 108, v. 25, vi. 90, **viṃbhamā** (**vibhrama**) iv. 17 beside **vibbhama** v. 5. **sahadhammāārīṇī** (**sahadharmaārīṇī**) ii. 37, **saṃuṃbhiṇṇa** (**samudbhinna**) ii. 42 beside **saṃubbiṇṇa** iv. 68, **saṃvahā** (**sarvathā**) iv. 40 beside **savvahā** iv. 68, v. 58. In **viṃmaya** (**vismaya**) iv. 19 and **aṃmi** (**asmi**) i. 38 **anusvāra** stands for **h**.

The origin of this practice is due to Dravidian influence and the forms in Prakrit which show a double consonant or **anusvāra** followed by a single consonant optionally, as **giṃṭhī** or **giṭṭhī** (**grṣṭi**), **maṃjāra** or **majjāra** (**mārjāra**), **vaṃsa** or **vaassa** (**vayasya**) etc., might have lent support to it. **ṇ** suffers no change but **n** is systematically changed into **ṇ**. Where it is preserved, *e.g.* in **niravasesa** (**niravaśeṣa**) i. 52, **Nemiśa** (**Naimiśa**) iii. 1, **na** iii. 55 beside **ṇiravasesa** v. 15, **ṇemisa** iii. 1 etc. **ṇa** iii. 55 etc., it is evidently through a mistake. **m** undergoes no change.

§ 11. **Liquids**:—**r** is represented by **l** only in a single word; **calaṇa** (**carāṇa**) i. 12. **paḍiāra** ii. 40 does not represent **parihāra** (as in the **chāyā**) but only **pratikāra**. **l** is frequently changed into **ḷ** even in the beginning of words. **ḷadā** iii. 27, **ḷajjā** iii. 30, **ḷava** vi. 65, **ḷaḷā** iv. 1, 2, **saḷaḷoa** vi. 90, **Rāhavaḷa** vi. 90 and so on beside **ladā** iv. 2, **lajjā** ii. 12, **Lava** ii. 3, **halā** ii. 1, **saalaloa** vi. 93, **Rāhavaula** i. 66. This is evidently due to Dravidian influence.

§ 12. **Semivowels**:—Initial **y** is without exception turned into **j**. Medially it is frequently dropped but is preserved in a few words which, however, show forms without **y** elsewhere: **chāyā** i. 16, **piyasahī** iv. 1 **sahāya** iv. 14, **parihīyasi** v. 49, **vayassa** iv. 2, **Rāmāyaṇa** iv. 1 beside **chāā** ii. 11, **piasahī** ii. 1, **sahāa** iii. 1, **parihāsi** v. 15, **vaassa** iv. 83, **Rāmāṇa** ii. 5. Only **Māyāvai** iv. 14, **vimmaya** iv. 19 and **patthāvayanti** iv. 18 do not show forms without **y**. Medial **v** is generally retained but is dropped in the following words: **diasa** iii. 52, **diaha** iv. 74, besides **divahe** iv. 5; **pasaa** i. 48; **paḍiniutta** i. 86; **paṭṭa** iv. 79 beside **pavutta** iv. 2; **bhaadā** i. 96 beside **bhavanto** iv. 40; **mahākai-** v. 25.

§ 13. **Spirants**:—**ś** is retained in a few words which should be considered as a scribal mistake or as a case of pedantic spelling. **cittaśuddhi** vi. 93, **Nemiśa** iii. 1, **sandeśa** i. 56 (i. 52), **śoaṇiā** ii. 12 beside **cārittasuddhi** vi. 90, **Nemisa** iii. 1, **sandiśiadi** i. 58, **soaṇiā** iii. 50. **s** is changed into **h** in **diaha** (**divasa**) iv. 74, 77 and **divaha** iv. 5. **divaa** iv. 5 is probably a mistake.

Aspirate:—As to **paṇiāra** ii. 40 see above § 11. **ṇeāṇam** (**snehānām**) ii. 12, and **acchāida** (**atyāhita**) iv. 4 are exceptional, probably due to Dravidian influence. Visarga. **duḥkha** iii. 30, 36, iv. 14 beside **dukka** i. 52, ii. 12 and **dukkha** i. 64 is due to the influence of Sanskrit.

Conjunct Consonants.

§ 14. **Gemination:**—**ekka** i. 64, v. 77, **bhuvanekka** vi. 93 beside **ea** iii. 19; **evva** i. 48 etc. and **evvaṃ** i. 62 etc. beside **eva** i. 82 and **evaṃ** iv. 18, 5, 6, 7; **vandaṇuvvaāro** (**vandanopacāra**) ii. 13, **sakkaṇomi** (**śaknōmi**) iv. 40.

§ 15. **Combinations of mutes with mutes:**—Assimilation of the former to the latter is the rule. Peculiarities will be noticed. **mumde** (**maugdhye**) ii. 42 is probably to be corrected into **mumḍhe**, where **anusvāra** indicates gemination.

§ 16. **Mutes with nasals:**—If the nasal is the first member it remains unchanged, but if it is the second, it is assimilated to the mute. **anni** (**agni**) i. 48. **jñ** is always represented by **ṇṇ** (and never by **ññ**), but when it follows **ā**, it appears as **ṇ**. **tm** in **ātman** appears 16 times as **tt** and 4 times as **pp**. **nt** never appears as **nd**, but in a single instance it is turned into **ṇṭ**: **siṃaṇṭaa** (**śimanta**) i. 62.

§ 17. **Mutes with semivowels:**—It is always the semivowel that is assimilated to the mute, except in the case of **dv** in which the reverse is the case. **mandabhāa** (**mandbhāgya**) is found five times. **ty**, **dy** and **dhy** are palatalized: **cc**, **jj** and **jjh**. **atyanta** ii. 12 and **acanta** v. 21. beside **accanta** ii. 43 etc. are perhaps mistakes. **acchāida** (**atyāhita**) iv. 3, **pacchāgada** (**pratyāgata**) vi. 115 are exceptional. **dy** never=**yy**. In **ṇimḍiadi** (**mindyate**) vi. 112 the dental is protected by the nasal. **vijjhādhara** (**vidyādhara**) is probably a mistake. **dv** is=**vv**, except in **diṇṇa** (**dvigūṇa**) iv. 16, **dudia** (**dvitīya**) iv. 74 and other forms of **dvi**. **Ayōjjā** (**Ayodhyā**) i. 66 is probably a printer's mistake. **py**=**vv** in **duvviṇṇavva** (**durvijñāpya**) v. 17. **ḍirgha** is always **dīha**—**rt** is represented by **tt**: **muhutta** (**muhūrta**) i. 16, iv. 5, **saṃkittāṇa**

(saṅkīrtana) i. 48, ii. 19; but in the forms of the rt. **vṛt-** (**vart-**) **tṭ** is also frequently found: **abhi-ṇiuttomi** (**nirvartayāmi**) i. 108 **ṇivvattidavva** (**ṇirvartayitavya**) ii. 37 **ṇivvattida** (**nirvartita**) iii. 27 but **ṇioavattī** (**ṇiyoagavartī**) vi. 112. **passaparivattīṇī** (**-parivartini**) iv. 10, **vattādi** (**vartete**) i. 12, vi. 63, **vattāmi** (**varte**, **chāyā** wrong) iii. 52, **vattamāno** (**vartamānaḥ**) iv. 5, **aṇuvattissadī** (**anuvartīṣyate**) iv. 3—**rth** appears as **tth**: **edāvatttham etadartham?** ii. 6, **patthāṇia** (**prārthanīya**) ii. 12 **paramattha** (**paramārtha**) iii. 30, vi. 57, **mahattha** (**mahārtha**) v. 21, vi. 93, **samattha** (**samartha**) ii. 5, iv. 18. As to **mahantha** v. 25 see above §10. **samatta** (**samartha**) is probably to be corrected into **samattha**.—**rdh** is represented by **ddh**: **saddha** (**sārtha**) iii. 1, **muddhā** (**mūrdhan**) v. 64 **dhaṇuddhara** (**dhanurddhara**) vi. 93; but in the forms of the rt. **vṛdh-** (**vardh-**), the combination is represented by **ddh**: **vaḍḍhasi** (**varddnase**) ii. 1, **vaḍḍhiadi vṛddhyate**; (**chāyā** wrong), **samvaḍḍhia** (**samvarddhita**) ii. 12.

§ 18. **Mutes with spirants**:—The spirant is as a rule assimilated to the mute. **kṣ** is always represented by **kkh**, except in **vacchatthala** (**vakṣaḥsthala**) ii. 34, iv. 68; thus **lakkhī** (**lakṣmi**) v. 5. and **Lakkhaṇa** (**Lakṣmaṇa**) i. 6, 58, 82 etc. Cf. however, **vikkevanikkēva** (**vikṣepanikṣepa**) iii. 1 beside **nikkhitta** (**nikṣipta**) iv. 74, **takkaṇa** (**takṣaṇa**) iv. 19 beside **khāṇa** (**kṣana**) iv. 85 **viḷakkha** (**vilakṣa**) iv. 89. **vijjai** i. 84 is=**vijayati** and not **vikṣate** as in the **chāyā**. **ts** is variously represented; **vaccha** (**vatsa**) i. 6. etc. beside **vacca** (once i. 58), **ṇibhacchati** (**nirbhartsayati**) v. 104 **samivaccara** (**samvatsara**) v. 58, **vaccalattana** (**vatsalatva**) v. 27 and **samussāhedi** (**samutsāhayati**) i. 14. **ps**: **accarāṇaṃ** (**apsarasām**) iv. 79. **śc**: **accariyaṃ** (**āścaryam**) v. 67 and **ṇiccaḷa** (**niścala**) iv. 5, **śk**: **dukkhara** (**duṣkara**) v. 25. **ṣṭ** and **ṣṭh** are both represented by **tṭh** which is also written **tṭ** or **tṭhṭh**, but **ṇiṣṭura** i. 58 beside **ṇiṭṭhura** ii. 12, **Vasiṭṭha** i. 82 beside **Vasiṭṭha** vi. 90, **susṭhu** i. 108 beside **sutṭhu** i. 16 iii. 1 are evidently mistakes. **ṣp**: **bappa** (**bāṣpa**) v. 27 'tear'. **st** and **sth** are changed into **tth**. **ṇaddhi** (**nāsti**) iv. 18 beside **atthi** i. 40, **jalahara-ddhaṇida**

(-stanita) iii. 30, **pattāṇa** (prasthāna) ii. 50 beside **patthāṇa** in the very next line, **hatta** (hasta) ii. 38 beside **hattha** iv. 14 are all to be corrected accordingly. In the forms of the rt. **sthā**, **ṭṭh** frequently appears instead of **tth**: **ṭṭhida** (sthita) iv. 2, 79, v. 5, **avathṭhida** (avasthita) v. 21, **saṃṭhādum** (samsthātum) i. 6, **ṭṭhāṇa** (sthāna) iii. 36 v. 25, 27, beside **tthāṇa** iv. 1, v. 3. Further **kkambha** (stambha) v. 5; beside **tambha** ii. 12 v. 60 and **tthambha** v. 21, **timida** (stimita) iii. 55. **sp** is turned into **pp**: **parisa** (**sparśa**) i. 14 ii. 12, **pappanda** (praspanda) v. 21, while **sph** is both **pp** and **pph**: **sāmpodaa** (samsphoṭaka) iii. 1 and **paripphuda** (parisphuṭa) i. 32.

§ 19. **Nasals with nasals**:—**nm**: **jamma** ii. 46 and **ummullia** (**unmūlita**) vi. 93.

§ 20. **Nasals with semivowels**:—The semivowel is assimilated to the nasal. **ny** (and **nv**) always changed into **ṇṇ**: as to **maṇṇū** iii. 30 see §10 above; similarly **niṇṇmāṇusa** i. 82, **niṇṇmida** iv. 1, **sahadhammaārini** ii. 37; also **Vammī** i. 82 etc. beside **Vammī** i. 108 etc.

§ 21. **Nasals with spirants**:—**śm**:—**sahassarassiṃ** (sahasra-**śmiḥ**) vi. 90 **śm**: **gimma** (grīśma) iii. 1. **sm** is represented by **mh**, which is also written **hm**: **ahmāṇaṃ** (**asmākam**) v. 25; **ahlāṇaṃ** (**ehāyā**: **asmākam**) is a misprint; **mhi** (**asmi**) i. 82, ii. 82 iii. 1 etc. beside **mmi** i. 48 and **ṃmi** i. 16, iv. 42, 44, 50 etc. As to **aṃmi** i. 38 and **viṃmaya** iv. 19 see above, §10. **hn** and **hm** are retained as they are: **aṇugahṇīdi** (**aṇugrhṇāti**) i. 84 **bahmaṇajādi** (**brāhmaṇajātiḥ**) v. 112.

§ 22. **Semivowels with semivowels**:—**ry** is changed into **yy**: **ayya** (ārya) i. 34, **ayyāhiṃ** (āryābhiḥ) i. 56. Elsewhere **aṃa** is uniformly written, due to Dravidian influence. See above §10. **sūra** i. 68, iii. 1, iv. 77 should be connected with Skr. **sūra** and not with **sūrya**. **rv**, **vy** and **vr** are regularly represented by **vv**. **sāṃvahā** iv. 40 beside **savvahā** (**sarvathā**) i. 48, etc.

§ 23. **Semivowels with spirants**:—The semivowel is without exception assimilated to the spirant and the result is always **ss** medially and **s** initially; **dassaṇīa** (**darśaṇīya**) iii. 30 but every-

where else **daṁs-** (12 times); **passa** (**pārśva**) iv. 10; **mahesi** (**maharṣi**) i. 82, iv. 33, v. 25, vi. 90. **Rāmaccāma** (**Ramaśyāma**) ii. 1 beside **ssāmala** (**śyāmala**) v. 5 is peculiar, perhaps due to Dravidian influence. **saya** (**sva**) i. 103 beside **saa** i. 64 (i. 84 **chāyā** wrong).

ACCIDENCE.

Nouns.

§ 24. **a**-stems. Nom. sg. m. **muṇijaṇo** (**munijanaḥ**) iv. 19 **n.** **kudūhalaṃ** (**kutūhalaṃ**) i. 14, **sappaṃ** v. 62; **sarpa** is masc. in Sanskrit. Voc. sg. m. **Kosalāhipa** (**Kosalādhīpa**) i. 34. Acc. sg. m. n. **assamaṃ** (**āśramam**) iii. 55. **pāṇaṃ** ii. 12 is sg. not pl. as in **chāyā**. Instr. sg. m. **dāvāṇaleṇa** (**dāvānalena**) v. 15. **n. uttariṇa** (**uttariyena**) iv. 64. Abl. sg. m. **candādo** (**candrat**) i. 90. **n. muhādo** (**mukhāt**); here as well as in the case of several other Abl. forms the **chāyā** is wrongly given as **mukhataḥ** etc.) iv. 79. Gen. sg. m. **assassa** (**aśvasya**) ii. 37. **n. pāvassa** (**papasya**) i. 14. Loc. sg. m. **sagge** (**svarge**) ii. 12. **n. simhāsane** (**simhāsane**) v. 5. —Nom. pl. m. **pāṇā** (**prāṇāḥ**) vi. 115. **jualā** (**yugalau**) ii. 5; this word is neuter in Sanskrit; perhaps **jamalā** (**yamalau**) is the correct reading. **pāṇaṃ** ii. 12 is sg. not pl. as in **chāyā**. **n. silāhaṇijjāṃ** **akkharāṃ** (**ślāghaniyāṇy akṣarāṇi**) i. 78. **ālakkhaṇiā** **edāṇi** **kadaṇāṇi** (**ālakṣaṇiyanetāni kadanāni**) iv. 17 is evidently through Sanskrit influence. Acc. pl. n. **kusumāṃ** (**kusumāni**) iii. 27, **caridāṃ** (**caritāni**) iv. 3. Instr. pl. m. **sevaehiṃ** (**sevakaiḥ**) v. 17 **n. vaṇehiṃ** (**vacanaiḥ**) iv. 85 v. 13. **arannāhiṃ** i. 82 is probably from an **ā**-stem or is to be corrected into **araṇṇehiṃ**. Gen. pl. m. **sihāṇaṃ** (**siṃhānām**) ii. 5 (in verse) **n. naaṇāṇaṃ** (**nayanayoh** and not **nayanānām** as in the **chāyā**). Loc. pl. m. **upabhoṣu** (**upabhogeṣu**) iv. 5.

§ 25. **ā**-stems. Nom. sg. **kundamālā** iii. 27. **patthaṇiaṃ** (**prārthanīyā**) ii. 12 is perhaps to be corrected into **patthāṇiā**. Voc. sg. **apaṇḍide** (**apaṇḍite**) ii. 19. Acc. sg. **dhāraṃ** (**dhārām**) v. 7. Instr. sg. **vaṇadevadāe** (**vanadevatayā**) iv. 14; **taraṅgāe**! (**taraṅgaiḥ**) i. 84; this word is masc. in Sanskrit. Gen. sg. **Sidāe**

(**Sitāyāḥ**) i. 48. **cirajīvidāe** (**cirajivitāyāḥ**) iv. 68 **jīvita** is neut. in Sanskrit. Loc. sg. **dīhiāe** (**dirghikāyām**) iv. 5.—Nom. pl. **pīamvadā** (**priyamvadāḥ**) i. 66. Instr. pl. **itthiāhiṃ** (**striḥbhiḥ**) ii. 12 as well as **sampādidāhi** (**sampāditābhiḥ**) iv. 5. Gen. pl. **munikaṇṇaṇaṃ** (**munikanakānām**) iv. 79.

§ 26. i- and u-stems. Nom. sg. m. **Somittī** (**Saumitriḥ**) i. 72. In **sahassarassiṃ** (**sahasrarāsmiḥ**) vi. 90 the final nasal is to be omitted and corrected accordingly. **maṇṇū** (**manyuḥ**) iii. 30 beside **tusārabindu** (**tuṣārabinduh**) v. 15 f. **bahmaṇajādī** (**brāhmaṇajātiḥ**) v. 112 beside **āṇatti** (**ājñaptiḥ**) i. 66. Voc. sg. f. **Jaṇṇavedi** (**Yajñavedi**) iv. 1. Acc. sg. f. **paḍikidiṃ** (**pratikṛtim**) iv. 38. **gaṇṇ** (**gatiṃ**) ii. 12 beside **gaṇṇ** iii. 1 Instr. sg. m. **Vaṇṇiṇā** (**Vālmikiṇā**) iv. 5. As to **sothhiṇā** i. 108 see above § 4. f. **ākidiē** (**ākṛtyā**) iv. 75. **viṇṇattiā** i. 84 is perhaps through Sanskrit influence. Gen. sg. m. **paṇṇo** (**patyuḥ**) i. 52 f. **padiki-die** (**pratikṛteḥ**) iv. 38 as **viṇṇattiā** above. Nom. pl. m. **mahesiṇo** (**maharṣayaḥ**) i. 82 beside **adihi** (**atithiḥ**) v. 71. Gen. pl. m. **pahudiṇaṃ** (**prabhṛtīṇām**) i. 96. Loc. pl. m. **padumāpacayādisu** (**padmāpacayādiṣu**) iv. 5.

§ 27. ī- and ū-stems. Nom. sg. **Vedavadi** (**Vedavati**) ii. 12. Voc. sg. **bhaavaī** **Bhāirai** (**bhagavati** **Bhāgīrathi**) i. 108. Acc. sg. **Vaidehiṃ** (**Vaidehiṃ**, *chāyā* wrong) beside **bhagavaṇṇ** **Bhāirahiṃ** (**bhagavatim** **Bhāgīrathim**) iii. 27, **puḍhavim** (**prthivim**) v. 7 and **mandabhāṇṇim** (**mandabhāginim**) i. 58. Instr. sg. **ajjūe** **Kekaie** (**śvaśrvā** **Kaikeyyā**, *chaya* not correct) i. 22. Gen. sg. **piasaḥie** (**priyasakhyāḥ**) ii. 1, 14. Loc. sg. **puḍaviē** (**prthivyām**) ii. 12.—Nom. pl. **sīmantiṇō** (**sīmantinyah**) v. 11. Instr. pl. **mārisiḥim** (**mādrśibhiḥ**) ii. 12 beside **vaṇavāsinihi** (**vanavāsiniḥbhiḥ**) iv. 5 Gen. pl. **dampadiṇaṃ** (**dampatīṇām**) ii. 12. **ajjūṇaṃ** (**śvaśrūṇām**) i. 56.

§ 28. r-stems. Acc. sg. **mādaraṃ** (**mātaram**) iv. 7. Gen. sg. **piduṇo** (**pituḥ**) v. 104.

§ 29. t-stems. Nom. sg. m. **anusoanto** (**anusoacan**) i. 58. f. **pariharanti** iv. 3. Instr. sg. **sandiṣanteṇa** (**sandiṣatā**) i. 52. Nom.

pl. āloantā (ālokayantau) ii. 42, alamkarantā (alamkurvatau) v. 27.—Nom. sg. (t)attabhavam ((t)attrabhavān) v. 43 (iv. 75), bhaavam (bhagavān) i. 98. Voc. sg. bhaavam (bhagavan) i. 102, vi. 61. Instr. sg. bhaadā (bhavatā) i. 96. bhaavadā (bhagavatā) ii. 3. Gen. sg. bhaavado (bhagavataḥ) v. 5.—Nom. pl. bhavanto (bhavantaḥ) iv. 40. The feminine of bhavam is always hodi iv. 81, 83, 87.

§ 30. **n-stems.** Nom. sg. rāā (rājā) iv. 75. Voc. sg. rāam v. 7, rāa v. 19 (rājan). Gen. sg. rāṇo (rājñah) v. 21. mahārāo i. 66 (Nom. sg.), mahārām i. 58 (Acc. sg.), mahārāssa ii. 8 (Gen. sg.) like an a-stem.—Nom. sg. appā (ātmā) vi. 112. Acc. sg. attānam (ātmānam) i. 43. Instr. sg. attāim (ātmanā) iv. 14. Gen. sg. attāno (ātmanah) iii. 30 also attānaassa iii. 30 and appānaassa iii. 55.—Nom. sg. muddhā (mūrddhā) v. 64. jammaṃ (janma) ii. 46, sakkhī (sākṣi) vi. 90, ñoavattī (niyogavartī) vi. 112. Acc. sg. vaṇavāsinaṃ (vanavāsinam) iii. 33. Loc. sg. pahi (pathi) ii. 4.—Nom. pl. kesariṇo (kesariṇah) v. 7, phalāsino (phalāsinaḥ) v. 19. Gen. pl. nivāsinaṃ (nivāsiṇām) v. 64, vaṇavāsinaṃ (vanavāsinām) ii. 16.

§ 31. **s-stem.** Gen. pl. accarānam (apsarasām) iv. 79.

Pronouns.

§ 32. **1st Person.** Nom. sg. aham, several times, ham i. 86, only once. Acc. sg. maṃ, several times, māṃ i. 84 only once, perhaps to be corrected into mam. Instr. sg. mae. Gen. sg. mama and me. Loc. sg. mayi i. 52, only once.—Nom. pl. amhe v. 25, only once. Gen. pl. ahmānam v. 25, twice.

§ 33. **2nd Person.** Nom. sg. tuam, several times, tuvaṃ v. 49, only once. sumam v. 12 is to be corrected into tumam. Acc. sg. tumam. In i. 64 the reading is wrong. Instr. sg. tue, tae (once). Gen. sg. tava (thrice), tuha (twice), de (twice), te (once). Instr. pl. tuhmehim. Gen. pl. tuhm(mh)ānam.

§ 34. **Demonstratives.** tad-: Nom. sg. m. so; f. sā; n. taṃ. Acc. sg. m. taṃ. Instr. sg. m. teṇa (four times), deṇa (once). Abl. sg. m. tado. Gen. sg. m. tassa; f. tae. Loc. sg. tahim—

Nom. pl. m. **te, de** (ii. 42 chāyā wrong). Gen. pl. m. **dāṇam**.—tā, several times.

etad-: Nom. sg. m. **eso**, s. t. **esa** (3 times). f. **esā**. n. **edaṃ**. Acc. sg. m. f. n. **edaṃ** Instr. sg. m. n. **ediṇā**. f. **edāe**. Gen. sg. n. **edassa**. Loc. sg. f. n. **etassim**, **edassim**.—Nom. pl. m. **ede**. n. **edāṇi** (Sanskrit influence?) Instr. pl. m. **edehim**. Gen. pl. m. **edāṇam**.—**ettha** several times.

idam-: Nom. sg. m. **aam**. Acc. sg. m. n. **imaṃ**. Abl. sg. m. **imādo**. Gen. sg. m. f. **se**—**ido**, several times. **kidiso so**: (ii. 18) the reading is doubtful.

§ 35. **Relative**. Nom. sg. m. **jo**. n. **jaṃ**. Acc. sg. n. **jaṃ**. Instr. sg. m. **jeṇa**. Gen. sg. **jassa**. Loc. sg. **jahim**.

§ 36. **Interrogative**. Nom. sg. m. **ko**. f. **kā**. n. **kiṃ** Acc. sg. n. **kiṃ**. Instr. sg. **keṇa**. Abl. sg. **kīsa** (never **kissa**). Gen. sg. **kassa**.—**kahaṃ**, **kahim** and **kudo**. As to the combinations of **ko** and **kiṃ**, the following occur: **kovi** i. 84, iii. 55, vi. 93; **koṇu** i. 104; **koṇukhu** iii. 30; **kiṃvi** iv. 74, 79; **kiṃdu** iv. 40; **kiṃti** ii. 43; **kiṃṇukhu** i. 82. (**kocci** and **kiṃci** do not occur).

§ 37. **Pronominal Adjectives**. **antareṇa** v. 13, vi. 90. **aṇṇo** i. 88, vi. 93; **aṇṇā** i. 74. **avaraṃ** ii. 30, iii. 30. **ubhayaṃ** v. 11. **kadamam** v. 117. **saa** i. 64, **saam** i. 82, **sayam** i. 108 (**sva**?). **savvo** iv. 18.—**parakeraam** (**parakiyam**) i. 25, **paraeraam** i. 25, **parakeraeṇa** iv. 64.

Numerals.

§ 38. **One**. **ea** iv. 19, **ekkam** v. 77, **ekkeṇa** i. 64, **eassa**? ii. 12. —**aṇea** ii. 12, **bhuvaneṅka** vi. 93, **eāṇi** i. 82, 88, iv. 16, **eāṇim** i. 82, **eāṇie** ii. 12.

§ 39. **Two**. **duve** ii. 1, v. 21. **donṇam** (**dvayoh**) v. 77.—**dudio** (**dvitīyaḥ**) ii. 3, **-dudiam** (**-dvitīyam**) iv. 74.—**diuṇa** (**divi-guna**) iv. 16.—**ubhayaṃ** v. 11; As to **jualā** ii. 5 see above § 24. **mihuna** iv. 36.

§ 40. **Seven**. **sattame** iv. 5.

§ 41. **Ten.** Dasaraha i. 96, Dasarahe v. 27.—dasamo v. 58.

§ 42. **Hundred.** sadahā sadahā (śatadhā) v. 64.

§ 43. **Thousand.** sahassa (sahasra) vi. 93. sahassarassiṃ (sahasraraśmiḥ) vi. 90.

The Verb.

§ 44. **The Present.—Indicative.** The 3rd sg. ending is, as a rule, -di, only exceptionally -i: āacchaī iv. 74 beside gacchadi iii. 45, iccaī (icchatī) iv. 87, bāheī iv. 79 beside bāhedi (bādhate) ii. 12, santavaī ii. 19 beside santavadi (santapīti) iii. 55, alaṃkareī iv. 75 beside alaṃkaredi (alaṃkaroti) ii. 13, dīsaī iv. 38, dīsaī i. 82 (dṛśyate) are the only examples quotable. The ending -de appears in an isolated form, pekkhade iv. 38 by the side of pekkhadi (prekṣate). The 2nd sg. ending is always -si, never -se, and the 1st sg. ending is -mi. In the pl. the 3rd pers. is very frequent. It always ends in -nti, never in -ndi. The 2nd pl. does not occur but one example of the 1st pl. is met with; gāamhma v. 25.

The change of the stem final to e is frequent, especially in the Imperative: aṇusaremi iii. 1, tuvaremi ii. 50, bāhedi ii. 12, iv. 79, bādhesi iii. 36, karemi i. 82 etc., alaṃkaredi ii. 13, iv. 75.

Imperative:—The 3rd sg. in-du is very common. 2nd sg:-a in gaccha iv. 10, bhaṇa iii. 50, muñca v. 62 and samassasa vi. 65; -āhi in bhaṇāhi ii. 45 bhayāhi iv. 83 suṇāhi iv. 5, v. 23; -ehi in ādāsehi i. 14, ānavehi v. 15, kahehi i. 32, 42, ṇīvehi i. 12, paritāāhehi v. 15, bādhehi i. 58, viṇṇavehi i. 56, viṇodehi iv. 17. annesahi iv. 1 is perhaps to be corrected into -sehi. hohi is exceptional. sunṇamtu iv. 40, vi. 90 is the only quotable form for the 3rd pl. upasappadu v. 43 is to be corrected into upassappantu. The other forms of the plural and 1st sg. do not occur.

Optative:—Very rare. bhave iv. 3, 38 bhaveditti ! ii. 46.

Roots of the 1st class:—bhū: hodi iv. 18, 91. homi iii. 30 iv. 10, hohi i. 58, 64, v. 5 hodu iv. 38 aṇuhodi iv. 18, aṇubhavadi ii. 43, aṇubhavāmi iii. 30, pahavadi iv. 46, 56 vi. 90 pahavāmi

ii. 38 iii. 55, iii. 1, 30 **bhavanti** v. 27 (*chaya abhūtām* wrongly) **pahavanti** i. 12.—**sthā**: **ciṭṭhanti** v. 27, 67, **aṇuciṭṭhāmi** iv. 17, 40.—**gam**: **gacchadi** iii. 45, **āaccha** iv. 74. **gaccha** i. 68, 108, iv. 10.—**tvar**:- **tuvaremi** ii. 50, **tuvaredu** v. 1.—**prekṣ**: **pekkhadi** iv. 38, **pekkhade** iv. 38, **pekkhasi** ii. 30, **pekkhāmi** ii. 45 iii. 55.—**smṛ**: **sumarasi** iii. 33, **sumarāmi** v. 58.—**sṛ**: **aṇusaremi** iii. 1.—**tr**: **odarāmi** i. 14.—**mṛj**:- **pamajjāmi** iii. 55.—**ruh**: **adirohadi** v. 64.—**vṛdh**: **vaḍḍhasi** ii. 1.—**kram**: **adikkamāmi** iv. 40.—**hr**: **haranti** ii. 5.—**ram**: **ahiramadi** i. 18.—**labh**: **uvālabbhāmi** i. 58.—**bādh**: **bādhesi** iii. 36, **bāhedi** ii. 12, **bāhe** iv. 79, **bādheyadi** (?) ii. 42.—**vṛt**: **vaṭṭadi** i. 12, **vaṭṭhadi** vi. 63 (to be corrected), **vattāmi** (*chāyā* wrong) iii. 52.—**vṛdh**, **vaḍḍhasi** ii. 1.—**tap**. **saṃtavai** ii. 19, **saṃtavadi** iii. 55, **saṃtapasi** iv. 60. **pavvajami** i. 82 and **paḍanti** ii. 5. are in need of correction.

2nd class:—**as**: **atthi** i. 40: **aṇmi** i. 38, (**m**)**mi** i. 64, iv. 44 (with assimilation) beside **mhi** ii. 12, 34, iii. 30, v. 60 and **hmi** vi. 59 i. 4, vi. 63 with printer's devil; **sonti** (**santi**) i. 64.—**yā**: **āanti** i. 82.

4th class:—**kup**; **kuppadu** iv. 40.

5th class:—**ci**: **ociṇomi** iii. 27.—**śak**: **sakkaṇomi** iv. 40.—**śru**: **suṇāhi** iv. 5, v. 23 **suṇṇantu** iv. 40, vi. 90.

6th class:—**iṣ**: **icchāmi** iv. 1, **icca** iv. 87.—**viś**: **upavisadi** ii. 11, **pavisadi** iv. 8.—**majj**: **ṇimajjāmi** ii. 42. **dhṛ**: **dharanti** (**dhriyante**) vi. 57.

8th class:—**kr**:- **alaṃkaredi** ii. 13, **alaṃkare** iv. 75, **karemi** i. 82, iii. 30, 55, iv. 46, **karidu** (**karotu**) v. 71 beside **karodu** vi. 93.

9th class:—**grah**: **aṇugahṇādi** i. 84.—**jñā**, **jāṇāsi** ii. 25 iv. 8 (with a misprint) etc., **jāṇāmi** ii. 42, iii. 30 etc. **jāṇanti** iv. 6, 7, **ṇa āṇāmi** iv. 87.

10th class:—**rūp**; **ṇirūvemi** iii. 30.—**bharts**: **ṇib**- **bhacchadi** (**-chedi**) v. 104.—**tark**: **takkemi** ii. 6, v. 7.—**dhṛ**, **dhāranti** v. 25.—**mṛj**: **pamajjami** (**-jje**?) iii. 55.—**pr**: **pāremi** i. 6.—**vij**:- **vijja** i. 84 (**vijayati**, *chāyā* wrong).

Imperfect:—*āsī* iv. 79. *mā rodī* iv. 15. *āsa* iv. 16 looks like Perfect, but it is doubtful; the passage is corrupt.

§ 45. **Future:**—The ending of the 1st sg. is, as a rule, *-m*. *-mi* occurs only in a single form, *parisussāmi* vi. 15. The 3rd sg. ending is *-di* and the pl. ending, *-nti*, appear in a single instance, *sambhāvissanti* iv. 40. Forms with the thematic *-i-* are very frequent. *bhu:* *bhavissadi* i. 50. *gam:* *gamissam* iv. 40, iv. 40. *sthā:* *anucitṭhissadi* v. 25, *anucitṭhissam* ii. 50. *prekṣ:* *pekkhissadi* iii. 55, *pekkhissam* iii. 30. *sr:* *osarissam* iv. 36 (*chāyā* incorrect). *vṛt:* *anuvattissadi* iv. 3. *srp. uvas:* *ppoissam* ii. 13 *upasappissam* iv. 40 (*chāyā* in both places incorrect).

cakṣ: *ācakkissadi* iii. 1. *rud:* *roissam* iv. 16.

kup:—*kuppissadi* iv. 40. *śram:* *vissamissam*, i. 16.

prach: *pucchissam* v. 100, 112.

kṛ:—*karaissam* i. 108 (*chāyā* wrong), iv. 74.

bandh:—*ñibbandhaissam* v. 5.

varṇ; *ñivvanṇaissam* iii. 30. *lakṣ:* *lakkhaissam* v. 7.

§ 46. **Passive:**—In addition to *-īa-*, *-ia-* is frequently found. They are both equally common. *adikkhiadi* vi. 80, *āvaṃjiadi* iii. 30, *niṃdiadi* vi. 112, *pucciadi* (*procyate*) iv. 15, *parihariasi* iv. 72, *bhaṇiadi* ii. 5, *vaddhiadi* ii. 40 (*chāyā* incorrect). *-ia-* is perhaps due to the contamination of the form *-īa-* and *-ijja-*. *disaī* iv. 82, *disaī* iv. 38, *dīsasi* iv. 89 are special forms.

§ 47. **Causative:**—*p*-causative: *āṇavedi* i. 98, *āṇavedu* v. 119, *āṇavehi* iv. 52, *vinṇvedi* i. 62, *vinṇavemi* i. 94, iv. 48, *vinṇavidavvo* i. 62, *patthāvayanti* iv. 48, *saddāveanti* ii. 42, *saddāvaissam* ii. 13. The other forms are of the type *adivāhedi* iv. 5 and *adivāhemi* ii. 11, iv. 16.

§ 48. **Denominative:**—*romaṇcedi* iii. 30. *saccāvaṇadi* vi. 90. *saddāveanti* and *saddāvaissam* quoted above.

Verbal Nouns.

§ 49. **Present Participle:**—*-anta:* *bhavanto* iv. 40, *saṃdi-santeṇa* i. 52 and the like. *aniccaritti* is corrupt. It is = *anuca-*

rantī acc. to **chāyā**. Feminine form ends in **-antī**: **akkhipanti** ii. 13, **pahavanti** iv. 40 and so on.

-māṇa: **aṇṇesamāṇassa** iv. 77, **disamāṇa** vi. 93 (passive), **dharamāṇe** v. 27 **vaṭṭamāṇo** iv. 5.

§ 50. **Past Passive Participle**:—**da**. The **d** is dropped in a few forms: **kampia** i. 6, **lalia** iv. 18 beside **laḷidā** v. 21, **viṇiggaa** v. 7, **samvaddhiā** ii. 12. The vowel preceding the suffix is generally **i** short; but **paḍigahīda** v. 49 beside **gahida** ii. 50 and **ṇigahida** i. 40. **jāṇida** v. 86 beside **aṇṇāda** v. 60 and **aṇaṇuṇṇāda** vi. 61, **viṇṇāda** iv. 38 and **ahiṇṇāda** iv. 66. Of the forms without **i** the following may be quoted: **adikkanta** iv. 68 etc. **adimuttu** iv. 79, **kida** i. 82 etc., **gada** i. 36 etc. **gaddha** (grathita) iii. 27, **jāa** i. 14, iii. 1 beside **jāda** ii. 12, vi. 15, **ṭṭhida** iv. 2 etc., **pariṇaddha** v. 5, **samārūḍha** v. 5.

-na: **ahiṇṇa** (bhid-) vi. 88, **āsaṇṇa** (sad) iv. 2 etc., **pacchaṇṇa** (chad) iii. 55 and **paccaṇṇa** iv. 79 (to be corrected), **pasāṇṇa** iv. 58 etc., and **visaṇṇa** v. 49 (sad), **vicchiṇṇa** (chid) iv. 7 and **vitthiṇṇa** (str-) v. 117. **punṇa** (pṛ. or pūr) i. 90 etc.—**diṇṇa** (datta) v. 86; and **mahapadiṇṇī** iii. 27 is corrupt, perhaps the correct reading is **maha padīṇṇāda** and **mae padīṇṇāda**.

§ 51. **Gerundives**. **-davva**: **aṇugahīdavvā** i. 56 and **aṇugahidavvā** i. 62, **aṇucitṭhidavvaṃ** iv. 64, **jāṇidavvaṃ** iii. 30, **hodavvaṃ** iv. 19, and so on.

-aṇīa: **aṇukampanīā** i. 96, **dassaṇīo** iii. 30, **paḍipālaṇīā** i. 96, **vajjaṇīā** iii. 41, **soaṇīā** ii. 12, iii. 50, with **soaṇijjo** (iii. 50) in the very next line, also **silāhaṇijjāṃ** i. 78, **sambharaṇīaṃ** ii. 7. Note **patthaṇīaṃ** ii. 12 with short vowel. **-a** does not occur.

§ 52. **Gerund**. **-ia** is common: **ajāṇia** iii. 30, **aṇucitṭhia** iv. 42, **uddisia** iii. 27 beside **uṇḍisia** ii. 28, **gacchia** v. 21, **bhavia** i. 12, **bhamia** (bhūtva) ii. 12, **uvālaṃbhia** i. 38, **suṇia** ii. 6, **sumaria** v. 15, 27, and so on. **kadua** and **gadua** are exceptional.

§ 53. **Infinitives**. **-idum**: **apakkamidum** iv. 74, **uvekkhidum** iv. 40, **upahasidum** iv. 87, **odaridum** i. 6, **ogāhidum** iv. 5, **jāṇi-**
dum iv. 1 and so on. **kādum** iii. 1 and **saṃṭhādum** i. 6 are the

only forms without union vowel. Note **nivvasidum** (nirvāsayitum) i. 60, **visajjaḍḍum** (visarjayitum) iii. 30 and **ativāhidum** (ativāhayitum) ii. 12.

§ 54. **Formative suffixes.** -a (-ka): **kumāraā** v. 21, **puttāā** ii. 1, **bhīrua** iv. 60, **mukhaō** iv. 19, **sīmaṇṭaa** i. 62, **saṅgītaa** iv. 1.

-ttaṇa (-tva): **adhaṇṇattaṇaṃ** i. 40, **avikaḷattaṇeṇa** vi. 101, **ṇisaṃsattaṇaṃ** ii. 43, **dhannaṇattaṇaṃ** i. 58, **mahiḷattaṇeṇa** i. 48, **mahattaṇeṇa** v. 15, 112.

-dā (-tā): **avissasaṇḍādā** ii. 12, **aṇurāgadā** ii. 27, 39, **agoaradā** iv. 38, **aviṇḍādā** iv. 40, **parāhīṇadā** iii. 30, **lahudā** v. 15.

-do (-tas): **aggado** i. 12 etc. **ido** i. 68 etc. **guṇado** v. 9, **dosado** v. 9. In the *chāyā* the Abl. -ādo is several times confounded with this suffix: cf. **dukkādo** ii. 12, **muhādo** iv. 79, v. 64, **visaādo** i. 60, **simhāsaṇḍādo** v. 62, **hiaādo** i. 60.

-hā (-thā): **aṇṇahā** iv. 91, **jaha**, **jahā** iv. 19, **taha** i. 14, etc. **savvahā** i. 82 etc. **saṃvahā** iv. 40.—(-dhā): **sadahā** (śatadhā) v. 64.

-metta (-mātra): **adimattaṃ** ii. 19, iii. 55; but **uvālaṃbhamettaṇa** i. 40, **sumaraṇamettaṇa** i. 62, **suamettaṇa**, in a corrupt passage, ii. 12. It appears that **-metta** is the form accepted by our author and the first word is to be corrected accordingly.

-dara, -tama (-tara, -tama): **ahiadara** ii. 12 etc. **uccadara** v. 21, **gurudara** v. 7 also **guruara** v. 7, **loladara** v. 21. -aṇṇatama v. 5— -tṭha: **jetṭha** i. 76, etc.

§ 55. **Indeclinables.**

aī occurs three times, once (iii. 36) in this form and twice (ii. 19, iv. 60) in its Skt. form, **ayi**. **Bhāsa** uses this word only once in all his dramas and **Kālidāsa** twice, once in his **Śakuntalā** and another time in his **Urvaśī**.

amho iii. 30. Not used by other dramatists: **Bhāsa** has **amgho** and **Kālidāsa**, **hamho**.

aho i. 40 and in five other places.

aviha v. 62. **Bhāsa** and **Kālidāsa** have **avida**.

ādu (uta) v. 9, 102.

evva, sixteen times, and **eva**, only twice. **jeva** is found once, iv. 19, in a doubtful passage.

evvaṃ, 28 times, and **evaṃ**, only twice.

kila iv. 87, v. 25 and **kiḷa** v. 25 (twice), 64.

kīsa, seven times.

khu, always, never **kkhu**. This word occurs 8 times after a long vowel, 7 times after a short vowel (always either **ṇa** or **ṇu**) and 6 times after **anusvāra**. The use of **kkhu** predominates over this form from the 7th or 8th century. **hu** which is common in **Bhāsa** and **Kālidāsa**, does not occur.

jeva, see above; not after **anusvara**.

ca v. 27 after **anusvara** and once again in the combination **aṇṇacca** iii. 1; elsewhere always **a** even after **anusvāra**.

tṭi (iti) after a vowel, several times, **ti** after **anusvāra**, four times (ii. 43, iv. 5, v. 117). **ciraduḥkhasahāyaṃ tṭi** is, therefore, to be amended. cf. § 3.

dāṇiṃ, eleven times. **dāṇi** appears once (i. 82) in a passage which is corrupt. **dāṇi** appears only in **Bhāsa**. **dāṇi** in i. 82 is to be amended into **daniṃ**, cf. § 3.

ṇaṃ (nanu) ii. 37, 47. Once **ṇu** (i. 48) is said in the **chāyā** to represent (incorrectly) **nanu**; elsewhere **ṇu** always represents **nu**. cf. § 3.

bho is used several times in addressing persons.

vi (api): cf. § 3, but **pi** does not occur although it is frequent in the earlier dramas.

via (iva), but **vva** which appears in some of the later dramas does not occur.

haddhī. This form occurs in four places, repeated twice in three of the places. **haddhi** occurs in a single passage where it is also repeated. **Bhāsa** always uses the shorter form and among

the later dramatists the longer form is decidedly more common. For our drama **haddhī** appears to be the proper form.

halā, thrice, once with cerebral **l**.

hī hī occurs once (v. 21) in combination with **bho**. **Bhāsa** has always **hi hi** without **bho**. **Kālidāsa** uses both forms while **Harṣa** has always **hi hī bho**.

hā and **he**: each once (i. 34 and iv. 85).

ÜBER DIE ÄLTESTEN INDISCHEN METRIKER UND IHR WERK

Von

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1

Die Metrik (**chandas**) ist eins der sechs Vedāngas, das vorletzte in der ersten Aufzählung derselben in der *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* I, 1,5; als solches galt von je das *Chandaḥsūtra* des Pingala. Es liegt uns in zwei fast identischen Rezensionen vor, die Weber¹ als die des Ṛg und Yajus bezeichnet hat. Sagenhaft ist, was die Tradition von Pingala berichtet. Er soll nämlich, wie Patanjali, ein Nāga gewesen und von einem Makara verschlungen worden sein².

Über das Alter des *Chandaḥsūtra* lässt sich nichts mit Bestimmtheit ausmachen. Gārgya³, der Verfasser des *Sāmāpariśiṣṭa* über vedische Metrik, nennt unter den Quellen für dies sein Werkchen den Pingala; dessen *Chandaḥsūtra* galt also in den Ausläufern der vedischen Wissenschaft als Autorität, wie es bei einem Vedānga auch nicht anders zu erwarten ist. Die erste chronologisch einigermaßen datierbare Erwähnung Pingala's findet sich im *Bhāṣya* zum *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* I, 1, 5 (S. 16) in dem langen Zitat aus dem *Vṛttikāra* (*Upavarṣa* 2., 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.). Dort heisst es: "Niemand ausser Pingala oder einem, der dessen Werk anerkennt, würde unter **m** (**makāra**) einen dreisilbigen Versfusz (**trika**) aus lauter Längen (**sarvaguru**) verstehn." Die Beschreibung der Metra durch die Buchstaben: **m, y, r, s, t, j, bh, n, (l, g)** galt also schon früh als charakteristisch für Pingala's System.

1. Indische Studien VIII, S. 162. Dies für unsere Kenntnis der indischen Metrik grundlegende Werk ist hier **überall** gemeint, wo bei dem Namen 'Weber' nur die Seitenzahl angegeben wird.

2. Pancatantra, *Pūrṇabhadra*'s Rezension, II, 29.

3. Weber, S. 158.

Weniger künstlich und vielleicht älter ist die Methode, die Stellen der Zeile anzugeben, wo lange Silben Stehn, wie es noch im Śrutabodha geschieht. Bharata kennt beide Methoden, woraus sich ergibt, dasz das Nāṭyaśāstra jünger als Pingala's Werk ist. Seine Autorität stand also schon in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung fest; wieviel höher sie hinaufreicht, lässt sich nicht bestimmen; doch kann man ein beträchtliches Alter für dieselbe wahrscheinlich machen, obschon zunächst der Anschein dagegen zu sprechen scheint.

So könnte man betonen, dasz Pingala in dem Vedānga über Metrik die **weltliche** Metrik viel eingehender behandelt als die **vedische**. Jedoch bietet das Vedānga Grammatik ein Analogon, insofern Pāṇini zur Grundlage derselben die **bhāṣā** macht, die vedischen Sprach-erscheinungen aber nur als Ausnahmen zu seinen Regeln behandelt. Man könnte sich vielleicht als ein Argument für ein verhältnismässig junges Alter Pingala's darauf berufen, dasz er eine so grosse Zahl, weit über hundert, von 'künstlichen' Sanskrit Metra, d. h. solchen lehrt, in denen nicht nur die Zahl der Silben, sondern auch deren Quantität unveränderlich festgesetzt ist. Es musz also zu seiner Zeit eine hochentwickelte eigenartige Poesie (nach dem Namen der Versmasze zu schlieszen, lyrisch-erotischen Charakters) bei den Sanskrit Redenden bestanden haben. Es ist jedoch nicht abzusehn, weshalb nicht schon frühe selbst die **śiṣṭas** zarteren Empfindungen Ausdruck verliehen haben sollten, wozu ihnen die **vedischen** Metra schwerlich als das geeignete Vehikel erscheinen mochten. Für den frühen Gebrauch 'künstlicher' Metra zeugt übrigens Patanjali. Wie nämlich Kielhorn¹ gezeigt hat, sind unter jenes Zitat in im Mahābhāṣya eine Anzahl Strophen in 'künstlichen' Metren, und zwar ausser Upajāti und Śālinī, namentlich solche von einfachem Rhythmus, nämlich die jambischen, trochäischen und spondeischen Dimeter: Pramāṇī, Samānī und Vidyunmālā, ferner die anapästischen und daktyli-

1. Ind. Ant. 1884, S. 228ff.

schen Tetrameter *Ṭoṭaka* und *Ḍodhaka*. In diesen künstlichen Versen waren grammatische Lehrsätze abgefasst und discutirt, ebenso wie später gerade die abstraktesten Disziplinen sich ähnlich gebauter Strophen (*Bhujaṅgaprayāta*, *Sragviṇī*) mit Vorliebe bedienen. Eine besonders künstliche Strophe der Art zitiert Patanjali zu VIII, 2, 55, sie hat das Schema $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup | \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup - ||$. Es setzt eine lange literarische Übung voraus um die Sprache so geschmeidig zu machen, dass selbst abstrakte Themata in diesem künstlichen Versmasz behandelt werden konnten, oder gar in der *Vidyumālā*, einer Strophe von 32 langen Silben. Zu demselben Schluss führt die sehr häufige Verwendung der *Āryā* zu *Kārikās* im *Mahābhāṣya*. Die *Āryā* (*Gāthā*) war das leitende Metrum im Prakrit, von dort drang sie in das Sanskrit ein und erwarb sich solche Gunst, dass sie in wissenschaftlichen Werken mit dem *Śloka* erfolgreich concurriren konnte. Die Grammatiker deren Verse Patanjali zitiert, dürften zumeist im 3 ten Jahrhundert vor Chr. gelebt haben. Ihnen ging die Entwicklung der Kunstpoesie voraus, was wohl einen beträchtlichen Zeitraum in Anspruch nahm. araus haben sich nur dürftige Spuren erhalten, wozu zwei *Prabarsṇī* Strophen, eine *Pramāṇī*- und eine *Upajāti*-zeile gehören, die Patanjali zu II, 2, 34, VIII, 3, 87 zitiert.

Vorstehende Erörterung über das Alter der künstlichen Metra war hier nötig, um zu zeigen, das Pingala wohl dem 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. angehört haben kann.

Pingala nennt mehrere Vorgänger in der weltlichen Metrik: *Kāśyape*, *Saitava*, *Rāta* und *Māṇḍavya*; aber siene Angaben über deren Lehren sind nicht derart, dass man aus ihnen einen Einblick in den damaligen Stand der weltlichen Metrik gewinnen könnte. Aber wir können aus seiner Behandlung des Themas den Fortschritt erkennen, den die Disziplin ihm verdankt. Wir gedachten bereits oben des seiner Erfindung zugeschriebenen Kunstgriffes, die Versfüsse (*trika*) durch Buchstaben zu bezeichnen, wodurch sich die metrischen Schemata auf algebraische Formeln bringen lassen. Die Erklärung dieses Kunstgriffes bildet die Einleitung

zu seinem Lehrbuch wie zu Pāṇini's Grammatik die Śivasūtras, mit denen sie sich auch hinsichtlich ihrer praktischen Bedeutung für die Disziplin vergleichen lassen. Auch darin erscheint Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī vorbildlich für Pingala, dasz sein Chandaḥsūtra ebenfalls aus acht Adhyāyas besteht. Deshalb hat die Bemerkung Ṣaḍguruśiṣya's in seinem 1184 n. Chr. verfassten Kommentar zur Rṅanukramaṇī, dasz er Pāṇinīyānuja sei', einen guten Sinn, wenn sie auch nicht wörtlich zu nehmen sein wird.

Auch sonst greift Pingala zu künstlichen Mitteln, um verwickelte Erscheinungen übersichtlicher darzustellen. Deutlich zeigt sich dies bei der Lehre vom Śloka. Darin geht er nämlich (5, 9) vom Vaktra aus, einer seltenen Strophe,² in der auch die geraden Pādas wie die ungeraden des Śloka gebildet sind.

Dasz er diese Darstellungsweise, die sich auch bei den übrigen Metrikern wiederfindet, nachträglich eingeführt hat, läßt sich noch aus seinen sūtras erkennen. Denn bevor er angibt, dasz im Vaktra die Silben 5-7 einen Bacchius (y) bilden, lehrt er, dasz von den Silben 2-4 der Anapäst (s) und Tribrachys (n) ausgeschlossen sind, und in den geraden Pādas ausserdem der Amphimacer (r). Letztere Regel hat aber nur für den echten Śloka Sinn, weil durch sie der Jambus vor dem Dijambus ausgeschlossen, also die Aufeinanderfolge dreier Jamben vermieden werden sollte. Man sieht nicht ein, weshalb vor dem Antispast bez. Epitritus primus (- - -) ein Jambus in den ungeraden Pādas des Vaktra zulässig, aber in den durchaus gleichen geraden Pādas verboten sein sollte. Die Verwirrung entstand offenbar dadurch, dasz mit älteren sūtras, die den echten Śloka lehrten, solche über

1. Weber, S. 159f.

2. Über ihre Verwendung in der Ākhyāyikā siehe Bhāmaha I, 26, Daṇḍin I, 26. Ich kenne nur vier ältere Vorkommnisse: das Beispiel in Bharata XV, 130, den Mustervers in der Brhat-Saṃhitā 104, 56, die von Haṭṭayudha zu Pingala V, 13 angeführte zweite Strophe, die schon bei Śabarasvāmin zu Mīmāṃsā Sūtra I, 1, 24 (p. 33 unten) mit einigen Varianten angeführt wird, und Harṣacarita IV, 3.

das Vaktra verbunden wurden, nicht bloß im Anfang, sondern auch im Fortgang der Darstellung (z. B. 14 und 17). Dadurch ist Pingala's Lehre vom Sloka (welchen Namen er nicht gebraucht), sehr confus, und bei den späteren Metrikern ist sie nicht wesentlich besser. Wahrscheinlich hatten die Künstdichter auch den Sloka zu variieren versucht und darum das Vaktra erfunden, dies hat dann Pingala in seine Darstellung des Sloka eingeflochten, so wenig auch die wirkliche Bedeutung des Vaktra der ihm beigelegten theoretischen auf die Dauer entsprochen hat. Es scheint übrigens Saitava, eine der vedischen Anuṣṭubh ähnliche Strophe, in der alle Pādas auf Dijambus bez. Pādon secundus (~ - ~) ausgehen, seiner Lehre vom Sloka zugrunde gelegt zu haben;¹ dem gegenüber wäre Pingala's Ausgehen vom Vaktra eine Neuerung.

Ein künstliches Prinzip, das Pingala eingeführt zu haben scheint, ist ferner die Messung gewisser Metra nach der Morenzahl. Dadurch bringt er verschiedene Metra, wie die Vaitāliya-Arten und die Mātrāsamakās, die manigfaltigen Ursprungs sind, ohne von Anfang an etwas mit der Morenzahl zu tun gehabt zu haben, in einer Klasse unter. Wie unberechtigt dies Prinzip ist, zeigt sich deutlich darin, daß *nna* die unveränderlichen Vaitāliyas von denen getrennt werden mußten, in denen eine lange Silbe gleich zwei kurzen, und umgekehrt gelten.

Pingala's Bestreben, die bunte Masse der verschiedenartigsten Versmaße in ein System zu bringen und dadurch übersichtlich zu machen, hat offenbar dem Chandahsūtra zu seinem hohen Ansehen verholfen. Dessen System ist in seinen Grundzügen auch bei den späteren Metrikern in Geltung geblieben, wenn es auch im Einzelnen nicht an Verbesserungsversuchen gefehlt hat.

Pingala teilt die Metra folgendermaßen ein:

-
1. Pingala erwähnt diese Strophe bei den Vipulās. Diese Vipulā ist einige Male im Mahābhārata belegt, aber niemals in beiden Halbversen zugleich, was doch das Wesentliche bei Saitava's Strophe ist.

- I Die auf **ganas** von 4 Moren aufgebauten Strophen, in denen je zwei Pādas zu einem Halbvers verwachsen sind: die verschiedenen Āryā-Arten.
- II Die Metra, in denen die Anzahl der Moren bestimmt ist. (I und II bilden den Inhalt des 4. Adhyāya. Die Späteren nennen die zu I und II gehörigen Versmasse **jāti¹**, und zwar die unter I **Ganucchandas**, und die unter II **Mātrāchandas**.
- III **vṛttam**. Pingala gibt keine Definition, sondern geht sofort zur Einteilung der vṛttas über:
- samam** (samavṛtta) von vier gleichen Pādas;
 - ardhasamam** (ardhasamavṛtta) von zwei gleichen Vershäften, in denen aber die Pādas ungleich sind;
 - viṣamam** (viṣamavṛtta), alle Pādas sind ungleich. Hierhin werden alle Metra gestellt, die in a. und b. nicht unterzubringen sind. In diese Klasse stellt Pingala auch den Śloka (Vaktram). Hemacandra ist ihm darin gefolgt, während Kedārabhaṭṭa im Vṛttaratnākara ihn zwischen den Vaitāliya-Arten und den Mātrāsamakās einschleibt. Die Schwierigkeit liegt darin, dass in den jeder Pāda sein bestimmtes Schema haben sollte, und das trifft eben auf den Śloka nicht zu. Wahrscheinlich waren es Bedenken ähnlicher Art, die Pingala bestimmten, **vor** der Lehre vom Śloka (Vaktra) in V, 9 ff. die regulären Anuṣṭubh-vṛttas (in V, 6-8) zu behandeln, nämlich die trochäische Samānī, die jambische Pramāṇī und das Viṭānam, unter welchem Namen die übrigen Anuṣṭubh-vṛttas zusammengefasst sein sollen². Diese kommen dadurch in den Anfang des Abschnittes über die vṛttas (III) zu stehen, während ihre richtige Stelle im 6. Adhyāya wäre. Dort lehrt Pingala folgerichtig die Pramāṇī und Samānī nicht, sondern nur Citrapadā,

1. **padyam catuṣpadam tae ca vṛttam jātir iti dvidhā**. Zitat bei Halāyudha zu, V, 1, Hemacandra zu I, 11.

2. Halāyudha ad V, 8, Hemacandra ad II, 82.

Vidyunmālā und Māṇavakākrīḍitakam¹. Aber eigentlich sollte er auch diese nicht lehren, da sie schon im Vitānam einbegriffen sind. Dies scheint der Sinn einer Bemerkung des Śvetapaṭa² zu sein, worüber Halāyudha zu V, 8 eine Strophe beibringt. Aber trotz dieser Inconsequenz ist an der Echtheit von V, 6-8 nicht zu zweifeln, da ja der spätere Abschnitt hinsichtlich der Samānī und Pramāṇī darauf Rücksicht nimmt. Wahrscheinlich war in Pingala's Quellen der Sammelname Vitānam für andere als die beiden genannten Metra üblich; da aber zu seiner Zeit einige Vitāna-Strophen schon besondere Namen bekommen hatten, so konnte er sie im 6. Adhyāya je an ihrer Stelle aufführen.

Dagegen ist der Abschnitt VIII, 2-19 sicher ein späterer Zusatz, wie Weber, S. 184 und 414 gezeigt hat. Er fehlt tatsächlich in allen Mss. der Rg-, und einigen der Yajus-Rezension. Zwar ist zu diesem Abschnitt Halāyudha's Commentar vorhanden, aber seine Echtheit ist zweifelhaft, vgl. Weber, S. 414 f. Da Bharata und Varāhamihira die meisten der in VIII gelehrten 19 Metra nicht kennen, muß der betreffende Abschnitt nach dem 6. Jahrhundert zugefügt sein. Hemacandra aber hat ihn wohl gekannt, da er alle 19 Metra lehrt, wenn auch 6 mit andern Namen.³

1. In dieser Reihenfolge in der Yajus-Rezension. Weber, S. 36 f.

2. Derselbe kritisiert auch nach Halāyudha I, 22 Pingala's Lehre von der syllaba anceps am Pādashluß, und soll auch (vgl. Weber, S. 222 note) mit Māṇḍavya und andern die Lehre von den Zäsuren verworfen haben.

3. Im Vrttaratnākara (Commentar Pancikā) finden sich von diese 19 Metra nur 9. Dies ist um so bemerkenswerter, als auch diese kürzeste Rezension des arg interpolierten Werkes durchweg mehr Metra in jeder Klasse aufzählt als Pingala. Wenn also der Redactor den betreffenden Abschnitt im 8. Adhyāya gekannt haben sollte, so müßte er ihn als unecht angesehen und darum ignoriert haben.

Der Rest des 8. Adhyāya ist zweifellos echt. Er handelt über den Prastāra, die systematische Anordnung der Metra, and die Stelle eines jeden in demselben. Solche algebraische Spekulationen haben von je den indischen Geist lebhaft interessiert, und wir haben keinen Grund zu bezweifeln, dasz sie auch schon Pingala beschäftigt haben. Derselbe Gegenstand wird auch von Bharata im 14. Adhyāya behandelt, teils übereinstimmend mit Pingala V, 3-5, VIII, 20 ff., teils daran anklingend.

2

Die zweitälteste Quelle für unsere Kenntnis der Indischen Metrik ist das Nāṭyaśāstra Bharata's. Für ihn ist die Metrik nicht Selbstzweck, sondern er behandelt die Metren insofern sie im Drama Verwendung finden. Er widmet der Metrik den ganzen 15. Adhyāya: Chandovṛttividhi, und den 32ten: Dhruvādhyāya, zum Teil. Die im 15. Adhyāya gelehrtten Metra sollen in Dramen und andern Dichtungen verwendet werden, die im 32ten sind Gesangsstrophen.

Betrachten wir zuerst Bharata's Metrik im 15. Adhyāya. Wie oben bereits bemerkt, gibt er bei Beschreibung der samavṛttas die Stellen im Verse an, wo lange (bez. kurze) Silben stehen; aber bei den übrigen vṛttas bedient er sich der trikas, die charakteristisch für Pingala's System sind. Letzteres hat darum Bharata zweifelsohne gekannt; die allgemeinen Grundzüge desselben befolgt er durchaus in der Einteilung und Darstellung der Metra. Aber im Einzelnen sind Abweichungen bedeutend und bedeutsam. So lehrt Pingala 73 samavṛttas, Bharata dagegen nur 49, und zudem fehlen von diesen 10 bei Pingala. Von den übereinstimmenden Metren haben viele andere Namen, nicht blos die selteren, sondern auch ganz gewöhnliche. Er gibt den Namen Hariniputām für Drutavilāmbitam, Aprameyam für Bhujaṅga-prayātam, Nandimukhī für Mālinī, śrīdharā für Mandākrāntā, Vilāmbitagatī für Pṛthivī. Bharata schöpfte also nicht unmittelbar aus Pingala, sondern traf seine Auswahl aus dem was zu seiner Zeit (offenbar lange nach Pingala) in den Schulen der Metriker gelehrt wurde. Er selbst sagt darüber

XV, 144 f. ¹ "Es gibt noch andere Metra, die hier von Gelehrten beschrieben worden sind; ich habe sie nicht genannt, weil sie nicht zur Schönheit beitragen. Alle anderen soll man als Gesangstrophen benutzen. Das Genauere über sie werde ich im Dhruvāvidhāna lehren." Man beachte, dasz das Gesagte nur von den vṛttas, zu denen auch der Śloka (XV, 116 ff.), aber nicht die Āryā-Arten (XV, 146) gehören, Geltung hat. Diejenigen vṛttas, welche Bharata im 15. Adhyāya lehrt—also muß man wohl schlieszen—sollen nicht als Gesangstrophen verwendet werden, ausgenommen sind Rathoddhatā und Pramitākṣarā (XXXII, 282, 291). Daraus folgt, dasz dergleichen, in den Dramen vorkommende Strophen nicht gesungen, sondern in Rezitativ (mit abhinaya) vorgetragen wurden.

Wir wenden uns nun zur Metrik im Dhruvādhyāya (XXXII). Zwar ist das technische Detail über die Dhuvās in der dortigen Darstelleng ohne erklärenden Commentar uns annoch unverständlich; aber es ist zweifellos, dasz es sich dabei um Verwendung der betreffenden Strophen zum Gesang handelt. Es finden sich nämlich darauf hinweisende Ausdrücke wie folgende: gīte 162, gītakavidbau 175, gītakavidhāne 196. 204, gītakabandhe 213. Dafür spricht auch, dasz die Beispiele nicht in Samskrit wie in XV, sondern in Prakrit² abgefasst sind. Diese Gesangstrophen waren nicht Bestandteile des Dramas selbst, sondern gehörten zu dem Concert, das dessen Aufführung begleitete.

Die Metrik der Gesangstrophen war wohl Gegenstand des Gāndharvaveda des Bharata und ist von der im Chandaḥśāstra gelehrtens grundsätzlich verschieden. Zwischen beiden Arten der Metrik besteht auch ein Unterschied in der Behandlung der Metra. Pingala beginnt die Aufzählung und Beschreibung der samavṛtta mit der Gāyatrī-Klasse, deren erstes Metrum Tanuma-

1. santy anyāny api vṛtlāni, yāny uktāni 'ha paṇḍitaiḥ |
na ca tāni mayo 'ktāni; na śobhāṃ janayanti hi||.

yāny atah param atra syur, gītakais tāni yojayet; |
Dhruvāvidhāne vyākhyāsyte teṣāṃ caiva vikalpanam.||

2. Über dasselbe habe ich gehandelt in Bhavisattakaha S. 84 ff.

dhyā ist, und geht dann die übrigen Klassen bis zu den 26-silbigen durch; ebenso verfährt Bharata im 15. Adhyāya. Im 32. Adhyāya beginnt dagegen die Aufzählung mit den einsilbigen und schreitet so fort bis zu den 13-silbigen. Die 5 Klassen: Ukthā, Atyukthā, Madhyā,¹ Pratiṣṭhā, und Supratiṣṭhā, die doch nur theoretische Bedeutung hatten, fehlen also in der ursprünglichen eigentlichen Metrik, die durch Pingala und Bharata's 15. Adhyāya vertreten ist. Die späteren Metriker machen aber keinen Unterschied zwischen beiden Arten von Metrik sondern führen in ihrer Aufzählung der samavṛttas alle Metra auf, deren sie habhaft werden konnten, gleichgültig, welchen Ursprungs sie sein mochten; sie beginnen daher mit den 5 bei Pingala's fehlenden Klassen, so in Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana, im Vṛttaratnākara und Prākṛta- Pingala.²

Nach den Dhruvās behandelt Bharata noch andere Klassen von Gesangstrophen, für deren Verständnis die Veröffentlichung von Abhinavagupta's Commentar abzuwarten ist. Vorläufig wage ich nur mit allem Vorbehalt die Vermutung zu äussern, dasz die Prakrit Metrik, wie sie in Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana Adhyāya 4 vorliegt, sich vielleicht auf der von Bharata gebotenen Grundlage entwickelt hat.

Im Anschlusz an die älteren Metriker sei noch der im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. lebende Astronom Varāhamihira erwähnt. In dem 104. Adhyāya (**grahagocara**) der Bṛhat- Saṃhitā gibt er die betreffenden astrologischen Regeln in 64 Strophen von verschiedenem Metrum, wobei in jeder Strophe ihr Name genannt wird; es sind also Musterverse für diejenigen Metra, welche nach seiner Meinung ein Pandit kennen sollte, nämlich 50 samavṛttas,

1. Der Name der 3. Klasse madhyā, die Mittelste, scheint entstanden zu sein, als diese 5 Klassen noch eine Einheit für sich bildeten.

2. Es sei aber erwähnt, das Kṣemendra, dessen Suvṛttatilaka praktischen zwecken dient, seine Darstellung der Metra mit Tanumadhyā beginnt.

4 ardhasamavṛttas und die Āryā. Diese Metra erklärt Bhaṭṭot-pala, der in den 60er Jahren des 10ten Jahrhunderts schrieb, in seinem Commentar mit Berufung auf einen ungenannten Ācārya; dessen Regeln sind in dem zu lehrenden Metrum abgefasst, und zwar benutzt er dazu bei den samavṛttas nicht die ganze Strophe, wie es Bharata in XXXII tut, sondern nur einen Pāda, was eben bei Verwendung der trikas möglich ist. So finden wir hierschon dieselbe Methode, die in späteren Handbüchern wie Vṛttaratnākara und Chandomanjarī befolgt wird.

DER EINFLUSS DER VOLKSPRACHE AUF DIE ZISCHLAUTE IM ZEITALTER DER ENTSTEHUNG DES RĠVEDA

Von Prof. I. Scheftelowitz (Köln).

Bereits zur Zeit der Entstehung der Hymnen des Rġveda waren in der damaligen Volkssprache der Inder die Zischlaute **ś, ṣ** und **s** in der Aussprache kaum unterschieden. Nur so ist es zu verstehen, dass in Rġv. zuweilen 1.) **s** für urarisch **ś** und **ṣ** steht, 2.) **ṣ** hinter **i, u** für **ś** steht.

In denjenigen Fällen, in denen Rv. **ś** sich für arisch **s** findet, ist es unter Einfluss eines in der folgenden Silbe desselben Wortes stehenden **ś, ṣ** entstanden, wie bei **śvaśura** (=aw. *xvasura*), **śmaśru** 'Bart' (a irisch *smech* 'kinu'), **śuśka, śuśyati** (=aw. *huška, haoš*)¹, **ślakṣṇa** (AV.) 'sehlüpfrig, glatt': aisl. *slakr* 'schlaff', nd. *slakk* 'dicke, weiche Masse' (zum Suffix vgl. *tikṣṇa* 'scharf': *ejate*).¹

I. Beispiele, in denen Rġv. **s** für ar. **ś** steht:—

(1) Rġv. **pāṃsurá** 'staubig' **pāṃsú** (Av.) m. 'Staub': aw. *pa.snu* 'Staub'. In MBh. (Kalkuttaer Ed.) liegt die Schreibung **pāṃśu** vor, die aber als sekundär anzusehen ist z. B. X 9, 14: **sa hato grasate pāṃśūn**.

(2) Rġv. **busá** n. 'das Trübe, trübes Wetter' (nur X 27, 24), nach den Lexicographen 'Abfall, Schlacke dicke Schicht der geronnenen Milch', **busā** 'trockener kuhdünger' (vgl. z. B. Vaijayantī 128 Z. 128; 134, Z. 283; 91 Z. 193), ni. **busu**, ni. **buhu** (Grierson. ZDMG. 50, 17). **busa** ist unmöglich mit Bartholomæ ZDMG. 50, 712 auf urind. *brśa* zurück zu führen und zu

(1) Vgl. hierüber Wackernagel, Altind. Grammatik I 197, Osthoff, Perf. 493 f., Hirt, B. B. 24, 230, Bloomfield J. A. O. S. 13, 118, Hübschmann, Arm. Gram. 476, 491. RV. **śaśvat** 'wiederholt, jeder' ist schwerlich aus **saśvat** entstanden, sondern gehört zu arm. *sos-k* 'einfach, allein, gewöhnlich'. Demnach ist das **ś** in **śaśvat** ursprünglich.

Pamir **bis**, **büs** 'Dunst, Nebel' zu stellen (vg. Johansson KZ. 36 356 f.), sondern geht auf urind. **buša** zurück: russ. **bus** 'Staubregen', **za-busēt** 'trüb, dunkel werden', **busorēt** 'grau, dunkel werden', **busol** 'schimmel, schlamm'. Zum Bedeutungswandel vgl. aslav. **tāča** 'Regenwolke', russ. **tuca**: serb. **tūska** 'Schlacke, Treber', russ. **tusknut** 'trübe werden', oder slov. **kaliti se** 'trüb werden: lat **caligo** 'Nebel'.

(3) *Ṛgv.* **sūcī** 'Nadel', prak. **sūī**, pali **sūci**, neben. ai. **śūka** 'Granne des Getreides, Stachel eines Insekts', aw. **sūkā** 'Nadel' Hierzu auch ai. **sūkṣma** neben **śūkṣma** 'fein, genau'. *Uṇādisūtra*, 4. 93 leitet **sūci** fälschlich von. **sīv**+suff. **ca** ab.

(4) *Ṛgv.* **śrutī** I 46, 11 wofür das Kaśmir-Ms. **śrūti** liest, was einen besseren Sinn gibt: **ādarśi vī śrutir divāḥ** 'offenbart hat sich des Himmels Segen', vgl. *Ṛgv.* II 2, 7.

Ebenso findet sich in anderen vedischen Texten s für ar. ś.

(5) **Késara** (VS.) 'Haar', aus **késara**: *Ṛgv.* **kéśa** 'Haar', **keśin** 'lang haarig, haarig', alb. **k'eō** (idg. ***koiǵō**) 'schere', lit. **káiszau** 'schabe', **apkaiszti** 'abschaben' (Geitler, Lit. Stud. 77).¹ Hierher gehört auch ai. **kisala**, **kisalaya** 'Schössling, Blattknospe' (Vgl. auch *Vaijayanti*, p. 46). *Kālidāsa* Megh. 21: **keśara** 'Staubfaden' ist wohl sekundäre Schreibweise. Begrifflich vgl. arv. **varəsa** 'Haar': ai. **valśa** 'schössling, Zweig'.

Bloomfield (*J. A. O. S.* 13) und Walde (*Lat. Et. Wtb.*) nehmen an, dass ai. **keśara** mit. lat. **caesaries** 'Haupthaar' verwandt² sei, doch idg. ***kaisar** hätte in Lat. zu ***caerar** werden müssen (vgl. lat. **aurora**, **soror**). Lat. **caesaries** geht auf, vorlat. ***kaidh**-s-zurück: ags. **hād** 'Haar', germ. ***haid**, ndd, fries. **hēde** 'Werg, Hede', lit. **sukidēs** 'zerzaust', daneben idg. ***kidh-tōn** ***kiddhōn**, **kizdhōn**=germ. **hizdōn**, ndl. **herde** 'Haar, Werg', ags. **heorde**, engl. **hards**, **hurds** (Sievers, zum *Ags. Voc.* 24f., Murray V

(1) Zum Bedeutungswandel vgl. aslav. **kosa** 'Haar': lit. **kasyti** 'gelinde Kratzen', gr. **ksēō** 'schabe'; čech. **škutina** 'Haar-schopf': lit. **skutu** 'Kratze, schabe.'

89, Trautmann, Germ. Lautges. 33). Bisher wurde angenommen dass in Lat. **caesaries** das **s** ausnahmsweise ebenso erhalten geblieben wäre wie in lat. **miser**. Doch ist das **s** in letzterem Wort nicht ursprünglich (vgl. WZKM XXI 127).

6. **Musala** m. (AV., TS) 'Stößel, Kolben'; die in Śivapur. Adhy. 10. 53, sich findende Lesart **muśala** kann sekundär sein: lit. **muszīkas** 'schlügel', **muszū** 'schlage', lat. **mucro** 'scharfe Spitze.'

7. **Rāsnā** (V S.) 'Gurt': R̥gv. **raśanā** 'Strick, Zügel,' np, **rūsān** 'Strick, Zügel', arm. Lehnw. **erasan**.

(8) **Vāsā** (Kāṭh, A Br.) neben **vasā** (TS, SBr.), **vāśa** (AV., VII 9, 24) 'flüssiges Fett': aw. **ūθa** 'Fett', phl. **ūs**. Unmöglich ist Charpentiers zusammenstellung von ai. **vāsā** mit aw. **vohu** 'Blut', ar. **vasu**, ae. **wōs** 'Feuchtigkeit' (KZ. 46, 42.)

(9) **Suka** (AV. I. 22, 4) für **śuka** (R̥gv. I, 50, 12 und Paippal).

II. Beispiele, in denen R̥gv. **s** für ar. **ṣ** steht.

(10) R̥gv. **ṛbīsa** 'Schlund, Erdspalte', urind. ***ṛviṣa** (zur Bildung vgl. **ṛjīṣa**, **puriṣa**: **uṣṇīṣa**), lit. **ūrwa** 'Loch in der Erde', poln. **rów** 'Graben', preuss. **rawys**.

(11) R̥gv. **kīstā**. 'Sänger' (**Sāyana**: **udgātr**): aw. **kaēš** 'lehren', lat. **quaero**, **quaestor**, **quaestio**. Zur Bedeutung vgl. aw. **sa.h** 'lehren': ai. **sams** 'singen'; np. **āhūṅg**, **hanj** 'Belehrung, Rat', phl. **frahaxt** 'ausgebildet', ar. W. ***sangh**: got. **saggws** 'Sang', ahd. **sang**, got. **siggwan**; lit. **bóti** 'fragen', gr. **φωνή** 'Stimme'.

(12) ved. **bārsva** (VS. 25, 1, Kāṭh. 25, 9) 'Zahnfleisch', neben **varsva** (nach Mahīdhara = **danta-pīṭha**), idg. ***volsvo**: gr. **oûlon** 'Zahnfleisch'. Betreffs der Behandlung von urgriech. **ls**, vgl. F. Sommer KZ. 32, 386 ff, Brugmann IF. 11, 208 A. Anders über **oûlon** Schwytzer KZ. 57.

(13) R̥gv. **bīsa** (wofür viele Mss. **viṣa** schreiben) 'Wurzelschoss' (in **bīsa-khā**, AV. **bīsa**), mi. **bīsu**, ni. **biḥu** (Grierson ZDMG. 50, 17), urind. **viṣa**: lit. **wystū**, 'sich fortpflanzen',

(2) Hier ist das **k** von der Vollstufenform ***kaiṣ** auf die Schwundenstufe ***ciṣ** übertragen, vgl. **gītha**.

waisinū 'wachsen machen', **waśius** 'Frucht'. Hierzu auch **ai**, **biṣyati** 'hervorbrechen, wachsen' (**bhedana-karman**, **vṛddhi-karman**), nur in Nir. 2. 24 überliefert.

(14) Rgv. **br̥ṣaya** etwa 'Zauberei' und Bezeichnung eines Dämons urind. **vr̥ṣaya**, asl. **vlchv** 'Wahrsager', **vlšiba** 'Zauberei', russ. **volchit** 'Zauberer', wruuss. **wolchwić** 'zaubern' asl. **volchvica** 'Wahrsagerin'.

III. Beispiele, in denen Rgv. **ṣ** für **ś** hinter **i**, **u** steht.

(15) Rgv. **úṣa** (X 95, 4) 'Liebhaber' (**úṣo yádi váṣti**) steht, wie bereits Grassmann erkannt hat, für **úśa**. Ebenso steht in Kaśmirischen Rgv.-Ms. I 162, 11 **uṣádbhyo** für **uśádbhyo**.¹

Ferner ist in Rgv. das auslautende **ṣ** von dem Verb **piṣ** wie **ś** behandelt worden. So lautet die 2. Sing. Inj. und Impf. **sam-piṇak** für ***sam-pinaṣ**.² In klassischer Zeit ist von dieser Wurzel ferner **apikṣam**, **pekṣyati** belegt. Ähnlich überliefern die Grammatiker von **karṣati** die Formen **akṛkṣat**, **krakṣye**, die in Anlehnung an **karṣati** gebildet sind, und von **viveṣti** (W. **viṣ**)

(1) In Rgv. I 6,3 ist **uśádbhis** unmöglich von **uśás** abzuleiten (vgl. Schefftelowitz, IF. XXXIII 153 f.) sondern steht für **uśádbhis**, worunter die hilfreichen Marutas zu verstehen sind, die in diesem Vers wie auch sonst häufig als **maryā** bezeichnet werden (I 61, 4; 64, 2; III 54, 13; V 53, 3; 59, 6; 61, 4; VII 50 1; X, 77, 23), den Indra stets begleiten und seine Brüder sind (vgl. I 70, 2 : **Kṛm na indra jighāmsasi bhrátaro marútas táva**). Unter allen Geführten, die Indra in dem Vr̥tra-Kampfe beistehen, sind die Marutas die treuesten Helfer. Ein Teil der vedischen Lieder und die rituelle Literatur bringt sie so häufig in Zusammenhang, dass man die Verbindung als Gemeingut der RV. angesehen hat (Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. III 312). Der Vers I 6, 3 lautet : "Dem Lichtlosen Licht schaffend, dem Farblosen Farbe, O ihr Männer (=Marutas), wurdest du (O Indra) mit den Hülreichern (***uśádbhis**) zusammengeboren". **uśant** dient sowohl im Sg. als auch in Pl. häufig zur Bezeichnung von Göttern.

(2) Betreffs des **n** vgl. Benfey S. V. Einl. XXXV. Nach Bartholomae IF. III 171 A soll "**sám piṇak** nach **prá piṇak**" gebildet sein.

die Formen **vekṣyati**, **vivikṣa**, wo das **ś** von der **W. vis** hergenommen ist. In Rg. **vividḍhi** (I 27, 10; VIII 85, 12) ist bereits das wurzelausl. **ś** vor dem Imp. suffix **-dhi** wie **ś** behandelt ¹

Patañjali Mahābhāṣyam (ed. Kielhorn, I 24) macht ausdrücklich darauf aufmerksam, dass man in der Aussprache **ś** und **s** verwechsle, weshalb man **śaśa** für **śaśa** und **palāśa** für **palāśa** sagt. Jabāla Upan. 2 bezeugt ferner, dass **ś** als **s** gesprochen wurde. Darauf beruhen z. B. Schreibungen wie **suṣi**, **suṣira** (Āp. śr.) "Höhlung" neben älterem **śuṣi**, **śuṣira** (l. **cavus**); **śraṃsayitvā** (AV IV, 16,7) für **sraṃsayitvā**, **śṛgāla** (Manu IX, 30) für älteres **śṛgāla**; **sveta** (Bhāvaprak., p. 102) für älteres **śveta** **caturasram** (Saubhāgyalakṣmī Up, in 108 Upaniṣads ed. Pāṇḍuraṅg Jāwajī, Bombay, 1925, 549) für **caturaśram**; **vaṃśīśiṃya** (AV. IX, 1, 14; 16, 9, 4) für **vaṃśīśiṃya** (Opt. Aor. von **van**); **kūśmā** (MS.) für Rgv. **kūśma**; **sikṣasi** (Vāḷakhilya III 6; IV 8 in den Rgv. Mss. Brit. Mus. Add. 5351, India Office 2131) für **śikṣasi**. **Vaśiṣṭha** (Bhav. Pur. 139, 54; 140, 30; III 1, 47; IV 53, 23) für **Vasiṣṭha**; **viśrabdhāḥ** (Ram. II of) für **viśrabdhāḥ**; **santva**, **santvā** 'Beschwichtigung' aus **śantva**, **śāntva**; **sāri**, **sārikā** 'Krähe' für **śāri**, **śārikā** : lat. **corvus**. Weitere Beispiele über die Verwechslung der 3 Zischlaute in nachvedischer Zeit habe ich in WZKM. XXI 132 behandelt.

(1) Vgl. ferner Scheftelowitz WZKM. XXI, 125 fg. In Rv. **kóśa** 'Kufe' ist das **ś** ursprünglich (vgl. daselbst 127). Jünger ist die Schreibung **kośa**, die zuerst in Praiśādhyāya (Ed. Scheftelowitz, Apokryphen d. Rgv.) VII 1 f, T Br. III 6, 2, MS. IV 13, 2 belegt ist und zwar in dem Wort **akośadhāvanir** (**duras**) "die umgebogen gehenden (Türen)".— **śaśṭha** (lat. **sextus**) aus ***saksṣ-ṭha** **śaśṭi** aus **saksṣ-ṭi**. Nach analogie von **caturtha pañcama, sapṭama**: **catur**, **pañca**, **sapṭa** hat sich aus **śaśṭha** die Lautform **śaś** entwickelt, die das ursprüngliche ***saksṣ** verdrängte.

THE WORD ARI' IN THE R̥GVEDA SAMHITĀ

K. Chattoṭopādhyāya.

अरिन्दमं नमस्कृत्य राघवमार्यभूभृतम् ।

अरिशब्दार्थयुग्मस्य निरुक्तेर्निर्णये यते ॥

बाह्वृचे संहिताग्रन्थे शब्दोऽयमार्यसम्मतः ।

भूयश्च शत्रुपर्यायः शौमेरारिप्रभावितः ॥

It is well known to students of the R̥gveda saṁhitā that the word ARI' has been used in it in both a good and a bad sense, either as meaning 'active', 'pious', 'a pious man', etc., or as 'niggardly', 'godless', 'a niggard or an ungodly man', 'a foe'. etc. This strange phenomenon has exercised the brains of several scholars,² but the riddle of how a word could have such contradictory meanings in texts of the same period still remains unsolved. It has been proposed to analyse the word as a-ri'i', originally meaning 'having no wealth' and having the regular accent of a Bahuvrīhi with the privative particle a-. The word is then believed to run in two different channels, in one 'having no wealth' coming to mean 'meek' or 'humble' > 'a suppliant' > 'a worshipper of the gods' > 'a pious man' > 'a noble man' and in the other 'a niggard' > 'an envious being' > 'a bad person' > 'a foe'. This is highly ingenious no doubt but fails to give conviction. It is the first series which is unconvincing. Passage from 'having no wealth' to 'worshipping' is hard to see in view of the fact that the R̥ksaṁhitā priest often praised his gods for the benefit of his rich patron. Besides this, passages like 1-150-1, purútvā dāśvā'n voce ari'h, where dāśvā'n = 'giving' goes along with ari'h make it impossible, as Neisser points

1. Grassman, *Woerterbuch zum R̥veda*, 105-6.

2. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, 72ff., Oldenberg, *Z. D. M. G.*, 54. 177ff. *R̥gveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten*, I. 384, II. 28 and *passim*, Bergaigne, *Études sur le lexique du Rig-veda*, 182, Ghate *Lectures on the R̥gveda* (1ed.), 121-7, Neisser, *Zum Woerterbuch des R̥gveda*, 98ff, *et cetera*,

out', that a r i' ḥ should mean 'having no wealth'. The second series of meanings is, however, more readily comprehensible. 'Having no wealth' can easily mean 'having no wealth to give to others' > 'a niggard', as 'm a g h a' v a n t' means 'having wealth' > 'having wealth to give to others' = 'bounteous'. The major portion, if not the whole of the *Rksamhitā*, being a priestly composition, it is but natural that 'the niggard' (=refusing Bloomfield's *buksheesh*) should become a type of all that is bad.

The references for the two sets of meanings are: —

(1) In Good Sense:

I-4-6, 70-1, 71-3, 122-14, 150-1, 184-1, 185-9; III 43-2; IV-2-18, 4-6 (?); V-48-5, 54-12; VI-25-7, 45-33, 51-2; VII-8-1, 34-18, 60-11, 92-4; VIII-1-4, 54-9, 61-16, 83-3; Vāḷakhilya 3-9; X-27-8, 28-1, 39-5, 86-1, 3, 148-3.

(2) In Bad Sense.

I-73-5, 118-9, 169-6 (?); II-8-2, 12-4, 5, 23-13, IV-16-19, 20-3, 29-1, 50-11; V-2-12, 33-2; VI-13-5, 14-3, 15-3, 16-27, 20-1, 24-5, 36-5, 48-16, 59-8; VII-21-9, 31-5, 34-10, 48-3, 56-22, 68-2, 83-5, 97-9; VIII-21-6, 24-22, 33-14, 39-2, 48-8, 49-12, 55-12; IX-23-3, 61-11, 79-1, 3; X-42-1, 59-3, 115-5, 116-6, 133-3; to which may possibly be added I-33-31, I-121-15, VI-47-9 and X-191-1.⁴

A R I' in a good sense seems connected with a r y a'⁵

3. *Op cit.*, p. 98.

4. The above references are not copied verbatim from Grassmann. I looked up all these passages and succeeded in checking some of his mistakes. The same remark also applies to the other references in this paper.

5. I-33-3 (?), 81-6, 9, 121-15 (?); II-23-15, 35-2; IV-1-7, 2, 12, 16-17, 24-8; V-33-6, 9, 34-9, 75-7 (a r yā'; VI-47-9 (?), 86-7; VII-21-5, 64-3, 65-2, 86-7, 100-5; VIII-1-34, 19-36, 52-7; Vāḷakh. 3-9, 6-7; X-20-4; 27-19, 34-13, 76-2, 89-3, 191-1 (?). Of all these passages I-33-3, I-121-15, VI-47-9, and X-191-1 may possibly have a r y a' ḥ as gen. sg. of a r i' = 'foe' or 'niggard', instead of masc. sg. of a r y a' = 'the excellent one'.

'kind', 'benevolent', 'righteous', 'pious' *et cetera* and *ā'rya* ('Aryan' as an adjective and a noun) in the Rv. S. and *airya* and *ariya* of the Avesta and the Ancient Persian Inscriptions. We should follow Neisser's suggestion⁷ in adding to the etymology the Greek word *ἄριστος*, meaning 'noblest', 'best of its kind' which is believed to be one of the irregular superlatives of *ἀγαθός*, it being further assumed that "In the early prim. Indg. period the comparative and superlative stood in no grammatical relation to the so-called positive."⁸ I cannot, however, help feeling that it was not so and it is on account of the disappearance of words that we cannot always find the corresponding positive or superlative bases in Greek or other languages. The Sanskrit language gives abundant illustration of the former existence of words and forms which recur later only in special combinations, e. g., *puṣpadhanvan* (showing the old *d h a' n v a n* = bow), *yuva-jāni* (the old *ja'ni* = woman). I have, therefore, no hesitation in taking *ἄριστος* to be a superlative from a stem **ἀρί-* or **ἄρι-*. The accent is on the first syllable (or third from the end) as in *μέγιστος* (= *mahiṣṭha*, from *μέγας* = Vedic *m a h a' h* and *m a g h a' h* with accent on the second syllable), *ῥῆστος* (= *s v ā' d i ṣ ṭ h a h* with accent on the first syllable, though the positive *s v ā d u' h*, Greek *ῥῆσός*, has accent on the second syllable, *ἐλαχίστος* (= *laghiṣṭhaḥ*) *et cetera*. The passage from 'noble' to 'Aryan' in *ārya*, *airya* or *ariya* is very natural under the influence of race pride and it is possible that *a ri'* has got that sense in some passages of the Rgveda saṃhitā.⁹

6. I-51-8. 59-2, 96-3, 103-3, 117-21, 130-8. 156-5; II-11-18, 19; III-34-9; IV-26-2, 30-18; V-34-6; VI-18-3, 22-10, 25-2, 33-3, 60-6; VII-5-6, 18-7. 83-1; VIII-24-27. 92-1; Vāḷakhilya 3-9; IX-63-5, 14, X-11-4, 38-3, 43-4, 49-3, 65-11, 69-6, 83-1, 86-19, 102-3, 138-3.

7. *Op. cit.*

8. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language*. 378. See also Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik d. indg. Sprachen*, 391.

9. E.g. in VI-45-33.

I have already said that *a r i'* in a bad sense is a Bahuvrīhi formed from *a-*(='not') and *-ri* (weak form in compound of *rai*, *rayi*=‘wealth’, as in *b ṛ h a' d-ri et cetera*). The usual sense is that of ‘a niggard’ but sometimes the meaning seems to be ‘a foe.’ In many cases it is difficult to ascertain whether the poet meant ‘a niggard (or envious being)’ or ‘a foe’. The sense of ‘foe’ really constitutes a difficulty, because the passage from ‘niggard’ to ‘foe’ is not so easy as from ‘moneyless’ to ‘niggard’ and we have other words in the Rv. S. for an enemy, *v ṛ t r a'*, *d v e' ś a s et cetera*. In the later language, of course, *ari* means ‘an enemy’ and that alone, but this gives us no help for its correct etymology. *A r i'* = ‘enemy’ in the R̥gvedasamhitā has, therefore, remained a great problem with me for a number of years.

Recently some solution of the difficulty has seemed within sight. A somewhat similar word seems to have existed in the old Sumerian language, which Gadd¹⁰ transliterates as *erim*² and Langdon¹¹, earlier, as ¹*ari*. It will be recalled that Hall threw out a suggestion years ago that the old Sumerians were connected with the Dravidians of India¹² and several scholars have in recent times followed him and believed, further, in the Sumerian affinity of the dwellers of the pre-historic Indus basin. It must be admitted that connexion of the Sumerians with the Dravidians or with the pre-historic inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro, Larkana, Harappa etc. has not been proved. Keith's statement, however, that the facial aspect of the Sumerian *patesi* Gudea in his statues seems to be “wholly un-Dravidian”¹³ cannot be accepted, for we do come across such types among Dravidians and I have myself seen a number of Dravidians with the receding fore-

10. **Sumerian Reading Book**, pp. 2, 65 and ff. and L82.

11. **Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy**, p. 203. So also Delitzsch in **Sumerisches Glossar**, p. 10 (*I a-ri*).

12. See his **Ancient History of the Near East**⁵, pp. 173-4.

13. **Religion and philosophy of the Vedas**, Vol. I, p. 10 n. 1.

head and peculiar skull we find in the Sumerian sculptures.¹⁴ Regarding the further connexion of the Sumerians with the pre-historic dwellers of the Indus basin, I may say that a bust I saw in the Mohenjo-daro Museum in November, 1928, appeared in my eyes as having strong resemblances with Sumerian statues like those of Gudea.¹⁵ G. A. Barton in his recent article in the J. A. O. S., "Whence came the Sumerians?"¹⁶ has combated the Indian hypothesis.¹⁷ But his objection that not all the signs in the seals of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro agree with Sumerian signs creates no great difficulty for we may have here an earlier or a later or a different settlement of the same people and some differences in writing would be inevitable under the circumstances. Consequently the hypothesis that before the advent of the Aryans, the Punjab was inhabited by a people having Sumerian affinities seems still possible or even likely. Consequently a native word *ari* or *erim*, meaning 'foe', could easily affect Aryan usage and give to *a-r i'*='a niggard' the occasional sense of a 'foe', which had the good fortune of surviving as the only meaning of the word in later Sanskrit, to the exclusion of 'a niggard' and of the good sense, 'a kind' or 'noble person'.

14. I must confess that I do not very much believe in identification of races of very different periods on purely anthropometrical grounds, for emigrants have been known to have changed their skulls in a few generations under the influence of the new environment. See Franz Boas, *Changes in the Bodily Form of Immigrants* (Columbia University Press, 1912). Besides this there is always in such cases admixture of blood with other races with a resultant physical change. It cannot be assumed that the present day speakers of Dravidian tongues carry *cent per cent* Dravidian blood. The only safe method that can be pursued for proving or disproving the Sumerian affinity of the Dravidians is linguistic. But for this we require trained linguists, possessing deep first hand knowledge of both the languages and not a Waddell or a Vaidyanatha Ayyar. It may be noted here that like Sumerian, Dravidian languages are agglutinating.

15. See Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26, Plate XXVIII.

16. Vol. 49 pp. 263 ff.

17. pp. 264-6.

Another classical word for 'foe' is **arāti**, which we find in the Rv. S. usually as an abstract or action noun, meaning 'niggardliness', 'envy', 'hostility', etc.,¹⁸ but also as a concrete noun, meaning 'godless person', 'demon' or 'demoness' and 'enemy'.¹⁹ The accent is on the first syllable in both the cases. Consequently we cannot understand the *samāsa* as a '*Bahuvrīhi*', even for the sense of 'enemy'. The change of meaning from 'hostility' to 'a hostile being', without a shift of accent, is probably due to personification, the transition being indicated by the meaning of 'demon' or 'demoness'. We may find a parallel in *dveśas*, which is used in the Rv. S. for both 'animosity' and 'enemy'.²⁰ It is possible, however, that *a'rāti* and *dveśas* as concrete nouns have been influenced by *arī* as a concrete noun meaning 'a foe', because abstract or action nouns (at least those ending in *-as* or *-an*) usually shift the accent to the final syllable, when meaning concrete or agent nouns.²¹

The Sumerian word that has been suggested above as affecting the meaning of the Vedic word *arī* seems to be a native Sumerian word, for though there is a word in that language with the same phonetic value but written differently—its meaning being 'man', 'servant', 'soldier', 'army',²² (1) there seems to be some pictographic connexion between the signs of the two words, (2) the sense 'army' seems to supply the connecting link between 'man' and 'foe' and (3) *ur*,²² 'to bristle', seems to be the

18. I-29-4; II-7-2, 35-6; IV-4-4, 50-11; V-53-14; VI-53-14; VI 16-27, 44-9, 48-16, 59-8; VII-83 3, 5, 97-9; VIII-39-2, 48-3, 60-1; IX-79-3; X-34-14, 63-12, 133-3.

19. I-43-8, 99-1 (*arātīyātā'h*); II-33-9; III-18-1; V-2-6; VI-4-5; VII-1-7; IX-96-10, 97-10; X-85-32.

In III-24-1, IV-26-7, IV-27-2, IX-79-1 and X-57-1, *a'rāti* may possibly be a concrete noun but this is not certain and I-116-21, III-23-5,9, VIII 9-1, VIII-11-3 and VIII-60-4 are wholly doubtful.

20. Grassmann, *Woerterbuch zum Rigveda*, 653.

21. See Macdonell. *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 453.

22. Gadd, *Sumerian Reading Book*, pp. 2 and 182.

root behind both the words.²³ Variety of signs with identical phonetical value is a too well known phenomenon in the Sumerian language to make Gadd's 'erim or Langdon's 'ari a non-Sumerian word.

In conclusion, I wish to remind students of the *Rksamhitā* that other non-Aryan words have been believed to occur in the *Rv. S.*, e.g., *ma n ā* of VIII-67-2, meaning 'a weight or an ornament', connected with the Babylonian word *minu* or *ma-na*²⁴ (from which we have Greek *μνᾶ* and Latin *mina*); we find this latter word also in Sumerian (e.g., in the Inscription of Sin-gashid, king of Erech²⁵ as *ma-na*.)²⁶ It should be noted that *ma n ā*²⁷ occurs only once in the *Rv. S.* and that in the Eighth Book, which for various reasons appears to be a later collection than the rest of the work except Book X. This Eighth Book has also strong western affinities,²⁷ which would make the occurrence of a Sumerian or Babylonian word in it easily intelligible. The other word *manā* occurring four times in the *Rv. S.* thrice means 'devotion or' 'attachment' (I-173 2, IV-33-2 and X-6-3) and once 'wrath' or some such thing (in II-33-5, in connexion with Rudra). In the previous case derivation from *√man* to 'think' > 'to worship' is quite evident. The same etymology seems possible in the latter case too, in view of the fact that *ma n y u'* in the *Rv. S.* means both 'ardour' and 'wrath'. It is, however, tempting to connect *ma n ā* of II-33-5 with the Melanesian word *mana*, well

23. It is at least so for *ari* = 'foe', according to Langdon, *loc. cit.* Delitzsch gives a root II *ar-i* 'to devastate' (*loc. cit.*)

24. King, *First Steps in Assyrian*, p. 291 (k. 251, l. 6).

25. Gadd, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 and 51 (l. 9).

26. See Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographic and Geschichte der alten Orients* part 1, p. 228 n. 1, S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I pp. 27-8-n.

27. See Hopkins in *J.A.O.S.*, XVII. pp. 81ff. In the *Avesta* *minu* occurs twice (Yašt V. 127 and XVII. 10) in the sense of a necklace. See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Woerterbuch*, 1186, under *minav* with note.

known to anthropologists, meaning a mysterious power inhering in a person or object coming in whose contact a man may injure himself.²⁸ The researches of J. Przyluski and following him, of Sunitikumar Chatterji, have abundantly made clear the Austric affinities of many neo-Indian words, which shows that the Austric peoples must have once inhabited India. I am not in a position to determine whether the Melanesian word *mana* is an Aryan loan word or the Vedic word *manā'* of II-33-5 is of Austric origin, but the former may be the right view, because of the double usage of the word *m a n y u'* in Rv. S.²⁹ and the capability of *man* 'to think' of lending itself to the meanings of both good and bad thinking. *A r i'*, however, can hardly have come from a root that can give both 'noble man' and 'foe'.

Post-script.—The above paper was written more than three years ago. Since then I have felt that Indo-European etymology of *arí*='foe' is not absolutely wanting. First of all, we have *arika*='inimically disposed' in Ancient Persian (**Behistun** IV l. 13) though Bartholomae (**Altir wörterbuch**, 189) connects it with Av. *ayra* (=skt. *asra*?). One may also think of Greek *ἐρις* = 'strife' though Brugmann, (**kurze vergleichende Gramatik** §426), Uhlenbeck **Kurzgefasstes etymol. Wörterbuch d ai Sprache** 13 and others have doubted the connexion. It is possible that *arí* = 'noble' and *arí*='foe' of Veda come from two distinct I.E. words of somewhat similar sound. The question is however wrapped in a good deal of obscurity. I allow this paper to be published because the summerian affinity pointed out above is interesting and may be suggestive to those who believe in a prehistoric contact between Indo-European and Sumerian.

28. See Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*,² 12ff, *et passim*.

29. Compare also English *passion*, which has been used both in a good and a bad sense.

PANINI'S GRAMMAR AND THE INFLUENCE OF PRAKRIT ON SANSKRIT.

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It is well-known that Prakritisms are found even in the Vedic language. That it has exercised a great influence also on classical Sanskrit can be shown, among others, from the grammar of Pāṇini himself. A few instances from that work are given in the following lines.

It is a general rule (VIII. 3. 23) that **m** followed by a consonant becomes **ṃ**; e. g. **vanam** (for **vanam**) **hasati**. But when after **m** there is **h** followed by **m**, the first **m** becomes **ṃ** as usual, or it may remain unchanged; e. g. **kim** before **hmalayati** may be either **kiṃ** or remain as **kim** there being no change whatsoever in the second case. But why? It is quite evident from the very observation of Pāṇini that in his time in the country or in a particular part of it the sound **hm** was in many cases not pronounced as it should have been; i. e. first **h** and then **m** uttered in a syllable; but it was pronounced as **mh** owing to metathesis (*varṇa-viparyaya*) as in Prakrit and Indo-Aryan vernaculars. For instance, Skt. **brahmaṇa**, Pkt. **bamhaṇa**, Bihāri **bāmhan**.

Similarly the origin of the next sūtra **na pare naḥ**, (VIII. 3. 27) of Pāṇini where he says that **m** before **h** which is followed by **n** may optionally change to **n** (e. g. **kim** before **hnute** may be either **kim** or **kin**) is the same fact, that is to say, in Pāṇini's time some used to pronounce **hn** as **nh**; and he had to take cognizance of it in his grammar. Cf. Skt. **cinna**; 'mark', Pkt. **ciṇha** (and **cindha**), Od., Beng. **cinha**, Skt. **vahni** 'fire', Pkt. **vaṇhi**.

Kātyāyana noticed such metatheses in three cases more and added here a short sentence saying that **m** before **k** which is followed by **y**, **v**, or **l** optionally changes to them respectively (**yavalapare yavalā vā**, VIII. 3); e. g. **kim** before **hyaḥ**,

hvalayati, and *hlādayati* may be *kiy̐*, *kiṽ*, and *kiḷ̐* respectively. This clearly shows that, as in Pkt. and modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, (i) *hy* was often pronounced as *yh*; (ii) *hv* as *vh*; and (iii) *hl* as *lh*. Cf. (i) Skt. *guhya*, Pkt. *gujjha* (<*gujha* <*guyha*), Beng. *gujjha*) Panj. *gujjhā*, Sind. *gujho*, Guj. *guj*, Mar. *gūj*; Skt. *nahyati*, Pkt. *ṇajjhai*; (ii) Skt. *jihvā*, Pali *jivhā*, Pkt. *jibbhā* (and *jihā*), Beng. *jibbhā* (*jibh*); (iii) Skt. *āhlāda*, Pkt. *alhāda*.

Such euphonic combinations (*sandhi*) as *prejate* (for *pra+ejate*), not *praijate*; or *upoṣati* (for *upa+oṣati*), not *upauṣati* (according to Pāṇini VI. 1. 94); or *adyom* (for *adya+om*), not *adyaum*; or *adyodhā* (for *adya+odhā*, *odhā=ā+ūdhā*), (not *adyaudhā* (in accordance with VI, 1. 95) are instances of Prakritism. It is well known that such forms abound in Pali and Pkt. Kātyāyana notices some other forms of the kind and gives a few examples saying that when ascertainment is not meant (*anīyoge*) the forms like *iheva* (for *iha+eva*), and *adyeva* (for *adya+eva*.) instead of *ihaiva* and *adyaiva* respectively are quite correct. Similarly such words as *sthūlotu* beside *sthūlautu*, *bimboṣṭhī* beside *bimbaṣṭhī* are admissible. For such uses in the Vedic language one may be referred to the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* X.14; Macdonell. *Vedic Grammar* §70.2 (p. 64). He notices also a group of other words which are formed according to the rules of *sandhi* in Pali or Pkt. This group is known to the grammarians as *Śakandhvadi* which includes words like *sāraṅga* (for *sāra+āṅga*), *halīṣā* (for *hala+iṣā*), etc. besides *śakandhu* (for *śaka+andhu*). Later grammarians take this *gaṇa* or group as an *ākṛti-gaṇa* meaning thereby that it does not include only the words which are actually enumerated in it, but also others found in use in literature.

The phenomenon of *ya-śruti* in Pkt. hardly needs any special mention. The literal sense of the word is 'hearing of *y*.' But, in fact, it implies that the *y* meant here is not a *fully* pronounced *y*, but only, so to say, the 'hearing' of it; i.e. *y* which is

uttered with a slighter effort (*laghuprayatnatara-yakāra-śrutir bhavati*. --Hemacandra, VIII 1. 180; Laksmīdhara, I. 3. 10).

Now according to Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 17 for *kaḥ āste* we have *kay āste* (*ḥ* drops and the hiatus is filled up by *y*). So far as Pāṇini is concerned there is nothing to show that this *y* is not a fully pronounced one. But in accordance with Śākaṭāyana quoted by Pāṇini himself (VIII 3. 18) and Vātsapra mentioned in the *Taittirīya Prātis'ākhyā*, X.23, thus *y* is *laghuprayatnatara* 'uttered with a slighter effort.' It is sometimes called *leśa*¹ or 'attenuation' of *y* (*Taittirīya Prātis'ākhyā*, X.23, see Whitney: *Atharvaveda Prātis'ākhyā*, II. 24), and is, in fact, nothing but the *ya-śruti* of the Prakrit grammarians.

It may be gathered from the above that *ŷ* (or *laghuprayatnatara y*, or *leśa* of *y*, or *ya-śruti*) of Śākaṭāyana and Vātsapra changed to a fully developed *y* when Pāṇini wrote his grammar. But according to Śākalya, as says Pāṇini himself (VIII 3.19), in such cases there was no sound either as *ŷ* or as *y*². Gārgya a predecessor or contemporary of Pāṇini is, however, of opinion that only in certain cases that sound is not heard.

All this is quite in agreement with Pkt. in some of the dialects of which there is *ŷ*- while in others it is not.

The case is exactly the same with regard to *v* or *v* (*leśa* of *v*) though there is some difference of opinion according to different authorities.

It may be noted here that it is in this way that such forms as *devayoḥ* (for *deva*+*-os*, gen. or loc. dual), *dāyin* (for *√dā*+*-in*), *vāyu* (for *√vā*+*-u*), etc. or again *bhūvādayah* (for *bhū*+*ādayaḥ*; Pāṇini, I. 3. 1) can very satisfactorily be explained.

(¹) The word *leśa* is explained by a commentator saying *luptavad uccāraṇam*, while another says *ekadeśo yathokta-viśaye lupyate, ekadeśaḥ śrūyate*.

(²) The same view is held also by the author of the *Taittirīya Prātis'ākhyā* (X. 19); while Mācākīya says that after *a* or *ā* *y* and *v* followed by *u* or *o* are dropped (*Op. cit* X. 22)

AŚOKAN VĀSA- 'YEAR'.

R. L. Turner.

The Sanskrit word for 'rain', *vārṣa*- (n., later m.) in the Brāhmaṇas acquires the meaning 'year', for which it becomes the most usual word. But it retained the meaning 'rain', especially in certain compounds, such as *prabandha-varṣa*, *vāta-varṣa*-; and in the plural it continued to mean 'the Rainy Season.' The feminine *varṣā*-, usually in the plural, means only 'rain, Rainy Season.'

In Pali *vassa*- n. means both 'rain' and 'year'; but the plural *vassā* (m? or <Sk. f. pl. *varṣāḥ*?) means only 'the Rainy Season'.

There seems, then, to be already a certain tendency towards differentiation, *viz.* *vārṣa*- n. 'year', *varṣa*- m. and *varṣā*- f. 'rain'. This is continued in Singhalese *vas* 'year' (<*vārṣa*-)¹, but *vasi* 'rain', (<**varṣikā*-enlargement of *varṣā*. or <*vārṣika*-).

Elsewhere other means were used to avoid confusion. The Inscriptions of Aśoka unfortunately do not contain the word for 'rain'; but they have three divergent forms for 'year', a study of which discloses the same striving after differentiation.

In the Girnar inscription 'year' is *vāsa*-. This cannot be from Sk. *vārṣa*-², which would have become *vasa*- (*i. e.* *vassa*-). In the Eastern Inscriptions a long vowel before two consonants is shortened; but in Girnar it remains long, *e. g.* *nāsti* <Sk. *nāsti*, *ātapa*-<*ātma*-. We may therefore read *vāsa*- as *vāssa*- and derive it from Sk. *vārṣā*- yearly. As in several other cases

¹ Replaced in the modern language by *avurudda*. <* *havadura*-, loanword from Pa. *saṃvacchara*-.

² As maintained among others, by Michelson, JAOS. 1911, p. 236; and in the last instance by Hultzsch, Inscr. of Aś., p. LIX. I have shown in Bull. SOS. VI. 2 that *kāṣati* 'will do', sometimes quoted in support of the hypothesis that *ass* > *ās*, is probably to be read *kāṣṣati* and is certainly a future made on the pattern of **dāṣṣati* <Sk. *dūṣyāti*.

(e.g. Sk. *bailvā-* which in Pk. *bella-*, Hi. *bel* etc. supplants *bilva-*) the Vṛddhi adjective was used to form a substantive, which with its long vowel provided a word distinct from *vassa-* 'rain' (<Sk. *vārṣa-*, *varṣā-*),

Whether *vaṣa-* of Shah. Man is to be read *vaṣṣa-* or *vāṣṣa-*, we cannot say in the absence of any modern form for 'year' from this word. *vāṣṣa-* may have existed, but subsequently been driven out of use by collision, e.g. in Sindhi, with a loanword of the type *vāsu* m. 'scent'. But the apparently complete absence of a descendant of *vāṣṣa-* in all NW. languages renders it probable that the form is to be read as *vaṣṣa-*.

The forms of the Eastern group- *vaśa-*, *vaṣa-*, and *vasa-* (i.e. *vaśṣa-*, etc.)- may be derived from earlier *vāssa-*, and have then fallen together with *vaśṣa-* < *vārṣa-*. But we have no criterion for deciding.

In Girnar, in one instance, there appears another form, viz. *varsa-*, in place of the usual *vāsa-* (*vāssa-*). Here is another device to find a form for the word for 'year' different from that for 'rain', namely the borrowing of a learned Sanskrit form.

It is this procedure which has been generally adopted (subsequently to the Aśokan Inscriptions) in most Indo-Aryan areas to provide a word for 'year': Pk. *varisa-* m.n.; Rom. eur. *berš* m., Syr. *wars*, Shina *bāriṣ* (pl. *bārizi*) m. Kash *warihy*, *waharm*. W. Pab. pād. cam. *barh*, Nep. *barsa* Ass. *barih*, Bg. *barih*, Or. *barsa*, Hi. *baras* m., Pj. *varah* m., Si. *varhyu* m., Guj. *vāras* n., Mar. *varis* n.

In distinction to this the North-West preserves *vārṣa-*, *varṣā-* in the sense of 'rain': Kalasha *bashik* 'cloud', Torwali *baṣā* m. 'Summer' (?), Kash. *woṣu* m. 'shower'. Si. *vasa* f. 'rain'.

In Shina, where it might collide with *baṣ* f. 'language' (<*bhāṣā-*), it has been replaced by *ázū* m. <Sk. *abhrá-* n. m. or *ādrá-* (cf. *ázū* adj. 'wet').

In Lahndā and Panjabi, where it might collide with *vass* m. 'power' (<Sk. *vaśya*- n. ?), it has been replaced by *mēh* m. Sk. < *meghā*- m. 'cloud'.

In the Centre, South, and East, where MI. *vassa*-> **vās*, **bās*-would certainly collide with *vās*, *bās* <Sk. *vāsā*-, it has been replaced in various ways.

In Marathi the compound *prāvṛṣa*- m. 'the Rainy Season' provides a general term for 'rain', *viz.* *pāūs* m. (Hi. *pāwas* m. and Guj. *pāvas* m. retain the meaning 'Rainy Season'). In Gujarati another compound, *varsūd* m. (<OGuj. *varasūt*, cf. Sk. *varṣārātra*- and see below), is the usual word for 'rain'. Hindi, like Lahnda and Panjabi, uses *mēh* m. <*meghā*-. In Nepali *pāni* (<Sk. *pāṇīya*-n.) is the general term for rain; the corresponding word *pārī* m. is also so used in Hindi. Bengali has *jal* (<Sk. *jala*-, or perhaps loanword) or the Sanskrit loanword *br̥ṣṭi* or *bisti*. Only in Nepali, and there only in the compound *bāsi-bido* 'cessation of the Rains', does *varṣā*- or *vārṣika*- survive.

In Prakrit the loanward *varisa*- means both 'year' (see above) and 'rain': in the modern Indo-Aryan languages the meaning, as we have seen, is restricted to 'year'. But the compound *varisāratta*- n. (formed after Sk. *varṣā-rātri*- f., *varṣā-rātra*-n. : Pa. *vassāratta*-n.), in which the *varisa*- 'rain' is not liable to be confused with *varisa*- 'year', remains in a number of languages in the sense of 'the Rainy Season', *viz.* Kash. *waharāth* (dat. *waharōiü*) f. Guj. *varsād* m. (only 'rain'), Nep. Hi. *barsūt* f., Bg. *barisā*, Or. *barasā*.¹

The verb *vārṣati*> Pa. *vassati* survives in the North-West: Kash. *waśun*, Lah. *vassan*., Si. *vasaṇu*. But in the Centre, South and East, where *vass*-> **vās*-, **bās*-would collide with *vās*- *bās*- < *vāsayati* and *vāśyate*, it is descendants of Pk.

1. With-ā <-ātra-, as in Pk. amg. *rāi* <*rātri*-, Sgh. *pā* <*pātra*-.

varisaū (loanword from Sk. **várṣati**) which are employed: Ku. **barsaṇo**, Nep. **barsanu**, Ass. **barahiba**, Or. **barasibā**, Hi. **barasnā**, Guj. **varasvū**, Mar. **varasṇē**. This extends even into Panjabi with **varhṇā**: for here **vass-** 'to rain' collides with **vassṇā** 'to stop'.

Finally, though **varisa-** loses its meaning 'rain', there is no likelihood of confusion between the verb **varisaū** 'rains' and the substantive **varisa-** 'year'.

[Contributed in 1930.]

DHARMAPRABHASŪRI'S VERSION OF THE KĀLAKĀCĀRYAKATHA ¹

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Up to the present texts of four versions of the Kālakācārya-kathā or ²kathānakam have been published, three of these from single manuscripts, the fourth in a more or less critical edition; in addition there is a Kālakasūriprabandha in the Prabhāvākacarita.³ Other versions are in existence, represented by numerous Mss. in Jaina bhāṇḍāras and in other collections in India, Europe, and America. Many of these I have photographed, or copied, or collated with manuscripts already transcribed by me, and most of these versions, I shall, in due course, publish. In addition there are a number of references to Kālaka in Jaina works, giving incidents from the Kālakācāryakathā and in some cases additional information. Such references as I have found will, in their proper place, be incorporated in a study of the Kālaka cycle. In this paper I propose to present only a critical edition with translation and a few notes of one version of the Kālakācārya legend, namely that composed as a summary (saṃkṣepataḥ) by the sūri Dharmaprabha in the Saṃvat year 1339.

(1) This edition and translation of Dharmaprabhasūri's version of the Kālakācāryakathā is a portion of a study of the Kālaka cycle made by me during the year 1928-29 as a fellow on the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. The materials were mostly collected in India.

(2) The editions to which reference is made are: (1) "Das Kālakācārya-Kathānakam", by Professor Jacobi in **ZDMG** 34. 247-318 (cf. **ZDMG** 35. 675-679); (2,3) "Zwei weitere Kālaka Legenden", by Professor Ernst Leumann in **ZDMG** 37. 493-520; (4) **Sri-Kālakācāryakathā**, being in appendix to the **Sri-Kalpa-sūtra**, vol. 18 of the Sheth Devchand Lalbhai Jain Pustakodhar Fund Series, Bombay, 1914. (This is a brief Sanskrit version in 65 stanzas); (5) **Prabhāvākacarita**, ed. Pandit Hirananda M. Sharma, Bombay. Tukaram Javaji. 1909 (pp. 36 ff.) The name Kālaka alternates with the form Kālaka.

This version is one of the two published by Professor Leumann from single Mss. and without translation. His Ms. gave no indication of the date of composition and contained a number of false readings which can now be corrected. A number of errors in his Ms. were successfully emended by him, as will appear in my critical notes. By a strange coincidence the other version published by Professor Leumann bears a peculiar relation to that of Dharmaprabha. It is the version ascribed to Bhāvadeva sūci, whose date was unknown to Professor Leumann in 1883 when he published the text, but who flourished in **Samvat 1312²**, sixty-seven years before Dharmaprabha. Bhāvadeva composed his *Kālikācāryakathānakam* in **śloka** metre; Dharmaprabha, as seems obvious from a comparison of the texts, largely based his version on Bhāvadeva's or one very close to it, abbreviated, changed the metre to āryā, with a few other metres used sporadically, and added one onomatopoeic stanza describing the rainy season. The most important differences between the two are in proper names. I have not published Bhāvadeva's version here but shall perhaps do so elsewhere, as I already have the materials at hand for a critical edition.

In preparing this edition of Dharmaprabha's text, I have used five Mss. These are clearly divided into two groups (here designated A and B), yet all seem to come from a common source for all seem to have common corruptions, namely in stanza 9 **nomūlemi** for **nommūlemi**; in stanza 20, where all read **patto** instead of **patte**; and in stanza 43, where all read **suttam** for **mottum**. For differences between A and B. see stanzas 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18, et **passim**.

The following abbreviations are used to indicate the manuscript sources of my edition.

A / Lohar Pol Bhandar (Ahmedabad), No. 33-3-3, being folios 93 verso to 98 verso of an illustrated paper Ms. of the *Kalpasūtra*. Dated **Samvat 1513**.

(1) See in Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārśvanātha* (Baltimore; The Johns Hopkins Press, 1919), p. 3.

n **Vijayanemistūri's** Bhandar (Cambay), No. 181/2, being folios 137B-144B of an illustrated paper Ms. of the *Kālpasūtra*. Although all the folio numbers are present, nevertheless one folio is missing containing stanzas 44-50. No date.

b. Preuss. Staats-bibliothek (Berlin), Or. Mss. folio 1737, being an illustrated paper Ms. of 5 folios. No date.

B *w* Wādi **Pārśvanātha** Bhandar (Patan), No. 18. 19. Illustrated paper Ms. of 5. folios Dated **Samvat** 1502.

i India Office Library (London), bundle 1530. No date. I have not examined this Ms. but have relied entirely upon Leumann's edition of it; see the following item.

[**L** The foregoing Ms. as published by Leumann in **ZDMG** 37 (1883). 505-509.]

Words or forms which I have not found in the **Paia-Sadda-Mahannavo** (that most welcome work by Pandit Har Govind Das, T. Sheth, in 4 vols., Calcutta, 1923-28) are.

Khetta for **kṣipta** (stanza 6)

kārai (causative of **kr**; stanza 35)

āra for ādara (stanza 42; noted by Leumann)

pairiccham, **pairittham** for pratirathyam (stanza 10)

Si for **srī** (?) (stanza 19)

ūraṇi from **anṛṇa** (stanza 31; noted by Leumann)

arham

nayarammi Dharāvāse
putto Kālāya · kumaro
so patto kilāe
suṇiya Guṇāgara · guruṇo
ṭhaviyo ya so gurūhim
viharanto Ujjenim
sāha sahuṇihimattattha ya

āsī siri · Vairasiṃha · rāyassa
devī · Surasundarī · jāo. 1
ujjāṇe annayā ya dhammakaham
pāse paḍivajjai dikkham. 2
sūri · pae ' nega · sīsa · pariyario
patto aha tassa lahu · bhainī 3
mahā · saī Śarasai - tti sampattā,

bahi viyarantī dīṭṭhā
 aha handa mahā · muṇi ha hā
 mama sila · mahā · maṇiṃ ha hā
 iya vilavantī mayañ' āureṇa
 pāveṇa teṇa gahiṇaṃ

bāleṇa balā bālā
 aha taṃ nāuṃ sūri

candā aggī sūrā
 tā rāya munca eyaṃ.
 tav · vayanāṃ taṃni viṣaṃ

to avagaṇṇiya · vayaṇo
 jai n' ommūlemi ahaṃ

evaṃ kaya · ppainno

bhamai ummatta · veso

yadi guru balaḥ so 'yaṃ rājā tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ
 yadi ca nagari se 'yaṃ ramyā tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ
 svapimi yadi vā sūnye gehe tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ
 pratigṛham atho yāce bhikṣāṃ tataḥ kim ataḥ paraṃ. 11

(harinī)

taṃ datṭhaṃ taḥabhūyaṃ
 so vi bhaṇai: uvaesaṃ
 vuttantaṃ taṃ nāuṃ
 sāhaṇusāhi-tti nivo
 sāhiss' egassa pure
 āvajjai aṇudiyahaṃ.
 sāhaṇusāhi · pahio

niveṇa sā Gaddabhilleṇa. 4

aha hā Kālaya sūri · pungava
 hīrantam naṇu rakkha
 rakkhaha. 5 (vāitāliya)

khettā anteure, avvo. 6

tattha gao bhaṇai: n' esa niva ·
 dhammo;

tamo ya jai, tā hao loo. 7
 sangheṇa vi so taheva vinnatto.
 jāyaṃ dugghaṃ va sappa ·
 muhe. 8

sūri karae imaṃ painnam tu:
 to 'haṃ ciya sangha · paḍi-
 kūlo. 9

nivaṃ ca vijjā · bal' ukkaḍaṃ
 muṇiṃ

'pairiceham imo-tti cavamāṇo: 10

nivaṃ tu bohinti manti · sāmāntā.
 gantūṇaṃ deha niya piṇṇo 12.
 Saga · kūlaṃ so gao muṇi. tattha
 sāmāntā sāhiṇo khāyā. 13.
 ṭhiomuṇi taṃ ca manta · tantehiṃ
 ah' annayā sāhiṇo tassa 14
 dūo tatth' āo churiya · haṭṭho.

¹ pairiceham (B pairittham), from pratirathyam: for assimilation of vowels, see Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, section 177. The meaning is borne out by other texts, as in ZDMG 34. 261, line 44, tiya · caṭṭka · mahāpaha · tṭhāṇesu ya imaṃ palavanto hiṇḍai.

taṃ pikkhiyo vicchāyaṃ
 so sīsai: maha eso
 taḥa annesiṃ ankā
 bhaṇṇi gurū mā tappasu
 vaccaha Hinduga · dese
 jāv' uttarittu Sindhuṃ
 vās'āgamo payatto.
 yatr ca varṣāgame

si · riraṃsu · sūro sūro sosarā sarasī rasā
 sāsār'āsā susār'āsa sariraṃsu sārāsā saraṃ. 19¹

patte sarae Mālava ·
 sāhinti sambalassā
 cunna · jogeṇa kaṇayaṃ
 pattā Mālava · desaṃ.
 nīharīo nayaṛīo

jujjhai. aha bhagga · balo
 taṃ nayaṛiṃ vedheuṃ

ṭhiyaṃ nivaṃ puechae sūri. 15
 khudd'āeso ya sāmīṇā pahio
 paṇcāṇauī ya sāhīṇaṃ. 16
 meliya egattha sāhīṇo savve
 teṇa vi savvaṃ taḥeva kayāṃ. 17
 pattā Soratṭha · maṇḍalaṃ tāva
 ṭhiyā hu tatth' eva te cchāiu.ṃ
 18

visayaṃ pai periyā u te muṇiṇā
 'bhāvaṃ. to buddhimaṃ sūri 20
 pāḍai. taṃ te vigiṇhiuṃ cāliyā
 taṃ jāṇiya Gaddabhilla · nivo. 21
 sa · visaya · sandhiṃmi gantu
 tehiṃ samaṃ

purim pavittḥo siyālu vva. 22
 ṭhiyā; tao sahiṇo 'nayaṇa sunnaṃ

¹ The editing of this stanza is conjectural. In the first place I do not know the metre. It could conceivably be a very free **śloka** (for such pādas see in Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, pp. 453, 458), but this hardly seems probable. As chāyā I suggest:

śrī · riraṃsu · sūryaḥ sūraḥ sa · ūsarā sarasī rasān

sāsāra · āsā · susāra · āsāḥ asmārṣuḥ (or asvārṣuḥ) sār-
 asāḥ saraḥ (or, svaram).

si for śrī is difficult, although the **Paia-Sadda-Mahāṇṇavo** (by. Paudit Har Govind Das; Calcutta, 1923-28; 4 vols.) records si for śrī. In n there appears a commentary written in marginally, but only one line of it appears in my photograph. It seems doubtful if the commentary could give the correct rendering. for in the first part of the stanza n reads isiraṃsu².

gaḍham āloiya sūriṃ
ajj' atthamii kattha vi
taṃ ea niyacchaha tubbhe.

sitthā guruṇo. teṇa vi
succhā saddaṃ savvaṃ
osaraha gāuya · dugam
atthasayaṃ mahaṃpāse
aha jāva gaddabbhīe
tīe avihiya · saddāe ceva johehiṃ
tūṇaṃ va pūriyaṃ tam.

kāuṃ vittham natthā;
bandhittu Gaddabhillo
gaḍham tajjiya dikkham
niddhāḍio sa · desā;
thavio, sā vi hu bhainī
aha te Saga tti khāyā.
jāo Vikkama · rāo
tatto puṇa paṇatīse
jeṇ' ankio ya samvatsarotti. pāsan giyaṃ iṇam o. 32

pucchinti ya; so vi vajjarai: 23
sāhai rāyā hu gaddahiṃ vijjaṃ;
tehiṃ ya atṭālae ditthā. 24

vuttaṃ: kaya · sāhaṇāe eyāe
niya · sinnam aceyaṇaṃ hohī. 25
tubbhe; tā saddaveha · jhāṇaṃ
thaveha. tehiṃ ya tabā vihiyaṃ 26
dūraṃ uppāḍiyaṃ muhaṃ tāva.
baṇehiṃ. 27

sā haya · satti-tti Gaddabhill'
uvarim

sāhihiṃ purī ya sā bhaggā. 28
paṇāmio sūriṇo ya. teṇāvi
aṇabhilasanto abhavvo so 29
aha sūrihiṃ tu samjame appā
pāyacchittena sujjhaviyā. 30
tav · vaṃsaṃ chindiūṇṇ puṇa
kāle puhavi jeṇ' ūraṇī vihiyā. 31
vāsa · sae naravaī Sago āsī.

siri Kālagasūri aha'

Balamitta · Bhāṇumittā
vandanti gurū dhammaṃ

tīe suo Balabhāṇu
aha tattha duttha · eitto
kārai aṇesaṇ'āim.
Marahittha · visaya · maṇḍaṇa ·
tatth' atthi Sālivāhana ·

Bharuayaccha · puram gayā
viharamāṇā.

sūriṇaṃ tattha bhainī · suyā. 33.
suṇanti. tāṇaṃ ea bhainī ·
Bhāṇusirī.

giṇhai dikkham bhava · viratto. 34.
purohio sūri · niggamōvāe
sūri vi hu taṃ muṇeūṇaṃ 35
Puhaitthāṇaṃmi pattāṇe pattā.
nivaī su · ssāvaō paramo. 36

mahayā vicchadḍeṇaṃ	pavesiyā teṇa te puraṃ niyayaṃ
thoūṇa vandiūṇaṃ	saṃthaviyā phāsue thāṇe. 37
aha patto pajjusaṇā ·	samao. to vinnavati nivo sūriṃ:
bhaddavaya·suddha ·pancami	diṇaṃmi Indo ·nugantavvo; 38
hohi na dhamma ·kiccaṃ	jaṇḍuvittī vāvaḍassa maham.
tā chaṭṭhi diṇe kuvvaha	pajjusaṇaṃ. to gurū bhaṇai: 39
avi ya calai Merū, sīyalo hoi aggī,	
muyai niyaya ·meram sāyaro vā kayā vi,	
avi ya divasa ·nāho uggame pacchimāe,	
na parivasana ·pavvaṃ pancam im akkamei. 40 (mālīni)	
to bhaṇai nivo: tamhā	cautthi divasaṃmi kuṇaha
	pavvaṃ tu.
taṃ guruṇā 'v' aṇuṇṇāyaṃ	jaṃ bhaṇiyaṃ āgame paya-
	ḍaṃ: 41
āreṇī vi hu pajjosaviyavvaṃ.	to bhaṇai nivo tuṭṭho:
bhayavaṃ aṇugahio 'haṃ	jaṃ maha anteurīṇaṃ tu 42
pakkhōvavāsa ·pāraṇa ·	divasaṃmi ya bhattam-esāṇā,
	suddham
sāhūṇ' uttara·vāraṇa ·	divasaṃmi bhavissae bahu-
	yam. 43
pajjosavaṇā ·pavvaṃ	Kālagasūriṃ iya cautthīe
vihiyaṃ kāraṇa ·vasao	sangheṇ' aṇumaniyaṃ taiyā. 44
jaṃ āsi sāhu ·pūyā ·	paro jaṇo tattha kira tayā visae
tap ·pabhī sāhu ·pūya	nāma maho ajja vi pasiddho. 45
aha kāleṇaṃ savve	niya ·sīse viṇaya ·vajjīe nāṃ
sutte mottuṃ sijjāyaraṃ ca	jaṇāvium sūri 46
niya ·sisa ·sisa ·Sāgarasūri ·	pāse gao; na so teṇa
uvalakkhio ya vutto:	kiṃ vakkhāṇaṃ mae thera 47
ruiraṃ kayaṃ na va tti ya.	bhaṇiyaṃ guruṇā vi: aivaraṃ
	vihiyaṃ.
aha te vi duṭṭha ·sisā	pucchiya sijjāyaraṃ kiechā, 48
tatth' āgayāu Sāgarasūriṃ	pucchanti jāva, tā diṭṭhā
guruṇo. vandiya khāmanti	pāya ·laggā puṇa puṇo vi. 49
aha lajjio ya Sāgarasūri raya ·	punja ·tiyaga diṭṭhantaṃ
vutto gurūhiṃ bahuḥā	khāmei puṇo puṇo paṇao 50

Sakko 'mayā Videhe

Sīmandhara · jīṇa · varā suya ·
nigoo

pucchai: Bharāhe bhayavaṃ ko v' atthi viyārago esiṃ. 51

bhaṇiyaṃ jīṇa: Kālagasūri atthi tti. to taḥiṃ gantūṃ

māhaṇa · rūvaga · harinā nigoya · bhee gurū puttḥo. 52

golā ya asaṃkhijjā iccāi kahei. to niyayam āuṃ

putṭho jāṇiya sūri jampei: Purandaro taṃ si. 53

to payaḍiya niya · rūvaṃ aisaya · nāṇeṇa teṇa tuṭṭha · maṇo

Sakko thuṇai Kālagasūriṃ nāṇaviha · thuḥiṃ. 54

ghana · garjitam iva yasya vacaḥ śrutvā bhavika · samājah

narinartti 'ha śikhi 'va mudā: dhanyastvaṃ muni · rāja 55

iya thuṇiya sa · ṭhāṇaṃ pāvio deva · rāyā.

aha muṇiya niy'āuṃ catta · bhatto muṇ'indo

aisaya · saya · jutto so vi patto surattaṃ.

ti · jaga · kitti deu sanghassa bhaddaṃ. 56 (mālini)

iti śrī · Kālikācārya · kathā saṃkṣepataḥ kṛtā

aṅkāṣṭa · yakṣa · varṣe 'sāu śrī · Dharmaprabhasūribhiḥ.

57 (śloka)

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

1 ¹ has lacuna (°vā) se ā (sī) 3 *b* Slightly confused but intends
yario 4 *b* Sarassāsaraiti 5 *i* °gave (*L* emends); *B* omits ha
after °maṇiṃ (*L* supplies), *b* omits ha hā but adds in correction;
i, hīranta (*L* emends): *i* rarakkha (for rakkha, *L* emends): *nb*
rakkhabhā 6 *B* gahiūṇa; *B* baleṇa (*L* emends); *b* omits bālā but
adds in correction; all MSS khettā (*L* emends to khittā); *i* atṭho
L conjectures anto) 7 *i* ṇesa *i* sūri (but *L* in vocabulary sūra);
L punctuates tamo ya: jai tā, hao loo S *n* vinnatto; *i* jāya (*L*
emends); *w* ca for va 9 *l* the original writing of the MS seems
to have become faint; over it is pasted a slip of paper on which
are reproduced parts of the text, as follows: to avagaṇiyavayalo
sūri va . . . ima paṇṇaṃ tta jai nomūlemi aha to ha ciya siṃ
. . . paḍikūlo (9) . . . vaṃ . . . innoni .vavijjābalukkada: then

¹Is the metre of this stanza a Sanskrit representation of the
dohā?

original writing is resumed. Only *n* reads **avagaṇṇiya**, others °gaṇiya (*L* emends to **avamanniya**); *i* kaeme (*L* emends); *w* pannamimtu; *m* jai nno°; all MSS **nomūlemi**, emendation here on basis of readings of other versions of *Kālakācāryakathā*, which regularly show verb **ummūlemi** 10 metre irregular; all MSS **painno** (emendation following *L*'s suggestion); *b* confused but intends **vijjā**; 1 (see note to *stadza* 9); *b* **ummutta**; *B* **aisitham** (*L* divides **pai · rittham-imo**); *L* emends **cava°** to **vacamāṇo** 14 *n*_{bw} **sūnye**: for *atho* *L* conjectures **ato**.

12 *B* **duṭṭham**; *B* **piyaṇo** 13 *n* **taṃ vutta°**; *B* **sāhaṇṇsāha** 15 *i* **vitthāyaṃ** (*L* emends); *b* **nava** (for *nivam*) 16 *b* omits **paho** 17 *i* **gaccha** (*L* **melīyae gaccha**); *b* **suvve**; *B* **Hindaga** (*L* emends) 18 *w* **patto**; *B* **ṭhayā** (*L* emends); *A* **cchāiṃ**, *i* **cchāiyiṃ**, *w* **cchāiyam** (text here with *L*; *Bhāvadevasūri*'s version, in *śloka* metre, has **ṭhiyā tatthi° eva cchāiṃ**) metre irregular 19 *l* starting with (sa) **rasī** and continuing through **tesu** (for *te mu°*) of stanza 20 the original text is covered with a repair slip on which appears a fragmentary copying of the original; *n* **sisiramṣu**, *i* **ssiriṃ rasu**; *n* **sarasā · rasā**; *i* . **tu sāra** . (for °su **sārasā**), *i* **uspāra** (for °su **sāra°**, *L* **sussāra**) 20 MSS **patto** (text here with *L*; *Bhāvadeva*'s version **patte saraya · kālaṃmi muṇiṇā Mālavam pai periya**); *l* **sohinti** 21 *i* **kaṇaṇam**; *B* **vigīṇho**; metre irregular 22 in **nṭhariṃ**; *b* **mantu** (for **gantu**); *i* **tehi**; *w* **saṃmam**

23 *i* **vedhio** (*L* emends); *b* **gāḍham**; *b* omits *so* but adds as correction, *B* **chajjarai**, *b* **jjarai** but adds syllable **ba** as correction 24 *bB* **tehi** 25 *n* **sāhaṇṇāe**; *l* **sannam** (for **sinnam**) 26 *b* **usaraha**; *l* **saddavehi**; *b* **ppāse**; *b* wrote **ṭhaveha** but corrected it to °hi; *B* **tehi**, *b* **ehiṃ**; *B* **vikayaṃ** 27 *B* **uppāḍiya** (*L* emends); *B* **avihaya** 28 *n*_b **satta** (*L* emends); *i* **kāo** (*L* emends); *i* **sāhihi** 29 *b* **bandhitu**; *L* emends to **surīṇā**; *l* has lacuna beginning with *ya* and ending with **dikkham**, due to a repair slip having been pasted over the original text 31 *b* **chidiṇṇa**, *i* **ched°** 32 *i* **Saggo** (*L* emends); *i* **saṃvaccharo** 33 *i* **puraḥ** (for **pnram**) (*L* emends) 34 *i* **vadanti** (*L* emends) *i* **guru** (*L* **guruṃ**)

35 All MSS *kārai*, *L* emends to *karei*, which is against metre; *B* āi (for āim, *L* āi; *B* munṣayaṇaṃ 36 w ssāvaī, but corrects to °vao 37 *B* mahiyā (*L* emends); *A* vichadḍeṇaṃ; *b* pāsue 38 i bho (for to, *L* emends); *B* vinnavatti (*L* emends), *b* vinnave 39 w pajjasanaṃ 40 w omits ya before calai; *n* meru; w niya-meram; *l* original text of portions (me) ram . . . nā (ho) and (pariva) sana . . . bhina (i) (stanza 41) covered by repair slip, but first section is rewritten on slip; *l* tha diva; w disava, but corrects 41 *l* covers original text (divasaṃmi) . . . jam with blank repair slip; *i* aṇuṇāyaṃ 42 *i* areṇāvi (*L* emends); *i* aṇuggaheo haṃ (*L* suggests aṇuggaho 'mhaṃ 44 osūrihī; *n* a folio of MS missing, starting with iya and extending through atthi in stanza 51 (numbering of folios does not indicate loss) 45 This stanza does not appear in *B*, although *i* preserves the words ajja vi pasiddho and in the numbering of its stanzas the number 50, making stanza 51 correspond in number with our 51; w numbers the last stanza of its text 56, where 55 would be the correct number, and the next to the last 54, thus omitting the number 55. It is possible that this confusion of the numbering indicates a source, immediate or remote, for w containing our stanza. At the corresponding place in *Bhāvadevasūri's* version, which is close to *Dharmaprabhasūri's*, there is a stanza corresponding in meaning to this. The text here is from *l* and *b*. It seems probable that the missing folio of *n* also had the stanza, for when the text of *n* is resumed the numbering of stanzas corresponds with that of the stanzas in our edition.

43 *b* savvaṃ; all MSS suttam (emendation gives conformity *n* meaning with other versions); *bi* jāṇāvio (*L* emends) 47 *b* eṇaṃ (for teṇa) 49 *l* tattha gayāo; *b* pucchinti; all MSS khāmaṇti (*L* emends to khāmaṇti); *b* laggā ya puṇa puṇa vi 50 i guru°; *i* puṇo puṇo o (*L* conjectured pu° pu° guruṇo) 51 Sakkonayā; *b* Bharaho 53 *b* āo 54 *B* paḍiya (*L* emends); *b* teṇai a tu° 55 *ln* dhanyas tvam, dhanyas tvam dhanyas tva n, bi dhanyas tvam dhanyas tvam, w dhanyas tvam dha

56 *n* patthio (for pāvio); *b* nimāuṃ; *n* jaya (for jaga) Memorial stanzas with the dates of the various Kālakas appear in several of the MSS, namely *i*, which has four as stanzas 56-59); *w*, which has four stanzas as glosses written on margins at appropriate parts of the text; *l* which has three; and *b*, which has one, written on margins as glosses at appropriate points in text. They are as follows:

1. found only in *i*, syllables in parentheses missing from MS, supplied by *L*

bārasā vā(sa) · saeuṃ
caudisi paḍhama · paveso

pannās'ahi(e)su Vaddhamāṇāo
pakappio Sāya · sūrīhi.

2. found in *liw*

sirivīrāu (i °rāo) gaesum

paṇatīs'ahiesu ti · varisa'saesum
(1 °su)

paḍhamo Kāлага (i °ka) sūrī

jāo Sāmajja · nāma (w nāmu,
l nānāma) tti.

3. Found in *iw*; was in *l*, but with exception of a few akṣaras is now covered by a repair slip.

causaya · tipanna · varise

Kāлага · (w °liga) gurunā
Sarassāi gahiyā;

causaya · (i omits saya) sattari ·

varise Virāo Vikkamo (w
Vikamo) jāo.

4. found in *liw*

navasaya · teṇauehiṃ (i °nūe°, w teṇaunavasaehiṃ l °ṇaue°)
samaikkantehiṃ Vaddhamāṇāo

pajjosavaṇa · (w pajusa°) cautthī (i cotthī) Kālaya (w°ga)
sūrīnto ṭhaviyā.

5. found only in *w*

vīsehiṃ diṇehi kappo
navasai · teṇūehiṃ

vaṃcaga · hāṇī kappāṭṭhavaṇā ya
vucchiṇṇā sangha · āṇāe.

6. found only in *b*,

ṭinnisae 335 paṇatīse

nigoya · vakkhāya Kāligāyario;

causaya · tipanna (**MS** tippanna) · varase 453 Kāligagu (**MS** ga)

ruṇā Sarassai gahiyā

57 n ankāṣṭakayakṣavarṣesāuśrī *with lacuna to bh:h*

b iti Kālikācārya · kathā saṃkṣepataḥ kṛtā

i iti śrīkālikācārya · kathā kṛtā śrī Dharmaprabhasūribhiḥ

w iti śrīkālikācāryakathā.

z as above, actually writing in pāda c ankā 9 ṣṭa 8 yakṣa
13 varṣe

TRANSLATION

In the city of Dharāvāsa King Vajrasimha had a son, prince Kālaka, born of queen Surasundarī. He once went for amusement to a park, heard a sermon by the master Guṇākara, and received initiation from him. He was established by the master in the position of sūri (pontiff), went wandering about with a following of many disciples, and came to Ujjayinī. (1—3c).

Then his younger sister, the very holy Sarasvatī, arrived there with many nuns. As she was going outside,¹ king Gardabhilla saw her. (3d—4).

“Ah, alas, great sage, alas, alas, Kālaka, sūri-chief, save, I beg, the great jewel of my virtuous conduct, which, alas, is being raped. Oh, save!” Even as she cried out thus, the girl was seized by the hair by that lust-diseased villain, and forcibly cast into his harem. O shame! (5—6).

When the sūri learned this, he went there and said, “This is not kingly conduct. If fire comes from the moon and darkness from the sun, then the people are destroyed. Therefore, king, set her free!” The congregation, too, admonished him in the same way. Their word turned to poison in him like milk in a snake’s mouth. (7—8).

Then, when the sūri saw the counsel scorned, he took this oath, “If I do not uproot (this fellow), then I, even I, am an enemy of the congregation.” After he had taken this oath, being aware that the king was superior through the power of a magic art, he took the guise of a mad man, so as to wander along all the highways, crying out: “If this king has great might, then what is there beyond that? And if this city is charming, then what is there beyond that? And if I sleep in a deserted

1. Collateral versions make it clear that she had gone outside to the latrine (*vijāra. bhūmie niggaṃā*). A low fellow, this Gardabhilla, to be hanging around the nuns’ latrine. (Sarasvatī had become a nun when Kālaka was ordained monk).

house, then what is there beyond that? And if I go begging from house to house, then what is there beyond that?" (9—11).

When the ministers and nobles saw Kālaka in this state, they admonished the king. He replied to them, "Go give advice to your fathers!" (12).

The muni heard of this affair and went to Śakakūla¹. There the king was called Sāhaṇusāhi and the nobles Sāhi. The muni stayed in the city of a certain sāhi and daily won his favour with charms and sorcery. A messenger once came there sent by the Sāhaṇusāhi with a sword in his hand. When the king saw him he went pale; and the sūri asked the reason. The king explained, "This (messenger) has been sent to me by my lord with a dreadful command,² and just so, according to the number, to the 95 other sāhis³." (13—16).

The master said, "Do not be worried!. Call together all the sāhis in one place, and go to India (the country Hinduga)." And he did all just so. When they had crossed the Indus and came to the region of Sāurāṣṭra (Surat), the rains broke, and they remained right there. (17—18).

Where at the advent of the rains: The Sun eager for intercourse with Srī (or, eager to enjoy rich substance), the warrior, and the lake with its salty ground longed for the essences and the cranes that eat the riches of the stormy skies uttered their cry (or longed for the pool). (19)³.

When autumn came the muni urged them to go to the land of Mālava (Malwa), but they announced that they had no sup-

1. Is this the name of a country or merely of the region east of the Indus!

2. The command was to cut off his head with the sword and send it to the Sāhaṇusāhi in a metal pot which the messenger had brought. The number 96 was written on the sword.

3. Translation conjectural. (The sun sucks up water; the warrior longs for the rains as a period of rest and love—play on *rasa*).

plies. Then the wise sūri by means of magic powder made gold;⁴ this they shared and went to the land of Mālava. King Gardabhilla heard of this, came out from his city, went to the border of his kingdom, and fought with them. Then his army was smashed, and like a jackal he entered his city. (20—22).

The sāhis invested the city; then one day they saw the fort empty, and they inquired of the sūri. He told them, "At some time to-day, which is the eighth, the king will accomplish the "She-Ass" magic art. You must watch for it." When they saw it (the She-Ass) on a tower, they reported it to the master. He said, "When the charm for it is completed, our entire army, on hearing it bray, will become lifeless. You must withdraw two gavyūtas⁵; then put under my command 108 warriors (bowmen) who take aim by sound." And this they did. (23—26).

Then as soon as the She-Ass's mouth was wide open, but before it had uttered a sound, the soldiers filled it with arrows, as though it were a quiver. The She-Ass, because its power was destroyed, dinged upon Gardabhilla and fled. And the sāhis broke into the city. (27—28).

Gardabhilla was bound and made over to the sūri. The muni rebuked him sternly; but he had no desire to renounce the world, being unfitted for salvation, and the muni banished him from his land. Then the sūri devoted himself to the discipline, and purified his sister with the rites of expiation. (29—30).

Then these were called "śaka". But in time king Vikrama was born, who cut off their line and rendered the earth free of

4. He sprinkled the powder on some bricks and converted them to gold. The powder had been given him by his śāsana devī (female guardian deity), who had appeared to him by night.

5. A distance said to equal four kos, about eight miles

debt.⁶ One hundred and thirty-five years later there was a śaka king, after whom an era was named. This is occasional (to the main story). (31—32).

The reverend Sūri Kālaka then went to live in the city of Bhṛgukaccha (Broach). There the sons of the sūri's sister, Balmitra and Bhānumitra (the king and heir-apparent) revered the master and listened to the law. They had a sister Bhānuśrī, whose son Balabhānu became disgusted with the round of existence and took the vow. Then the evil-minded chaplain there, in order to make the suri leave, caused improper alms to be given to the monks and did other such things. The sūri understood this and went to the city of Prthivīsthāna, the ornament of the land of Mahārāṣṭra. (33—36b).

There king śālivāhana lived, a most devoted lay disciple. He led the sūri into his city with great pomp, extolled him, revered him, and settled him in a place free of living creatures. (36c—37).

Then the Paryuṣaṇā season arrived; whereupon the king requested the sūri, "On the fifth day of the light half of the month Bhādrapada we honour Indra. While I am observing the festival according to the custom of the people I shall not be able to perform the offices of the Religion. Therefore celebrate the Paryuṣaṇā on the sixth day." (38—39c).

The master said, "Even though mount Meru should shake, fire become cold, or the ocean sometime leave its bounds, even though the lord of day should rise in the west, the Paryuṣaṇā celebration cannot come after the fifth." (39d—40).

6. Text: *puhavi jen' ūraṇi vikiyā*. Bhāvadeva's version: *mahī jen' ūraṇi kayā*. For *u' raṇi* Leumann suggested *a-rṇa*. Prākṛit *ūraṇi* should mean "ewe", but I cannot make sense of the passage with that meaning. Nor do I see any other possibility that is without phonetic or formative difficulties. Hence Leumann's suggestion seems the best possibility. For confirmation, cf. in No. 91 of the story of Kālaka in the Prabhāvakacarita (P. 45), where at the corresponding point we read concerning Vikrama: *sa co'nnatamahāsiddhiḥ sāuvarṇapuruṣodayāt medinīm anṛṇām kṛtvā 'cīkarad vatsaram nijam*

Then the kīng said, "In that case have the celebration on the fourth." The master agreed to this, as it is clearly stated in the Scripture, "Let the Paryuṣaṇā be celebrated with honour!" Then the king was delighted and said, "Sir, I am obliged, and so on the day of breaking the fast observed during the light half of the month my gueens shall provide much food, pure according to the ceremonial rules of pure food for the day of the monks' second meal after the fast." (41—43).

It was on this account that the sūri Kālaka thus fixed the Paryuṣaṇā festival on the fourth and the Order then endorsed it. Because the people there were devoted then to honouring the monks from that time even to the present a festival has been celebrated in the kingdom under the name of "Monk-honour". (44—45).

Then once upon a time the sūri, being aware that all his disciples had forsaken the rules of conduct, left them while they slept, and after telling the keeper of the monks' rest house went to his disciple's disciple, the sūri Sāgara. The latter did not recognize him and asked him. 'O elder, do I expound well or not?' The master said, "You do it very well." (46—48b).

Then those wicked disciples repentently inquired of the rest house keeper, came there, and just as they were inquiring of the sūri Sāgara, they saw the master. They humbled themselves and touching his feet again and again asked forgiveness. Then Sāgarasūri was ashamed, and after the master had told him the illustration of the three piles of dust, he bowed down again and again and asked forgiveness. (48c—50).

Once upon a time śakra, after hearing the Nigoda doctrine from the Jina Sīmandhara in Videha, asked him, "Sir, is there any one in Bhārata who is versed in (the doctrine of) these (Nigoda creatures)?" The Jina said, "There is the sūri Kālaka." (51—52a).

So he went there wearing the form of a Brahman and asked the master the varieties of Nigoda. He gave him the exposition which begins, "The balls are innumerable." Then he asked how long he would live. The sūri knew him and said, "You are Purāṇḍara (Śakra)." Then Śakra manifested his true form and delighted with that superlative knowledge of Kālaka sūri praised him with many kinds of songs of praise. (52b-54).

"When the congregation of the righteous hears his speech, which is like the rolling of thunder, it dances with joy like a peacock. "Blessed are you, O chief of munis. (55)

After thus giving praise, the king of the gods went to his own home. Then the chief of munis, knowing his time had come, gave up food, and possessed of countless excellences became a god.

May he whose glory extends through the three worlds give a blessing to the Order. (56).

Thus the story of the reverend Kālākācārya has been told in summary by the reverend sūri Dharmaprabha in the year 1389. (57).

KĀSHMIR-BHAṬṬA ŚIVASVĀMIN'S UNPUBLISHED BUDDHIST MAHĀKĀVYA—KAPPHINĀBHYU- DAYA.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give an account of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya of Śivasvāmin, who was a contemporary of King Avantivarman of Kashmir.

The reign of King Avantivarman (855/6-883 A. D.) forms one of the glorious records in the chequered history of Kashmir. Aided by his far-sighted and able Minister Śūra, he succeeded in giving the 'happy valley' a comparatively long period of peace and prosperity which provided a fruitful era of great literary activity. As Kalhaṇa says in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī :—

मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः

प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात् साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ५,३५ ॥

'Muktākāṇa, Śivasvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara became famous during the reign of Avantivarman.

Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara have their fame established through published works, Muktākāṇa is familiar only through stray quotations, while Śivasvāmin till 1893 was known only from several stanzas attributed to him in Anthologies and Kṣemendra. Śeṣagiri Śāstrin in 1893 gave an account of a poem Kapphiṇābhyudaya by Bhaṭṭaśivasvāmin. Therein he traced and identified the quotations from that poem given in the Ṭikāsarvasva of Sarvānanda and in the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva. Professor Thomas in his Kavindravacanasmuccaya gave a fuller account of the stanzas attributed to Śivasvāmin in different anthologies and of the quotations from his work, the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

The poem itself seems to have been quite well known and the fact that it had established a reputation for itself among the great Sanskrit works is testified to by the liberal use made of it by many a Sanskrit writer. Its importance as a literary

production of note was soon realised by compilers of anthologies, writers on Sanskrit poetry, commentators on Lexicon, and Grammarians. The compiler of the *Kavindravacanasaṃuccaya* (circa 1000 A. D.), *Sarvānanda* (1159) *Śrīdhara* (1205), *Sārṅgadhara* (1363), and *Ramānātha* (1537), have all at one time or another recognized its merit and acknowledged their debt by extensive quotations from it. As it would appear *Mammaṭa* (circa 1100 A. D.) has also quoted from it in his *Kāvyaaprakāśa* although it is surprising for a writer of such a comparatively early date that he should not have given the source.

Further, *Śivasvāmin*'s work assumes an importance in the history of Sanskrit Literature in general and the literary history of Kashmir in particular, in-as-much-as it shows the development of *Kāvya* in Kashmir and the influence of *Ratnākara* on his contemporaries. To the religious history of that period it makes a useful contribution. Its theme is neither Paurāṇic nor epic like most of the *Mahākāvyas*, nor is it historical like *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* or *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*; on the contrary it deals with the Buddhist legend of King *Kapphiṇa* who is well known in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.

From the Buddhist sources it appears that King *Kapphiṇa* was a contemporary of the Buddha and was converted by him to Buddhism. The Buddhist tradition has given him a place among the twelve chief disciples of the Buddha, and refers to him as having become an Arhat in the Buddha's life-time. Even in the engraving on the walls of the Borobudur Temple in Java his figure appears among the *Śrāvakas*. Such a personality, popular in legends and tradition, provided *Śivasvāmin* with a suitable hero for his *Mahākāvya*.

But the merit of *Śivasvāmin* lies in moulding the material furnished by such a legend into a *Mahākāvya* written in strict observations of the rules laid down by writers on Poetics.

While doing so he could not escape the influence of the religious atmosphere of his age. Although he acknowledges that in writing his poem he was inspired by his Buddhist preceptor, Candramitra, yet it is not the Buddhist ideal of monkhood that he holds supreme in the concluding verses of his poem, but it is that of a householder or the 'gṛhastha' whose 'āśrama' has always given the highest place in the fabric of Hindu Society. This seems to indicate the process of absorption of the late Buddhism by the reviving Vaiṣṇavism and suggests that the teachings of Kṛṣṇa and the Buddha had begun to be reconciled. Thus Sivasvāmin's poem is an important evidence of the tendency which gradually found its full expression in Kṣemendra's Daśāvatāracarita.

From the following stanza, written perhaps by some contemporary admirer of his it seems that Śivasvāmin wrote several works out of which this poem and some stray verses attributed to him in Anthologies and Kṣemendra have survived the ravages of time.

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथमहाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्
 त्र्यक्षप्रत्यहानिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षाणि चैकादश
 कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रब्रूवन् बहून्
 विश्रामत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वारिणा शिवस्वामिनः

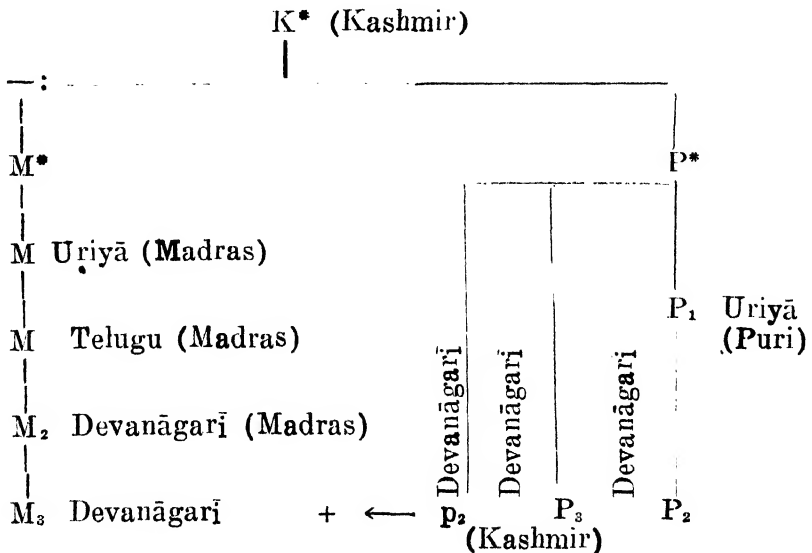
'Not even now does Sivasvāmin's unsurpassed Muse find rest though he has composed seven Mahākāvyas which have 'dvipadīs', and has written eleven lacs of hymns to śiva every day, and several dramas, and other minor plays and Prakraṇas and other prose works.'

It could not be, therefore, possible to compare the style of this poem with that of any other work of the poet except with a few stanzas given in Anthologies and Kṣemendra. It cannot, therefore, be ascertained what stage of development this poem marks in the literary career of Śivasvāmin. But it was possible to make comparison with the Mahākāvyas of his contemporary

Ratnākara and his predecessor Māgha. This would serve to illustrate the greatness of this poet in an age when literary genius was by no means rare.

From the detailed comparison of the various existing texts of the poem it is found that there are two families of Manuscripts in respect of this poem. The oldest palm-leaf Manuscript is preserved in Uriyā script in Madras, and has yielded two more transcripts, one in Telugu and one in Devanāgarī. To the other family of the MSS. belongs another paper MS. at Madras, which has been proved to be closely related to the recently discovered MS. at Puri, and the transcript from Kashmir.

The fact that the Text has passed through the Uriyā, the Telugu and Devanāgarī scripts necessitated an investigation into the details of the orthography of these scripts in their relation to śāradā in which the original was written by the poet. The scribal errors due to the orthographic or phonetic similarities of symbols have been fully taken into account and the different readings and omissions noted. The conclusions arrived at by this study gives us the following pedigree of the extant MSS. and transcripts of the Text.



The transcript of *M*₃ is that of the Madras Manuscript and belongs to Professor F. W. Thomas, Oxford, who kindly lent it to me for my use. It is a fuller Text than the others, but the absence of a verse authentically known to have been quoted from the *Kapphiṇābhyaḍaya* shows that even this does not represent a complete transcript of the original poem.

On the basis of these enquiries and studies the text has been reconstructed and an attempt has been made to present *śivasvāmin*'s poem in its original form.

CONTENTS OF THE POEM.

Canto. Stanzas.

I. 1. Invocation to the Buddha as *Daśabala*.

2—22. Description of *Līlāvatī*, a town situated on the *Vindhya*s.

23—44. Description of King *Kapphiṇa*, master of *Līlāvatī*.

II. 1. A spy from the North arrives in the Court of King *Kapphiṇa*.

2—3. The poet remarks on the need for the system of espionage.

4. The spy enters the Assembly Hall.

5—9. The Hall is described.

10—18. The spy sees King *Kapphiṇa*, who is again described.

19—22. The King receives the spy, who addresses the Assembly.

23—53. The spy speaks of the *Kosala* Kingdom and its ruler, King *Prasenajit*, the latter's hostility towards King *Kapphiṇa*, and his advice to overcome him.

III. 1. The description of the effect produced on the vassal chieftains who were attending the Court of King *Kapphiṇa* by the news brought by the spy.
The chieftains are:—

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----|--------------|
| 2. | Subāhu. | 23. | Kaṅka. |
| 3—5. | Darśaka. | 24. | Sitadhvaja. |
| 6. | Subandhu. | 25. | Indu. |
| 7. | Jiṣṇu. | 26. | Nala. |
| 8. | Bala. | 27. | Satadhanuṣ. |
| 9. | Suśarman. | 28. | Sālva. |
| 10. | Bhūridhāman. | 29. | Pṛthudhvaja. |
| 11. | Pāṇḍya. | 30. | Jṛmbha. |
| 12. | Surāṣṭra. | 31. | Pradyota. |
| 13. | Suketu. | 32. | Babhru. |
| 14. | Bhīṣmaka. | 33. | Gada. |
| 15. | Bhīṣma. | 34. | Protha. |
| 16. | Kirmīra. | 35. | Ugrasena. |
| 17. | Āndhra. | 36. | Karandhama. |
| 18. | Utkala. | 37. | Dantavakra. |
| 19. | Bhīma. | 38. | Rukmin. |
| 20. | Samudra. | 39. | Sauvalka. |
| 21. | Dṛḍhadhanuṣ. | 40. | Kauravya. |
| 22. | Ambarīṣa. | 41. | Duḥṣeṇa. |
- 42—43. A general description of the disturbance created.

IV. 1—4. Description of the Assembly.

- 5—41. Subāhu's speech: He asks the King to prepare for battle and mentions individually the members of the audience, *viz.*, Suśarman, Dṛḍhadhanuṣ, Bala, Nala, Gada, Pāṇḍya, Protha, Kirmīra, Kaṅka, Kṛpa, Yavana, Surāṣṭra, Āndhrā, and Indu.

42. The poet brings in again the mention of Yavana, Śatadhanuṣ, Babhru, Jṛmbha, Ambarīṣa, Pradyota, Protha, and Pāṇḍya.

V. 1. The Council of War is still sitting after the speech of Subāhu, and the Kings are again mentioned by name;—

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| 2. Nala. | 8. Bhūridhāman. |
| 3. Suśarman. | 9. Karandhama. |
| 4. Kṛpa. | 10. Nala. |
| 5. Yavana. | 11. Rukmin. |
| 6. Śatadhvaṇa. | 12. Bhīma. |
| 7. Gada. | 13—14. Bhīṣmaka. |

15—42. Bhīṣmaka addresses the assembly and proposes that a messenger should be sent to Prasenajit before any action is taken against him.

43—45. King Kapphina approves.

46—48. Darśaka is chosen as the messenger.

49. He sets out on his errand.

50—51. A Vidyādhara, Vicitrabāhu by name comes and implores King Kapphina to accompany him to the Malaya mountain. The King accedes to his request and goes with his royal camp to his friend, Vicitrabāhu.

VI. 1—9. King Kapphina sees the mountain Malaya.

10—84. Vicitrabāhu describes the loveliness of the mountain

VII. 39. The description of the encampment in which the Vidyādharas help the followers of King Kapphina in their preparations.

VIII. 1. The six seasons appear simultaneously on the mountain, and they are described:—

2—15. Vasanta (spring) 37—48. Śarat (dewy autumn).

16—23. Grīṣma (summer) 49—54. Hemanta (autumn).

24—36. Varṣā (rains) 55—59. Śīṣira (winter).

60. A general description of the seasons.

IX. 40. The description of the amusements of the king's attendants who are gathering flowers in the forest,

- X. 38. The description of their enjoyment of water sports.
- XI. 37. A description of the sunset.
- XII. 1—21. A description of the rising of the moon.
22—47. The women make their toilet.
- XIII. 40. A description of drinking parties.
- XIV. 40. A description of amorous sports according to the Kāmaśāstra.
- XV. 1—34. The dawn is described.
35. King Kapphiṇa awakened by the sweet eulogies of the minstrels leaves the abode of his friend Vicitrabāhu and returns to his capital.
- XVI. 1. Draśaka reaches śrāvastī.
2—10. Description of śrāvastī.
11—12. Darśaka received by King Prasenajit.
13—23. Prasenajit enquires contemptuously the purpose of his visit.
24—39. Darśaka delivers his message.
40—53. Prasenajit becomes angry and declares that he would rather go to war than submit to Kapphiṇa.
54—63. Darśaka very much enraged urges Prasenajit to reconsider his decision.
64. He returns to his country.
65. The effect of the reply from Prasenajit on the camp of King Kapphiṇa is described again and the following kings are cited:—
- | | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 66. Raghu. | 76. Bala. |
| 67. Aśmaka. | 77. Sura. |
| 68. Kukura. | 78. Sauvīramalla. |

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----|------------|
| 69. | Niṣāda. | 79. | Kadambaka. |
| 70. | Mucukunda. | 80. | Aja. |
| 71. | Sahadeva. | 81. | Manu. |
| 72. | Prasāda. | 82. | Śruta. |
| 73. | Surandhra. | 83. | Dhundhu. |
| 74. | Indu. | 84. | Ruru. |
| 75. | Madraka. | 85. | Aṇu. |

86—92. A description of the dejection of the warriors, wives as they contemplate the separation from their husbands who must go to war.

93—95. The army sets out for war.

XVII. 1. Kapphiṇa gets enraged.

2—46. Paraphernalia of battle are described, including the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants.

1—10. The army of King Kapphiṇa attacks Prasenajit's forces. King Kapphiṇa's warrior's are distinguished by name:—Yavana(2), Surandhra (4), Raghu (6), Protha (7), Gada (9), Kukura (10).

11. King Kapphiṇa watches the progress of his army in battle. The heroes of the battle are again mentioned:—

Indu (13), Bala (14), Pāṇḍya (16),
Yugandhara (18), Babhru (19), Bhūri-
dhaman (21), Karandhama (23).

29—34. King Kapphiṇa encourages his army.

35—42. Prasenajit becomes furious and attacks the army of King Kapphiṇa.

43. Kapphiṇa is dismayed to see his army thus harassed by Prasenajit.

- 44—70. Kapphina routes the forces of Prasenajit.
- 71—75. Prasenajit is unable to withstand the attacks of Kapphina's forces. He prays to the Buddha for help.
- 76—80. The Buddha appears and subdues Kapphina, who is rendered helpless on account of the miracles worked by the Master. King Kapphina acknowledges his need for the help of the Master and entreats him.
- XIX. 40. King Kapphina receives the instruction of the Buddha.
- XX. 1—19 ab. The teaching of the Buddha continues.
- 19 cd—22. King Kapphina requests the Buddha to initiate him as a monk.
- 23—32. The Buddha advises that King Kapphina should wait until the time for him to renounce the world has come, and that he should, till then, continue to rule his kingdom for the benefit only of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.
33. The Buddha vanishes.
34. King Kapphina retires to his capital and continues to rule there according to the advice of the Buddha.
- 35—38. The Praśasti.

ABSTRACT OF THE POEM.

I.

Śivasvāmin, the author, opens his poem invoking the blessings of the Buddha, possessed of the ten powers, with the description of a town Līlāvati by name, situated on the banks of the Narmadā in the Vindhya. The prosperity of this town was

obvious from its many beautiful buildings whose silken banners kissed the sky. From the grandeur of its crystal palaces with golden domes and jewelled windows one could imagine that it was either the goddess Kālī or the royal Goddess of Glory incarnate. Sublimity, grace and strength were combined in its architecture.

Its ruler, King Kapphīṇa, was tall, brave and adventurous, and had a large following of vassal chieftains. He was Śiva personified, who by the mere sound of his voice could put his enemies to flight and whose fame had spread in all directions. His skill in wielding his sword was known to his enemies whose cities lay in ruins. He governed his kingdom according to the rules laid down in the books of Politics and employed spies to enquire into the state of affairs both at home and abroad.

II.

Once a spy, who had been sent to the North, returned to the Royal Assembly of King Kapphīṇa reporting that there was a king by name Prasenajit, who ruled over the thriving kingdom of Kosala. "Prasenajit" he said, "is loved by his subjects as he possesses all the virtues of a noble ruler, glories in his powers, and entertains a feeling of enmity towards you."

The poet gives an impressive description of Prasenajit, a contemporary of the Buddha, and his capital Śrāvastī, a favourite resort of the Buddha. When the messenger reaches Śrāvastī (XVI Canto) the poet's description of the town and of the King bears witness to his love for both.

III.

On hearing from the messenger of the hostile attitude of Prasenajit the whole assembly becomes greatly enraged. Thirty-eight Chieftains are mentioned, all exhibiting their fury—tearing off their bracelets, wringing their hands, perspiring, and uttering menacing words. Of these Subāhu, Darśaka and Bhīṣmaka are of importance for their part in the later story, while the names of

Pāṇḍya, Surāṣṭra, Āṇḍhra, and Utkala refer to the territories over which they ruled.

IV.

The poet describes the great tumult in the assembly hall. In this atmosphere of great tension Subāhu begins a fiery speech which shows that he was well versed in the science of politics, as he points out with sound arguments that the only course of action left for King Kapphīṇa is to wage war at once against the enemy. To add weight to his arguments, he points to the members giving an epithet to each. He says that formidable Suśarman, furious Dr̥ḍhadhanuṣ, powerful Bala, and others can brook no further humiliation. Finally he taunts them by saying 'Do you stay here. I will fight the enemy alone.' This rouses their enthusiasm. At the close of his speech he is loudly applauded.

V.

Before the Council of War adjourns another Chieftain, Bhīṣmaka, stands up and supporting the motion proposed by Subāhu suggests sending a messenger to Prasenajit, the hostile King, as a necessary measure before actually going to war. The anger of King Kapphīṇa, who was very much enraged, is assuaged and he gives his approval to the idea. Darśaka, another member of the audience, is selected as messenger to Prasenajit. The import of the message is not given, but it is implied that the hostile king must either pay homage to King Kapphīṇa or suffer an invasion. It is an ultimatum. The King by a gesture orders the messenger to proceed on his errand and he at once sets out on his journey to the North.

So far the poet has been following the traditional Avadāna of Kapphīṇa current in his time. At the same time, since he claims to be a writer of a Mahākāvya, he must describe mountains, seasons, etc. He, therefore, introduces a demigod, or a Vidyādhara, Vicitrabahu by name, a friend of King Kapphīṇa, who invites the latter to his abode in the Malaya mountains. The

king agrees to the proposal and follows his friend with all the paraphernalia of a King of India of the 9th century, including the harem and the army.

VI.

The description of the mountain Candanācala in this canto is consistent with the vast grandeur and the majestic scenery of the Himalayas which this poet knew very well. The poet's imagination nurtured in that abundant luxuriance of nature takes in long vistas and covers vast regions. Each stanza has one theme to describe and the poet each time exercises his imagination to such an extent that the description to the Western mind appears exaggerated and too artificial. The poet focuses his attention on one subject which he is going to describe and tries to see it from different angles of vision.

This scheme runs throughout the Canto and the metre changes with the shifting of the scene and ~~the~~ its dignity (of the metre) varies according to the loftiness of the subject.

The glowing mountain appears to the poet as a huge mass of fire fanned by fierce winds. It has ravines and precipices where the trees are alive with the warbling of delighted birds. The lofty snow-clad peaks remind the poet of the ocean rising to clasp the moon. The arbours and the elephants, the gold coloured peaks at sunset, the verdant plateaux attract his attention. He fancies that the sun seems to rest there for a while to cool itself.

Then the King's friend, Vicitrabāhu, who is more familiar with the place begins to describe its particular features. Here we are told of its richness in flowers and the brilliance of its outcropping minerals. Then follows a description of the wild animals roaming about the penance groves, of ascetics, of cowherds and their huts, of lotus ponds, and of chirping birds. In Stanza 23, the Vidyādhara compares the mountain to the sublime and calm image of the Buddha with the right shoulder covered.

The king's friend then proceeds to describe the crystalline walls used as mirrors by celestial ladies, the sweet smelling grass, fragrant flowers, sandal-woods, music of Kinnara Ladies, and the calls of cuckoos. A reference is made to the Buddha; and the mountain is compared to the Indra and the Bodhisattva (Stanzas 46, 57, 59.) The heaps of bones of Nāgas are pointed out in Stanza 61. The Ideal of an Arhat with the several methods of attaining it form the subject of the 65th verse while Bodhi is mentioned in verse 69.

VII.

The king with an army consisting of elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers, and accompanied by the ladies of the harem, wishes to pass some time on the Mountain Candanācala. All preparations for laying out the camp are made with the help of the Vidyā-dharas. Tents are pitched, huts are built, arrangements for the kitchen are made, and the ladies of the harem are well housed.

The elephants and horses are taken to ponds to bathe and the camp looks delightful.

VIII.

The six seasons simultaneously appear on the mountain to honour King Kapphīṇa. There is spring, when mango groves, Vakula trees, saffron plants, and Navamālikā creepers put forth sweet fragrant flowers. There is summer when peacocks hide themselves under their plumage, and when the men in the camp enjoy the breeze of fans in pleasure huts. There is the rainy season which depresses the ladies whose husbands are abroad as the sweet but melancholy notes of peacocks reach their ears and the rumbling noise of the clouds rends their hearts. There is autumn when the water in the ponds becomes limpid and lilies smile brightly. There is dewy autumn when the nights are clear and the moon shines pleasantly. That is the time when Ketaka plants blossom and paddy fields ripen. There is the winter season when snow

destroys the charm of lotus ponds. Everywhere it is desolate and dreary, and the Nameru trees with leaves yellow and sere are seen here and there.

IX—XV.

Men and women in the King's camp on the mountain are tempted by the abundance of flowers and the charm of the seasons to pluck flowers and enjoy the company of their beloved in that pastime. When they are tired and overcome by the heat they bathe in the cool ponds and streams which are full of lilies and lotuses. They frolick about in the water. The waters of these streams are tinted with the toilet powders of these ladies. People say their evening prayers as the lotuses close. The parties of men and women retire to their rest-houses as the moon rises. Preparations are made by the ladies for the drinking parties which are attended with great mirth. The ladies wear ornaments to add beauty to their lovely limbs. Messengers move about carrying news from the lover to the beloved. Then begin the amusing scenes of enjoyment as the goblet passes from one to another, each vying with the other to excel in coquettish behaviour. When drunk they retire to rest. The poet here indulges in amorous and erotic descriptions. When it is morning and the sun begins to chase the gloom of darkness, when stars begin to disappear, and lotuses begin to bloom, when the bees again buzz about in the lotus ponds, when Brahmans begin to perform their morning ritual, and the sacrificial fires rise up to the sky, the bards sing the praises of King Kapphīṇa to awaken him.

King Kapphīṇa wakes up and having fully enjoyed the hospitality of his friend, Vicitrabāhu, retires to his capital, Līlāvati, where he has been long expected.

XVI and XVII.

Here the poet takes up the story which he had left unfinished at the end of the Fifth Canto.

Darśaka, who had been sent as an envoy to Prasenañit, reaches Śrāvastī, where he sees that the houses are made of precious stones, that the people practise righteousness and that Māra has no influence over them, and that the evil influences of the Kali age are no longer to be felt, and that there are many Buddhist monasteries, Vihāras and Caityas. The city indeed looks as if it were presided over by the Buddha himself.

He is received by the Chamberlain as he enters the Palace, and is introduced to Prasenañit who in a scornful tone enquires the object of his visit. Darśaka delivers the message of King Kapphaṇa which provokes Prasenañit very much. Prasenañit is furious and declares that he will not submit to Kapphaṇa and that the proper reply to his message would be an army ready for battle. Darśaka gives his parting advice to Prasenañit and withdraws to his own city. When he conveys the reply from Prasenañit to the allies of Kapphaṇa their anger is unbounded. Great confusion and a spirit of high tension are evident as was the case when Darśaka was sent to Prasenañit. Preparations for war are soon undertaken and the warriors arm themselves and march against Prasenañit. The chariots, the cavalry, and the elephants are at once arrayed to march against the enemy.

XVIII.

A dreadful battle ensues in which the army of Pāasenañit is put to flight. He finds himself helpless and prays to the Buddha for help. He appears and by means of a miracle changes the mind of Kapphaṇa.

XIX—XX.

King Kapphaṇa hears a sermon of the Buddha and expresses his desire to enter the order of the Buddhist monks. The Buddha advises him not to renounce the world but to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom. The Buddha disappears and King Kapphaṇa retires to his kingdom.

THE AUTHOR.

His name : **Kāśmriabhṭṭa Śivasvāmin.**

Bhṭṭa in modern Kashmiri is 'baṭa', a brahman, a Kashmiri Pandit, all of whom are Brahmans. It is derived from the Sanskrit word 'bhartṛ' which in Prakritic form gave Bhṭṭa. The latter has been retained by the Sanskritists, and appended to the proper names in the beginning or at the end. It was used in the sense of 'learned'. Some of the important instances are Bhṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Veṇṇisaṃhāra*, Mammāṭa Bhṭṭa, the author of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Kumārila Bhṭṭa, the learned philosopher of Southern India. But mostly it is found affixed or prefixed to the names of writers from Kāśmīra, as a title given to a learned Brahman or a great teacher.

In the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* (XX,36; 37) the author has written *Śrīśivasvāmin* and *Śivasvāmin* as referring to himself. Both of these names with and without the *Śrī* are found in the Anthologies.

The Name of the Poem.

Śivasvāmin probably chose the name of his poem on the model of his predecessor Saṅkuka's work the *Bhuvanābhudaya**, now lost to us. The title * 'abhyudaya' has been often used to name the works which celebrate the deeds of great heroes, viz. Puṣpa-sena's *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya*, Jinasena's *Pārśvābh-yudaya*, and Veṅkaṭeśa's *Rāmābhyudaya*.*

His date and Contemporaries.

Ancient Kāśmīra was known among the Pandits of Northern India as the abode of *sāradā*, the goddess of learning and this

1. See Monier Williams' Dictionary and Grierson's Kashmiri Dictionary, P. 137.

2. *Rajatrangini* IV, 703 4. Bühler's Report 1877, P. 42.

3. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

4. A descriptive Catalogue of the 'Sanskrit MSS. in Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Vol. XX.

5. See 3.

belief was not groundless in that it contributed very much to the mass of Sanskrit learning. Among the outstanding poets and writers on poetics one may refer to Rātnākara, Ānandavardhana, Maṃmaṭa, Bilhaṇa, Kṣemendra, and Kalhaṇa. In the famous Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, edited and translated by Stein, one finds the names of other writers whose works are lost, such as Śaṅkuka.

Ratnākara lived under two kings, Jayāpīḍa and Avantivarman. Avantivarman (855-83 A. D.) was a great patron of learning. In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī¹ Chap. V we have:—

“The Minister Śūra by honouring learned men with a seat in the King’s Sabhā, caused learning, whose flow had been interrupted, to descend again upon this land (32)”.

“The Scholars who were granted great fortunes and high honours proceeded to the Sabhā in vehicles (litters) worthy of Kings” (33).

“Muktākāṇa, Śivasvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana, and Ratnākara obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman” (39).

“In the time of Avantivarman the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Kallāṭa and other holy men (siddhas) descended to the earth for the benefit of the people” (66).

Ratnākara wrote his voluminous Mahākāvya, the Haravijaya, in fifty Cantos. In that work, his exquisite language, his command of style in all its varieties, his ability to use various metres, his art of making the sound correspond with the sense, his full knowledge of Śaivā philosophy, and his mastery of Nītiśāstra, Kāmasūtras, Epics, and the Purāṇas, make him stand unique among the writers of Kāvya and testify to his being a true successor of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, and Bāṇa.

¹ See Stein’s Translation of the Rajatāraṅgiṇī.

Ānandavardhana belonged to that school of poetics which held that suggestion was the soul of poetry. As a matter of fact by writing the *Dhvanyāloka* he put that theory on a firm footing.

Kallāṭa¹ wrote commentaries on *Spanda* and *Śaiva-sūtras*.

To this galaxy of writers in the times of *Avantivarman* belonged *Śivasvāmin*, the writer of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*.

To write a *Mahākāvya*, by *Śivasvāmin*'s time, had become the indispensable condition of greatness of a poet and that *Śivasvāmin*, from all evidence a *Śaiva*, should have delved deep into Buddhist tradition and thought and should have celebrated a Buddhist Legend in a work of such a major importance is evidence not only of the influence exerted over him by his preceptor *Candramitra*, nor only of the tendency to incorporate the Buddha in the hierarchy of 'avatāras', but also of the receptive nature of the poet's mind which refused to be hide-bound by narrow orthodox Brahmanism but thirsted to explore fresh fields and pastures new.

Ratnākara, a 'Śaiva' to the core, had celebrated the exploits of *Śiva*, *Śivasvāmin*'s own ideal; *Māgha* a *Vaiṣṇava* in thought and spirit had sung the overmastering triumph of Lord *Kṛṣṇa* over his arch-enemy, *Śiśupāla*; but *Śivasvāmin*, with a boldness characteristic of him, hit upon a theme entirely new in thought and spirit, and surpassed them by celebrating not so much the heroism of the victor or the degeneration of the vanquished as the triumph of the very soul over life's ambitions. And to do this he turned for inspiration, light and guidance to the core of a religion where reason and devotion are mingled in such a pleasing and appealing combination.

1, Kashmir Saivism by J. C. Chatterjee, 1914.

Śivasvāmin, Ratnākara and their predecessors.

Śivasvāmin, as he was a successor of the great writers of artificial Sanskrit poetry, has combined in him all the merits and demerits of such writers, chiefly Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Māgha, and especially Ratnākara. The opening of his poem is after Hara-vijaya, the introduction of a spy from the north follows that in Bhāravi, the description of the mountain is common to them all, the appearance of a Vidyādhara resembles that of a Yakṣa in Bhāravi and Dāruka in Māgha. In the Sixth Canto he very closely imitates Māgha even in the scheme of metres. Māgha has in the beginning of the Fourth Canto, eighteen upajāti verses. These are followed by verses every third of which is a Yamaka; while Śivasvāmin has the first twelve verses of the Sixth Canto in Upajāti metre, these being followed by others in which every second verse is a Yamaka. In the nineteenth Canto, which can be read as Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, he has followed Bhaṭṭi.

Bhāravi employed the word Lakṣmī, Māgha used the word Śrī, Ratnākara has Ratna and Śivasvāmin Śiva in the last verse of every Canto. The Praśasti is found at the end of the works of Māgha, Ratnākara, and Śivasvāmin.

Comparative analysis of the important epic poems which were imitated by Śivasvāmin.

Bhāravi.	Māgha.	Haravijaya.	Kapphiṇābhyudaya.
I—I. V. The Hima- layas.	I—II. IV. Raivataka.	I, VII—XVI. IV. The Mandara.	I—V. The assembly. VI. The Malaya.
X.	V. VI.	III. V.	VII. The Camp.
VIII.	VII.	XVII.	VIII. The Seasons.
	VIII.	XVIII.	IX. The plucking of flowers.
	IX.	XIX.	X. The water-sports.
	X.	XX—XXV.	XI. The sunset.
IX.	XI.	XXVI.	XII. The rise of the moon.
		XXVII.	XIII. The drinking par- ties.
			XIV. The a m o r o u s sport.
		XXVIII— XXIX.	XV. The Dawn.
XIV—XVIII.		XXX—L.	XVI—The message.
			XX. Battle,

**A Comparative Analysis of the Scheme of the Haravijaya and
the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.**

Haravijaya.

- I. 1—3. Invocation to Śiva.
4—33. Description of Jyot-
snāvatī.
33—64. Description of Śiva,
Lord of Jyotsnāvatī.

Kapphiṇābhy.

- I. 1. Invocation to the Bud-
dha.
2—22. Description of Līlāvatī
on the Vindhyācala.
23—44. Description of Kap-
phiṇa, master of
Līlāvatī.

- II. A spy from the north
comes to the Court of
Kapphiṇa. In this
Canto the narrative
resembles the opening
of the Kirāta.

- VII. Description of the agita-
tion in the Assembly
of Śiva on hearing that
Andhaka had harassed
the Gods and driven them
out of heaven. Several
attendants of Śiva are
individually referred to,
viz., Virabhadra, Kāla-
musala, Meghanila, Vaj-
ramuṣṭi, Jīṣṇu, Sunan-
daka, Ketu, Āmardaka,
Jyotiṣmat, Agnimukha,
Caṇḍānana, Nīlavajra,
Nandī, and others.

- III. Description of the agi-
tation in the Assemb-
ly on hearing from the
spy that Prasenajit
was hostile towards
Kapphiṇa. The
latter's vassal kings
are named, *viz.*, Sub-
āhu, Darśaka, Sub-
andhu, Jīṣṇu, Bala,
Pāṇḍya, Suketu, Sur-
āṣṭra, Āndhra, Am-
barīṣa, Indu, Nala,
Sālva, Pradyota, and
others.

VIII—Kālamusala, who advises IV—V. Subāhu advises that XVI. that Andhaka should be attacked at once, is followed by Prabhāmaya (IX), Vahnigarbha (X), Agnidarmṣṭra, (XI), Atṭahāsa (XII) Candśvara, (XIII), Puṣpahāsa (XIV) and Nandiṣena (XV) who express their opinions on the matter and it is finally decided (XVI) that Kālamusala should be sent as an ambassador to Andhaka to persuade him to give up the Svarga.

Prasenajit should be attacked without losing any more time, but Bhīṣmaka advises that an ambassador should be sent to Prasenajit to ask him to submit to the sovereignty of Kappiṇa. Darśaka is sent on that errand.

- XXX—Kālamusala's journey from XVI. 1. Darśaka's journey to XXXI. Jyotsnāvati to Svarga and Śrāvastī.
the description of Andh- 2—10. Description of the
aka (XXXI). town.
XXXII. Kālamusala's reception. Kāl- 12. Darśaka's reception.
amusala delivers his mes- 24—39. Darśaka delivers his
sage, 69—118, XXXII. message.
The reply of Uśanas 43—53. Prasenajit's reply.
(XXXIII). Kālamusala's 53—63, Darśaka's reply.
angry retort (XXXIV).
Speech of Andhaka
(XXXV). Speech of Kana-
kākṣa (XXXVI). Speech
of Vajrabhānu (XXXVII).
Kālamusala's angry part-
ing words (XXXVIII).

XXXIX. Return of Kālamu-
sala.

64. Darśaka returns and delivers
the scornful reply of Para-
senajit to Kapphiṇa's com-
mand.

XXXIV-XXXVII

Bear close resemb-
lance to :—

65—85. Description of the effect
which the reply of Parasenajit
produces on the vassal kings
of Kapphiṇa. Several of
them are again named indivi-
dually.

XL. 57—64.

86—92. The wives of these prin-
ces are introduced in a very
dismal mood because they feel
the separation from their lords
who prepare to go to war.

65. Army marches. 93—95. Army marches.

XLIsqq.

XVII—XVIII.

Author's Motive in writing the poem.

Śivasvāmin wanted to write a Mahākāvya, and in doing so he
has very closely followed the instructions of Daṇḍin, the
writer of the Kāvyaḍarśa¹ who probably wrote in the 6th
century.

The subject of the poem is taken from an old narrative. The
hero is noble and adventurous. Ministers assemble and spies
take part in discussions on state affairs. Descriptions of
mountains, of the seasons, of the sunset and of the rising of the
moon, of drinking and amorous dalliance, have their due place.
The hero's campaign, his war with the enemy, and his final
triumph bring us to the end of the poem which is full of senti-
ments, emotions and effective transitions. In the use of metres
the poet follows the rules. Each Canto is written in a single
metre with a change of metre in the last one or two Stanzas.

(1) See Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 14—49.

As a matter of fact our poet has taken the word *Abhyudaya* from the text of the *Kāvyādarśa*,¹ which he very closely follows in his illustration of the “*citra kāvya*” in VI and XVIII Cantos.

It also seems that the poet meant to narrate allegorically the story of the human soul which has been slumbering and has been allured by the temptations of the world and which is at last awakened by a sudden shock or some outstanding event, as it was in the case of *Aśoka* and the Buddha himself.

We might say that the conversion of *Kapphiṇa* represents the enlightenment of such a soul. Here this *Mahākāvya* may be compared with the *Buddhacarita* and the *Śaundarānand* of *Aśvaghoṣa*.

The poet's account of himself.

From the “*praśasti*” which comes at the end of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* we gather the following information:—

- i. *Śivasvāmin* was the son of *Bhaṭṭācāryasvāmin* and he wrote this poem, the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, which he calls ‘*Sūktāsūktiḥ*’ at the instance and encouragement of the Buddhist preceptor, *Candramitra*. He talks of him in the past tense (aorist past “*abhūt*”). He might have come in contact with this religious teacher who asked him to show his talents as a poet in writing the poetic version of the *Avadāna* of *Kapphiṇa* (XX. 35, 36.)
- ii. The poet dedicates the whole poem to *Śiva* (XX. 37) which fact shows that he was not a Buddhist by faith, but that he was well versed in that Religion and could write on that subject. At the same time, from a religious point of view, he presents a state of affairs which is a compromise. His poem serves to show the process of absorption of later Buddhism by *Śaivism* and *Vaiṣṇaviṣṇ*.

1. See *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 14—19.

- iii. In the last verse (XX. 38) he glories in his work which he says is a lamp lit to remove the darkness of ignorance and which is also meant to stop the prattling of the poetasters.

“Śivasvāmin of noble deeds, the mere hearing of whose muse produced wonder in the hearts of the wise and stopped his opponents’ eagerness to speak, lit the lamp of this poem for the benefit of the righteous to remove the darkness of ignorance”. (XX, 38).

He does not mention that he flourished at the Court of King Avantivarman, like his contemporary Ratnākara, but this much is certain that he does allude to his contemporaries when he mentions ‘Virodhinām’—opponents in the field of poetry.

Śivasvāmin and Buddhism.

In the Kapphiṇābhyudaya (XX, 15) the Buddha preaches a sermon on the Hetumālā or ⁽¹⁾ the chain of twelve links which ties a person to bondage, and lays stress upon the achievement of salvation by detachment from the things of this world (XX, 18 cd.) (rāgatyāgānmuktirahnāyakāryā). Here the author has followed the Avadānaśataka and at the same time tried to harmonise the spirit of Buddha with the Hindu view.

King Kapphiṇa having heard the sermon of the Buddha at once exclaims :—

प्रेचे राजा जातचित्तप्रसादो

दीक्षादक्षोदक्षिणोदाक्षिणात्यः

अत्रोदीर्णो दीर्णमान्द्यं ममाक्षोः

अप्याकस्मादस्मि सुप्तप्रबुद्धः

आभिर्भर्तुभारतीभिस्तवाहं

मनोन्मग्नः सम्यगभ्युद्धतोऽस्मि २०, १९, २०.

(1) cf. Ye dharmāḥ hetuprabhavaḥ hetum teṣāṃ tathāgato hyavadat, teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ.

The courteous Southern King whose mind was calmed, spoke, 'With this speech of yours the blindness of my eyes is gone. I am awakened suddenly from sleep. By these words of the Master I who was deep drowned am absolutely saved.'

If we compare these words of King Kapphina to those of Arjuna in the BhagavadĪtā (18.73), we find a very close resemblance.

Arjuna says—

नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा

त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाच्युत

स्थितोऽस्मि गतसंदेहः

करिष्ये वचनं तव

"Delusion is destroyed. I have obtained Memory by thy grace, O Imperishable. I am firm and all my doubts have passed. I will do your word."

King Kapphina expresses his desire to adopt the life of a monk, but the Buddha says—

सत्यं सत्यासत्यदृष्टौ सुदृष्टिः

पात्रं पुत्र त्वादृशः भिक्षुवृत्तेः

कालस्त्वस्यास्ते प्रतीक्ष्यः किया-

नायातीह प्राप्तकाला हि सिद्धिः

"It is true, my son, that you should desire to be a Bāikṣu having realised what is true and what is false. But you should wait for that stage of life. That accomplishment comes at its proper time".

Does not the poet refer to the four stages in a man's life according to Manu? He does not want the King to enter a monastery but makes the Buddha ask him to wait for some time.

But great emphasis is laid upon leading a life of selflessness as we find in the Gītā, The Buddha asks him to rule his

kingdom for the three Jewels, the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.

मा भोगेभ्यो भङ्गुरेभ्यः प्रकृत्या

मा प्राणेभ्यो मा श्रियै मा यशोभ्यः

श्रद्धः शुद्धः श्रद्धया शशि साधो

पृथ्वीरत्नं प्राज्यरत्नत्रयार्थे ॥ २०, २६

धर्मे श्रद्धा सम्मतिः सत्यसारे

दाने वीर्यं सद्गन्धानं दयायां

क्षान्तौ क्षोभः प्रेम पुण्ये च येषां

नूनं मुक्तास्ते गृहस्थाश्रमे ऽपि २०-२२

‘Neither for enjoyment which is transitory by nature, nor for your own life, nor for glory, nor for fame, must you govern the Jewel of the Earth, but with faith, purity, and devotion for the benefit of the three Jewels—the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha.’

‘Those who have faith in the Law, who follow truth, who have courage in generosity, who have eagerness for compassion, who desire to be patient, and have love for Righteousness, achieve Salvation even though they are householders.’

These verses point towards the doctrine of Anāsaktiyoga of the Bhagavadgītā where the belief in leading a selfless life is preached.

This shows how much the later Buddhism was influenced by the rise of the Orthodox Hindu faith and shows the reason for the Kashmir compromise between Hinduism and Buddhism.¹

(1) See Stein, *Rājatarāṅginī* I, 9, 76, 92; II, 355.

**Did Śivasvāmin write any other work besides the
Kapphinābhyudaya ?**

As referred to in the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, Bhandārkar's Report, (1897) on p. xi, has the following anonymous verse in praise of Śivasvāmin:—

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त कमात्
त्र्यक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षणिं चैकादश
कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान् बहून्
विश्रामत्यधुनापि नतिशीयता वार्षी शिवस्वामिनः

“Not even now does Śivasvāmin's unsurpassed Muse find rest though he has composed seven Mahākavyas which have dvipadīs; has written eleven laes of hymns to Śiva every day, and several other works, Nāṭakas, Nāṭikas and Prakarṇas.

This verse is also found quoted in a footnote on p. 132 of the kavikanthābharṇa (Kāvyaṃālā, 4).

In view of this eulogy Śivasvāmin seems to have written many works. But the ravages of time have left to us only the Kapphinābhyudaya and the verses in the Anthologies, which are attributed to Śivasvāmin. Let us hope that further search for manuscripts in India may bring to light some more of his works.

But on p. XXIX of Bühler's Report 1877 we have a reference to Śivasvāmin who enlarged kalādikṣā, a treatise on Śaiva philosophy. On p. 620 of J. R. A. S. for 1912 the authorship of the Ms. No. 67 of Stein's Collection deposited at the Indian Institute, Oxford, has been ascribed to Śrīśivasvāmin. On examination of this Ms. with the kind permission of Sir Aurel Stein it was discovered that the compiler of the Catalogue had misunderstood the statement in the colophon of that Ms. which runs:

iti Śrinandīśvarāvatare śrīśivasvāminoktaṃ Sandhyāmāhat-

myam iti bhadraṃ (in Śāradā characters). The book is in the form of a dialogue between Devī and Bhairava, which words are synonymous with Pārvatī and Śiva. In the colophon the writer means 'here ends the Sandhyāmāhātmya as told by Śrī Śivasvāmin (i. e., by Lord Śiva) to Devī. This Śivasvāmin has, therefore, nothing to do with the author of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

THE SOURCES OF THE POEM.

The story of Kapphiṇa, or Mahākaphiṇa, or Kapphiṇa the Great, or Kapphiṇa the Elder, is found in the Avadānaśataka¹ in the Manorathapūraṇi,² which is a commentary on the Aṅguttara Nikāya, and in the commentary on the Dhammapada³

Synopsis of the Three Stories.

(1)

The Avadānaśataka.⁴

Kapphiṇa in one of his previous births was contemporary with Vipasyī and built a Vihāra. He was, then, known as Brahmadaṭṭa, King of Benares, when he served a Prateyaka Buddha, and, in the time of Kaśyapa, he achieved complete control of his senses. In the time of Sākyamuni he was known as the son of Kalpa, a King in Southern India. When he was in power he sent an insolent message to the rulers of six cities, Śrāvastī and others, in Northern India, that they must submit to his rule. The rulers of those cities took refuge under the Buddha who appeared on the scene and converted King Kapphiṇa who had come there under the command of the Buddha. He was then raised to the status of an Arhat.

(1) Bibliotheca Buddhica III.

(2) P. T. S. Manorathapūraṇi Vol. I.

(3) P. T. S. The Commentary on the Dhammapada, Vol. II.

(4) Les Annales du Muse Guimet, Tome 18, pp. 336f and 459.

The Manorathapūraṇi.

In the days of the Padamuttarabuddha, Kappaṇa, in a previous birth lived at Haṃsavatī, and in the time of the Kassapasammāsambuddha was born at Bārānaśi.

In the time of the Buddha he was born at Kukkuṭavatiṇagara as King Kappaṇa and his wife Anojā who had desired earnestly in her previous birth when she was the wife of King Kappaṇa, (who was then the chief householder in Bārānaśi), to be so named.

King Kappaṇa heard of the Law, the Buddha, and the Saṅgha from merchants who visited his country. He renounced his kingdom and went forth to meet the Buddha, who foreseeing Kappaṇa's attitude had stationed himself on the bank of the Candabhāgā. King Kappaṇa with his followers crossed the Gaṅgā and another river before he came to the Candabhāgā, where he met the Buddha, who converted him to Buddhism. His queen, Anojā, when she heard of her husband's renunciation followed in his footsteps and came to the Buddha who converted her as well. One day Mahākappaṇa was heard saying, 'Oh happiness! Oh happiness!' The monks concluded that he was thinking of the happiness of his kingdom, but the Buddha told the monks that it was the happiness of drinking of the Law and he recited the 79th verse of the Dhammapada.

'He who drinks of the Law lives happily with a serene mind
In the Law preached by the noble, the sage ever finds his joy'.

The Dhammapada Commentary (1).

Kappaṇa, in his previous birth, was a contemporary of the Buddha Padmuttara. In another birth, as a head weaver

(1) See 'Buddhist Legends' by E. W. Burlingame (H. O. S.), Vol. 28, P. 101, Vol. 29, P. 167.

he served a thousand Paccakabuddhas. In the time of the Buddha Kassapa he was the senior householder at Benares where he and his community presented a monastery to the monks. His wife presented Anojā flowers to the Buddha.

This Community of householders is born in Kukkuṭavati and their senior is King Kappina whose wife is Anojā. King Kappina and the courtiers, Queen Anojā and her ladies-in-waiting, hear of the Buddha, the Law, and the Order, and they set out to visit the Buddha. They cross three rivers the Aravacchā, the Nīlavāhanā, and the Candabhāgā before they meet the Buddha who expounds to them the Law and they retire from the world.

The elder Kappina is found rejoicing and saying 'Oh happiness?' The monks think that he is reminded of his former happiness as King. The Buddha tells them that it is the happiness of the Nibbāna and recites the 79th Stanza of the Dhammapada.

The same story with very minor differences from the one given above is translated by T. Rogers in his Buddhaghoṣa's Parables, pp. 78—85. Its summary may be given as follows:—

There lived near Benares a thousand weavers who served a thousand Paccaka-buddhas with food and drink and built monasteries for them. They were reborn in Benares in families of wealthy men and pleased Kassapa who was then preaching the Law. Afterwards they appeared in the Nat country, and in the time of the Gotama they were born in the country of Kukkuṭavati. The head weaver's wife was the daughter of the great king of the Sāketa country. Five hundred merchants came from the country of Sāvatthi and informed the King of the 'Three Jewels', the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha. The King was filled with devotion and joy when he heard of the 'Three Jewels'. He renounced his kingdom and set off on his journey to the place where 'The Jewels' were found. He crossed the Avarakka, the Nīlavāha

and the Kandāpa rivers. On the other side of the Kandāpa river he met the Buddha who expounded the Law to him and made him a Sōtāpanna. The Queen also, with her attendants, was admitted into the Order.

Thus we possess two versions of the legend of Kapphiṇa as preserved in the Sanskrit Avadānaśataka and the Pāli commentaries. In the former King Kapphiṇa is said to have ruled in the Dakṣiṇāpāṭha and in the latter at Kukkuṭavattī, whose geographical position has not yet been ascertained. In the Avadānaśataka Kapphiṇa invades Śrāvastī, when he is converted to Buddhism by a miracle; while in the Pāli versions he voluntarily renounces his kingdom.

Sivaśvamin following the version of the Avadānaśataka in writing his Kapphiṇābhīyudāya has introduced many changes and that with evident reason. The deviations from the legend in the Avadānaśataka are :

- (i) King Kapphiṇa is informed by a spy that Prasajit, ruler of Śrāvastī is hostile towards him. He holds a Council of his allies who decide that an embassy should be despatched to Prasajit asking him to make submission to him. Otherwise war will be declared. (Kapphiṇā. 1-V).
- (ii) The digression which follows is introduced to conform to the rules of writing a Mahākāvya.
- (iii) The envoy goes to Prasajit who refuses to submit.
- (iv) War is declared and the two opposing armies engage in a fierce battle.
- (v) The Buddha appears on the scene as the result of the prayers of Prasajit who is unable to withstand the advance of the enemy. The Buddha changes the mind of King Kapphiṇa with a miracle. He preaches to

him the Law, but when requested by King Kapphina to initiate him into the order, he refuses to do so but admonishes him to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom.

(vi) Queen Anojā is not mentioned by Śivasvāmin.

The first four of these departures from the original are due to the regulations for writing artificial Sanskrit poetry of high standard, while the fifth one shows the influence of the Hindu ideal of life as found in the Laws of Manu. The doctrine of 'Non-attachment' in the pursuit of one's duties finds full adherence by śivasvāmin. The Buddhist ideal of monkhood is replaced by that of a householder, who seeks salvation by doing his duties in a spirit of self-renunciation. Silence about Anojā also shows the tendencies of the time which preferred a householder's life to that of a monk.

The Name Kapphina.

M. Burnouf in the Lotus ⁽¹⁾ suggested Kūmpilya as the locality which gave rise to the name. He gives various readings of the name as found in the Buddhist Sanskrit works.

(1) Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi. pp. 1, 294.

The readings are "kapphilla", "kaphina", "kaphin". "kamphilla", "kaphina", and "kachphila".

A bibliography for the name and Story of King Kapphina.

- (1) The Avadānaśataka, Bib. Buddhica III.
- (2) Saddharmapūṇḍarīka ed. H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, 1912, pp. 2. 207.
- (3) The Saundarānanda ed E. H. Johnston, 1928, (XVI.90).
- (4) The Lalitavistara—Bibliotheca Indica 1877, p. 1.
- (5) S. B. E. Vol. XXI, 2, 2 n, 198; vol. XLIX (ii) 2, 90.
- (6) Rgya Tchér Ral Pa-tr. par Ph. Ed. Fouceaux 1848.
- (7) J. R. A. S. 1880, p. 25.

The Pāli Text Society Publications, 8—25.

- (8) The Apadāna II, p. 468.

(continued.)

In Chinese Kappiṇa or Kamphilla has come to be associated with the Constellation Scorpio and is suggested that Kappiṇa was so called because he was born in answer to prayer addressed—

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- (9) Manorathapūraṇi Vol. I. p. 318.
- (10) Saṃyutta Nikāya I, pp. 145, 146; II, pp. 284–5; V, p. 315.
- (11) Aṅguttara Nikāya I, p. 25; III, p. 299.
- (12) The Thera and Therīgāthā (1883) I. p. 61.
- (13) Udāna I, p. 5.
- (14) Sumaṅgalāvilāsinī p. 240.
- (15) Paramatṭhadīpanī Part III, pp. 78, 81.
- (16) Mahābodhivamsā p. 83
- (17) Nettiprakaraṇa p. 151.
- (18) The Commentarī on Dhammapada Vol. II. pp. 112—127.
- (19) Paramatthajhotikā I, 1333; II, 440.
- (20) The Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa p. 393.
- (21) Gradual Sayings, Vol. I. p. 20.
- (22) Psalms of the Brethren pp. 254, 366.
- (23) The Path of Purity, p. 455.
- (24) Kindred Sayings, Vol. I. pp. 183, 194; Vol. II, pp. 193—94; Vol. V, p. 279.
- (25) J. P. T. S. 1888, p. 66.
- (26) The Jātaka, Vol. IV. p. 112.
- (27) Further Dialogues of the Buddha (S. B. B.) Vol. V, ii, 199.
- (28) H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 82.
- (29) Nariman, Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, pp. 45, 164.
- (30) Rajendralal Mitra—Nepalese Buddhist Literature, p. 38.

ed to the Regent of Scorpio. (2) M. Sylvain Lévi (3) has given Kosala and Kipin under the Nakṣatra Rohiṇī.

With regard to the association of the word Kapphina with Kipin or Kapin or Kophene I have to make one suggestion :

- i. In the Pāli texts (4) the King is said to have crossed the Candrabhāgā before he met the Buddha. This shows that he must have come from the North if the Candrabhāgā is the modern Chenab of the Punjab. His personal features, especially the Aryan nose, also resemble that of a man from the North. (5)
- cf. 'Do you see that monk coming to us, pale, thin, with prominent nose.'—Kindred saying II. pp. 193–4.
- ii. Kipin or kapin may denote the kingdom of Kāśmīra (6) and the poet Sivasvāmin may have chosen a theme by which he could sing the glories of Kāśmīra as well as that of Kapphina, one of the twelve great disciples of the Buddha.

Derivation of the word Kapphina.

Akamuna, a dictionary of Buddhist names, gives Mahākappina (Skt. Mahākālpina). In the Avadānaśataka he is said to be the son of King Kalpa (lit. a cycle of time). Kalpin will therefore mean 'one lasting an aeon.' Kalpa also means 'competent'. It is befitting that one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha should be so named, unless we take the name to refer to his kingdom Kophene or Kipin or Kapin. (7) The Lalitavistara has Kaphila and Kashphila. (8)

(2) Handbook of Chinese Buddhism by Eitel (1904).

(3) The Bulletin de L'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Tome V, 1905, pp. 263, 271.

(4) See the Commentary of the Dhammapada in P. T. S.

(5) See Mrs. Rhys David's 'Sākyā or Buddhist origins' p. 59. 140 f.

P. T. S. Gradual Sayings I. 20.

Psalms of the Early Buddhists, p. 256 n.

(6) See Max Müller, S. B. E, XXI 2 n.

Stein—Rājatarāṅgiṇī II, 354.

Lévi—Journal Asiatique 1895, vi. p. 371.

Przyłuski—La Légende de L'Empereur Aśoka under Kipin'.

Watters—On Yuan-Chwang i, 259, 278 289 290.

(7) See V. A. Smith, Early History of India (3rd edition) pp. 266 n, 374 n.

(8) See The Lalitavistara ed. Lefmann (1902) p. 1.
Mitra (1877) p. 1.

In later Sanskrit Literature when the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* was referred to we find many variants for the name *Kapphiṇa*.

- i. In the footnotes on page 202 of the *Vyākhyāsudhā*, a commentary on the *Amarrkoṣa*, we have 'Kathitābhyudaye', due to the ignorance of the exact word.
- ii. In the *Ṭikāsarvasva* we have 'Karpi', 'Kacchi' and 'Kalpi' on pages 18, 132, 132 respectively.
- iii. In one of the India Office Manuscripts, No. 541, p. 118, of the *Padcandrikā* of *Rāyamukuta* it is written as *Kaṣphina*.

iv. In the *Manoramā* of *Ramānātharai* we have *Kaphila*.

If we derive it from *klṛp*, the aspirate in 'Kapphiṇa' is inexplicable, unless there were such a word as 'kaṣṭhiṇa', which would give *Kapphiṇa* like 'puppha' 'nipphala' from 'puṣpa' and 'niṣphala.'

King Kapphiṇa and Barabudur.

In Professor Krom's 'Barabudur' one finds that the reliefs on the second main wall of the Barabudur temple in Java follow the text of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, a Buddhist Sanskrit work. Mr. B.C. Shastri, M. A., M. O. L., in his article in *Bijdragen tot de Taal., Land—en Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch—Indie*, Deel, 19, Afl. 1, pp. 173-81, has tried to supplement Professor Krom's identification of this text. According to him the following text of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is carved on the Second relief:—

न च ते महाश्रावकाः शरिपुत्रमौद्गल्यायनमहाकाश्यप-

रेवतसुभूत्यनिरुद्धनन्दिकप्पिणकात्यायनपूर्णा-

मैत्रायणीपुत्रप्रमुखा जेतवने तथागतविकुर्वितमद्राक्षुः

The *Śrāvakas* headed by Śāriputra, Maudgalāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Rāivata, Subhūti, Anirudha, Nandika, Kapphiṇa, Kāt-

yāyana, Pūrṇa, and Maitrāyaṇīputra did not see the miracles of Tathāgata.

The Haravijaya, Magha, and the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

In the following pages a comparison of the poem with Māgha and the Haravijaya has been made and it will be noticed how common stray phrases and even single lines in stanzas in the three Kavyas so closely resemble. These twenty-four groups of stanzas will give the reader an idea of the influence exerted by Māgha and Ratnākara ⁽¹⁾ on Śivasvāmin in the choice of language, thoughts and feelings.

But the similarities which exist in thought or in language in certain cases do not necessarily mean that there was actual plagiarism practised by Śivasvāmin. In the works of two inspired poets especially where they (the works) belong to the same class of poetry, following the same set of rules, descriptions of the similar objects may correspond and the language they choose to express their common ideas may turn out to be more or less similar.

Moreover, in the training of a Sanskrit poet it was essential that he should set up a model for the exercise of his poetic talent and then attempt to equal and excel it. Śivasvāmin sometime does not merely borrow phrases or poetic expressions from Māgha and Ratnākara, but improves upon their ideas and expressions.

1. See i. For Māgha and Ratnākara see Jacobi W. Z. K. M. IV, p. 236 ff.

ii. Kāvyaṁiṁsā of Rājasekhara, Chap. XI.

iii. Thomas in Bhandārkar Commemoration Volume.

I.

Haravijaya

अस्त्युन्नते सुरसरिजलध्राव्यमान-
भागे नवार्करोचिमन्दरेशलशृङ्गे ।
ज्योत्स्नावतीति नगरी भुवनत्रयैक-
भूषा शशाङ्कशिरसीव शशाङ्कलेखा ॥ १,४

'There is on the lofty peak of the Mandara Mountain, whose region is washed by the celestial Ganges and which has the glow of the morning sun, a town, Jyotsnāvati by name, an ornament of the three worlds, like the digit of the moon on the head of the bull-marked God.' I. 4

Kapphiṇābhyudaya

अस्ति प्रथा परमदैत्यसुखायनीभि-
स्यूता गजाननगुहावसिताधिविन्ध्यम् ।
लीलावतीति नगरी कलितापदाना
दुर्गेव भावितरणा हरिणाङ्कनेन ॥ १,२

'There is on the top of the Mountain Vindhya near Ganesha caves a town, the happy abode of gods, shedding lustre, Līlāvati by name, well known in the Apadānas, like Durgā—born on the mount Vindhya, source of trouble to the great demon, unaccompanied by Ganesha and Skanda, taking delight in battle and followed by Śiva. I. 2

II.

शय्यागृहं सुरतकेलिविमर्दशीर्ष-
कर्णवितंसविकचोत्पलपत्रखण्डैः ।
यत्राङ्गना दलयतः कुसुमायुधस्य
भग्नैः कृपाणशकलैर्विकीर्णमासेत् ॥ १,१६

शय्यालयेष्वसितपद्मवतंसराजिः
यस्यां रराज रमणैरुपभुक्तमुक्ता ।
उदात्ममन्मथमहेभविकीर्णशीर्ष-
खेलस्खलत्स्फुटविशृङ्खलशृङ्खलश्रीः ॥ १,१४

'Where the bed chamber was scattered over with bits of the petals of blossomed lotus flowers used as ear ornaments which were broken in the amorous sports and which looked like pieces of the broken daggers of the flower-weaponed god who had been molesting women.' I, 16.

III.

रोषारुणीकृतदृशो नडकूबरस्य

हुङ्कारधूमपटर्ली मुखरन्ध्रभागात् ।

दैत्याधिराजकवलीकरणादरेण

कृत्यामिवैक्षत जनः सहसोत्पतन्तीम् ॥ ७, १३

तत्रत्यैश्चकिततरं निरीक्षमाणा

सम्भाव्यत्रिभुवनवस्मरोप्रशक्तिः ।

कृत्येवभ्रुकुटिरितिस्फुटा ललाटे

शाल्वस्य प्रसरदमर्षमुल्लूलास ॥ ३, २८

'The people saw the mass of smoke of 'humkāra,' coming out of the cavity-like mouth of Naḍakūbara, whose eyes were red with anger, as if it were the goddess Kṛtyā springing up suddenly to swallow the lord of demons.' VII. 13

'Observed with great surprise by those who were present there a distinct frown appeared on the forehead of śālva as his anger increased, which (frown) was like Kṛtyā of terrible power, eager to devour the three worlds.'

III. 28

IV.

प्लोषावलग्नस्य वपुष्युदग्र-

ज्वालाजटालस्य विलोचनाग्नेः ।

प्रशान्तिहेतोरिव सम्भ्रमेण

निर्यान्ति घर्मादकशीकरौघाः ॥ ९, ६३

अन्तःस्थस्फुरदुरुमन्युवह्निसृष्ट-

स्पष्टौष्म्यं कथनविशेषशङ्कयेव ।

भीमस्य द्रुततरविद्रुतं निलीय

स्वेदाम्भो बहु बहिरानशे शरीरम् ३, १९

‘The drops of perspiration came fast out of the body in order to extinguish the fire of intense flames issuing from the eyes and burning the whole body.’ IX. 63

‘Profuse water of perspiration immediately covered the exterior of Bhīma’s body which was extremely heated by the huge fire of anger blazing within, as if it were afraid lest the latter should burn it more.’ III. 13

V.

निरूपयामो नयवर्त्म केवलं

यथाभिलाषास्तु परस्य वृत्तयः ॥ १२, १९

वचो हि वाच्यं हितमायतो चरेः

स्वतः प्रमाणं परतस्तु भूपतेः

स्वतन्त्रवृत्ता विधयो विधेरिव ॥ २, २४

‘We shall only deliberate upon the policy; beyond that your own sweet will shall be the guide in the course of action.’ XII. 19

‘The spies have to tell what will be beneficial in the future. After that, the King’s ordinances proceeding independently like those of fate are authority in themselves.’ II. 24

VI.

Haravijaya

विभर्ति पारिप्लवतामुदन्वतः
तदूर्मिसंसर्गकृतामवेत्थिता ।
अत्रैमि लक्ष्मीर्नयवर्त्मनागता
स्थिरं निवन्धाति नृपे पदं पुनः ॥ १२, ३३

‘Lakṣmī arising out of the ocean carries with her the fickleness due to her association with the waves, but I know, when she is acquired by a King through policy, she fixes her abode.’
XII. 33

Kapphinā blegudaya.

गुस्तरगिरिमन्थत्तोभितत्तोभ्यसिन्धु-
व्यतिकरसभोग्या वासनावासितेव ।
समभिमताविमर्दा रौद्रकर्मप्रियेषु
प्रसरति रममाणा तादृशेष्वेव लक्ष्मीः ॥ ४, ३१

‘The Goddess of Fortune (Lakṣmī), as if permeated with a liking for enjoying the play of the waters of the restless sea which is disturbed by churning with the lofty mountain, is fond of strife and delights in moving among such people as like violence.’ IV. 31

VII.

अभ्येयुषां विरचिताञ्जलिबन्धमुर्वी-
तृष्णा दयर्द्रमनसा परिरत्तासून् ।
येनोपतापशमनैकरसेनखङ्ग-
धाराजलैः शममनीयत शत्रवाणाम् ॥ १६, ३९
फूत्कारपावकशिखानिकरो दिधत्तु
राक्रान्तकालियफणानिकुरुम्बमुक्तः ।
निर्वापितः सपदि यस्य शिखण्डमूल-
निष्यन्दमानयमुनाजलनिर्भरोधैः ॥ १६, ७४

‘Who, with a compassionate heart and with the one aim of alleviating suffering, spared the lives of his enemies, who approached with folded hands, and quenched their thirst for territory with the water of the edge of his sword.’ XVI 39

‘The mass of flames, blown out by the numerous hoods of Kāliyanāga who was subdued, was at once extinguished, the moment it was ready to burn, by the current of the water of the Yamunā flowing below his crest.’
XVI. 74

उल्लास्य कालकरवालनवाम्बुवाहं

देवेन येन जरठोर्जितगर्जितेन ।

निर्वापितः सकल एव रणे रिपूणां

धाराजलैस्त्रिजगति ज्वलितः प्रतापः ॥ १,१४

This verse combines XVI, 39 and 74 of the Haravijaya.

‘Raising the fresh clouds of swords dreadful like death, this King, with his terrible thunder has totally extinguished the blazing prowess of his enemies in the three worlds with the waters of the flashes (of his swords), just as raging heat is brought to an end by showers of rain poured by God Indra amid thunder.’ I. 24

VIII.

तत्तस्य कश्चिदुपयातु समीपमाशु

सन्देशदानचतुरो दितिजस्य दूतः ।

भिन्नेतरप्रकृतिमिण्डलकार्यतत्त्व-

बोधे यतः प्रणिधिरेव रिपोस्तमाहुः ॥ १६,७९

तदुपान्तमियातु कश्चन

द्विषदोक्तस्तवशासनात्पुनः ।

रिपुसंप्लवजिष्णुभूभुजां

परमास्त्रं खलु दूतभारती ॥ ९,३९

‘Then let some spy clever in conveying messages at once go to him, the descendant of Diti; for the emissary is said to be the only means of knowing the truth about the affairs of an enemy’s kingdom, his allies and

‘Let some one by your command first go to him in the country of the enemy. Indeed’ the words of a messenger serve as a weapon for Kings who desire to conquer a host of enemies.’ V. 39

his foes.’ XVI. 79

IX

विभ्राणरधिकगुणैत्वमङ्गनानां

हस्ताग्रैः प्रसभमकारि पल्लवानाम् ।

प्रत्यग्रोज्ज्वलनिजशोभया सरागैः

भग्नानामपि पुनरुक्त एव मङ्गः ॥ १७, १८

त्विषानया करकमलस्य खण्डिते

दधासि किं मयि पुनरुक्तखण्डनाम् ।

समालपन् मधुरमधुव्रतारवै-

मृगेक्षणादिमिव बालपल्लवः ॥ १९, २०

'The fingers of ladies, which were possessed of greater excellence and which were red, rendered the impetuous plucking of petals superfluous, for they (the petals) had already been vanquished by their fresh brilliant lustre.' XVII. 52

'Why do you cause (by plucking) an unnecessary wound to me who have already been hurt by the lustre of your lotus-like hands'—thus did the young sprout seem to address the fawn-eyed one through the sweet hum of the bees.' IX. 16

X.

वीचिचोभाविभवत्सम्भ्रमत्वात्

कान्तं काचित् सस्वजे जातसौख्या ।

प्रायेणेत्यं श्रेयसे विक्रियापि

प्रार्दुभूता कल्पते कोमलानाम् ॥ १८, १९

'Another (lady) embraced her beloved when she became restless on account of the disturbance caused by the waves; and she was delighted. It often happens that even an apparent calamity turns out to be a source of happiness for the delicate ones.' XVIII. 41

प्रतिनववनिता नितान्ततान्ता

जलममतीर्य ततस्तरङ्गभीरुः ।

अगलितमलगद् गले स्वभर्तु-

र्विपदपि कुत्रचिदावहेत् फलाग्र्यम् ॥ २०, २१

'The young lady who was much vexed by her new rival entered the water and, when afraid of the waves, clung close to the neck of her husband. Even calamity at certain times may bring about the best of results.' X. 21

XI.

व्यक्तोपकारमधुना स्थगितासु दिक्षु

प्रेयोगृहं सुखमलक्षितमेव यामः ।

धम्मिलवन्धरुचिरैरभिसारिकाभिः

प्रेम्णा तमश्चिरमितीव शिरोभिरूहे १९,४३

‘Now that the quarters have become obscure, we shall easily go unnoticed to the dwellings of our lovers. The ladies going to their lovers seemed for a long time to bear lovingly on their heads the darkness as a benefactor in the form of beautifully braided tresses.’ XIX. 43

प्रियवसतिप्रयाणसमये पिदधत्पदवी-

मिदमुपकारि न स्तम इतीव विनम्रगमाः ।

अलिमलिनस्य वेणिवलयस्य रुचां निचयै-

रभिसरणोत्सुकाः प्रियतमाः पुपुषुः सुदृशः ॥

११,३९

‘This darkness is our well-wisher for it conceals our path at the time of our going to the dwellings of our lovers,’ so the loving ladies of beautiful eyes walking softly fostered it by the ‘masses of gleam’ of their braids, blackened by bees, when they were eager to set out to their rendezvous.’ XI. 35

XII.

स्रस्तान्धकारवसनां रजनोपुरन्ध्री-

मालिङ्गति प्रियसुधास्रुति दिक्सखीभिः ।

दूरं मृणालशकलामलतन्मयूख-

हासच्छटाञ्चितमुखीभिरिवापसन्ने ॥ २०,४७

‘When the moon (emitter of delightful ambrosia) had embraced the damsel of the night who had thrown off her garment of darkness, then withdrew her friends, the quarters, whose

श्यामां समाश्लिष्य सरागमिन्दौ

नभः स्थलं तल्पमिवाधिरूढे ।

तमोमुचः सख्य इवोत्सन्नयो

दिशः शनैर्दूरमिवापसन्तः ॥ १२,१९

‘When the moon who embraced the night out of love ascended the terrace-like sky, the quarters which were delighted, moved gradually away as if

faces were brightened with they were the friends (of smiles denoted by the rays, Night).’ XII. 15
white like bits of lotus-stalks.’

XX. 47

XIII.

आह्लादेहतुनिरवद्यशरीरयष्टि-

लावण्यकान्तिकलुषीकरणेन तासाम् ।

आसीत् कुशलयदशामयथार्थतैव

पर्यस्तमास्तररुचामपि भूषणानाम् ॥ २३, ४६

‘The ornaments, which scattered brilliancy all round, did not serve their purpose in the case of the lotus-eyed ones for they defiled the beauty of the slender limbs which were spotless and a source of delight.’ XXIII. 46

मृगीदृशामङ्गलतानुपङ्क्ति-

लावण्यलक्ष्मीपिहितप्रभेण ।

यथावदप्याकलितेन तासां

स्फुटा न लेभे प्रतिकर्मणा श्रीः ॥ १२, ३६

‘The toilet of the fawn-eyed ladies, even though carefully done, did not attain any grace, for its beauty was overshadowed by the natural loveliness of their tender, creeper-like bodies.’ XII. 36

XIV.

उदयशिखरिशृङ्गवेदिकायां

नवरुधिरारुणकान्तिं भानुविभ्रम् ।

अनुकृतदिवसप्रवेशलक्ष्मी-

प्रसवविशङ्कटगर्भशय्यमासीत् ॥ २८, ८०

‘The orb of the sun, whose brightness was like the redness of fresh blood, appearing on the altar of the top of Udayācala, was like the embryo from which was to emerge the glory of the day.’ XXVIII. 80

प्राचीशवासोपममरुदधिप्राच्यशैलाश्मशय्यं

संप्रप्तायां दिवि नवनवां वासरस्य प्रसूतिम्

आविर्भावो भवति रुधिराधारमिश्रस्य सद्यः

साङ्क्रान्त्यां ककुभि कलभस्येव सन्ध्यातपस्य

॥ १९, १८

‘At the time of the birth of the day on the bed of Udayācala, the breeze seeming to be the sigh of the Eastern quarter, there appears in the Eastern direction the twilight sun as if it were the young one of an elephant besmeared with blood.’

XV. 18

XV.

इतिगिरमुपकरण्य प्रेयसीबाहुबन्ध-

व्यतिकरकृतरत्नावपकव्यक्तचिह्नम् ॥ २९, ६३

‘Having heard these voices (Śiva), showing (on his neck) the marks of golden bracelets which were tied to the arms of his beloved (left his bed).’ XIX. 63

इति गिरमुपकरण्य मागत्रीयां

श्लथशयनः सुहृदोगृहेऽभिरत्य ॥ १६, ३९

‘Having thus heard the panyrics of the bards, (the King), after enjoying himself at the house of his friend, left his bed.’ XVI 35

XVI.

स शृण्वन्नात्मनोऽभिरत्यां

राजमार्गानलङ्घयत् ॥ ३२, ३१

‘He hearing his own praise passed along the main road.’ XXXII. 31

जगाहेऽविरलां राजद्वारं दूतो जितद्विषः ॥ १६, ११

‘The messenger of him who had conquered his enemies entered the gate of the palace which was thronged with people.’

XVII.

क्रूरेऽपि मार्दवोपेता वामाचरेऽपि दक्षिणाः ।

पापेऽपि शुद्धमतयस्त्वादृशा भुवि दुर्लभाः ॥ ३२, ७९

‘People like you who are soft-hearted towards the harsh, straightforward towards the crooked, and pure-minded towards the sinful are scarce in the world.’ XXXII. 79

वैभवेऽप्यनहङ्काराः शक्तावपि मृदुक्रियाः ।

सौम्यास्तेजस्यपि स्युः के द्वित्रा अपि भवादृशाः ॥

१६, २८

‘There are but two or three persons like you, who are humble even in wealth, gentle in deeds even in power, and modest even in authority.’ XVI. 28

XVIII.

शौर्यद्रुमो भुवनकाननसौम्यराति-

सौमन्तिनीजनजटादृढमूलबन्धः ३३, ६

शौर्यद्रुमः समाधित द्विषदां गृहेषु

शाखाशिफानिबडतोत्रमयीमवस्थाम् १, ३१

'The tree of valour, in the border forests of whose kingdom, had its roots firm in the matted hair of the matrons of the enemy.' XXXIII. 6

'The tree of valour grew stronger in the dwellings of his enemy taking a firm hold with thick fibrous roots and branches.' I. 31

XIX

Māgha

प्राग्भारतः पतदेहेदमुपत्यकासु
शृङ्गारितायतमहेभकराभमम्भः ।
संलक्षते विविधरत्नकरानुविद्ध-
मूर्द्धप्रसारितसुराधिपचापचारु ॥४,४९

'Here on the foot of the hills comes down from the top the water-fall, resembling the long and decorated tusk of an elephant; and as it is pierced by the rays (of colour) from the jewels it looks like a rainbow shooting upwards., IV. 49

Kapphiṇābhyudaya

प्राग्भारदीर्घदृष्टदुत्थितनिर्भराम्बु-
लाम्बिप्रवाहविकरालकरः करोति ।
सिन्दूरसुन्दरपरागपिशङ्गमूर्ध्ना
रम्भाविजृम्भितरशेमिभानुकारम् ॥६,९९

This mountain looks like an elephant, who has a prominent trunk in the form of a long torrent of water which pours out from underneath the big rock on its top, who has its head made yellow by the pollen of the Sindūra flowers, and who has the plantain trees for its long tusks. VI. 55

XX.

अवजितमधुना तवाहमक्ष्णो-
रुचिरतेयत्यवनम्य लज्जयेव ।
श्रवणकुवलयं विलासवत्याः
भ्रमररुतैरुपकर्णमाचक्षे ॥७,६०

तनुत्विषो गुणगणशालिनःपुरः
क्षमा स्थितिर्न सुतनुलोचनस्य ते ।
श्रुतिस्पृशोऽसितनलिनस्य षट्पदः
क्वणान्ति विधित विगर्हणामिव ॥ ९,३९

'Now I am vanquished by the lustre of your eyes', thus the lotus as if drooping in shame, whispered into the ears of the playful one by means of the humming of the bees'. VII. 60

'It does not become you of feeble lustre to enter into rivalry with the splendid eyes of the fair-limbed one: thus the bee by its humming seemed to reproach the ear-lotus which touched her eyes.' IX. 35

XXI.

आग्राय श्रमजमनिन्धगन्धं

निश्वासश्वसनमसक्तमङ्गनानाम् ।

आरण्याः सुमनस ईषिर न भृङ्गे-

रैचित्यं गणयति को विशेषकामः ॥८,३०

मुखपातितपुरन्ध्रिमौरभोक्त्रैः

नलिनकुलेश्वलिभिः कुजापलीलाम् ।

कलयितुमलसत्वमालम्बे

भवति दृढा मधुपायिनां क वृत्तिः ॥ १०,१४

'Having freely smelt the sighing breath of the ladies, which was pure and fragrant and which arose from weariness,) the bees (no longer) had (any desire for the wild flowers. Who having an intense passion cares for propriety?' VIII. 10

'The bees eager for the fragrance emitted by the mouths of the married women became indifferent to the art of making their abode in beds of lotuses. Those who drink wine have no strength of purpose.' X, 14

XXII.

व्यसरन्नु भूधरगुहान्तरतः

पटलं बहिर्बहलपङ्कुरुचि

दिवसावसानपटुनस्तमसो

बहिरित्य चाधिकमभक्तगुहाः ॥ ९,१९

किमलम्बताम्बरविलग्नमधः

किमवर्धतोर्ध्वमवनीतलतः ।

विससार तिर्यगथ दिग्भ्य इति

प्रचुरीभवन्न निरधारि तमः । ९, २०

'Did the mass of darkness, thick like mud, issue, at the close of day, out of the mouths of the mountain caves, or did it, arriving from the outer regions, establish itself there; did it suspend itself from the sky or shoot up from the surface of the earth; or did it proceed sideways from the quarters? Thus as the darkness gathered in, it became difficult to ascertain (where it came from).' IX. 19-20

दिव इव निस्सृतै गिरिर्नदीभ्य इवोच्छसितै-

र्भुव इव सम्प्लुतैः क्षितितलादिव चोल्लसितैः

जलधितलोद्भवैरिव ककुभ इवोत्फलितैः

तिमिरकुलैरनीषदुदमेषि मसामीलनैः ॥ ११, २०

'Masses of darkness, black as ink, appeared in great abundance, and it seemed as if they had issued forth from the sky or heaved up from the mountains and rivers or sprung up from the ground or shot up from the nether regions or burst forth from the surface of the ocean or had been wafted from the directions.' XI. 30

XXIII.

रजनीमवाप्य रुचमाप शशी

सपदि व्यभूषयदसावीपताम् ।

अविलम्बितक्रममहो महता-

मितरेतरौपकारकृतिमच्चरितम् ९, ३३

कृतोपकारे हि निवेशयन्ति

प्राणैरपि प्रत्युपकारमायः

तथा हि लब्ध्वा ऽभ्युदयं समुद्रा-

दवीवृधत्तं शशभृत् स्वधान्ना ॥ १२, १८

Kapphiṇābhyudaya XII, 18.

The moon, coming in contact with the Night, attained brightness and instantly adorned her (the night) as well. Oh, it is the demeanour of the great that they look to mutual good without any delay. IX. 33

'The noble return the good done to them even at the cost of their lives; therefore, the moon having got her glory from the ocean swelled it by her own lustre.' XII, 18

XXIV.

अकृत्वा हेलया पादमुच्चैर्मूर्धसु विद्विषाम्
कथङ्कारमनालम्बा कीर्तिर्यामविरोहति ।२,९२

पलायमानं पुरुषं रक्तपङ्कज्जुते पथि
अतिकोमलया गत्या कथं श्रीरनुयास्यति १७,३

‘How can glory ascend the sky
unsupported without stepping
sportively on the lofty heads of
the enemies?’ II, 52.

How can the Goddess of
Fortune, treading with soft step
in the road flooded with the
mire of blood, follow a person
who is taking to flight (from the
battlefield).’ XVIII.

Style of Śivasvāmin and his thought.

Śivasvāmin has shown his skill in his choice of language, in his use of poetic imagery, in his mastery in using *double entendre* and in his effective employment of word-figures. At times he improves upon the idea expressed by his predecessors, especially Māgha and Ratnākara (see the comparison), and in some cases he brings into play his powers of concise expression and charming style to such an advantage that he even excels Ratnākara:

शोकं कोकाः कुमुदमलयः सान्द्रवाता दिगन्तान्

दीपावतीरभिमतभुजाभ्यन्तरं चाभिसर्यः ।’

ज्योत्स्नाः काष्ठा निषदनमिना वर्हिणो वासयन्ति

व्योमापान्तास्तिमिरपटलीस्तुह्यमेव त्यजन्ति ॥ १९,२१

‘The ruddy geese give up their sorrow, the bees the lotus flowers, the moist breeze the ends of quarters, the lamps their flames, the ladies the clasp of their lover’s arms, the moonlight the

directions, the lords their homes, the peacocks their roosts, and the darkness the remote parts of the sky—all simultaneously (with the rising of the Sun)'.
 The same idea is expressed by Ratnākara in ten stanzas in the Haravijaya, XXVIII, 108-118.

For conciseness we may quote :

दशनवसने लौहित्येन स्तने च तथोष्मणा
 मधुपपटलीभूते धूमश्रिया कबरीभरे ।
 सरूपि हृदये तासां ज्वालाकुलैर्दृष्टि कज्जलै-
 रिति परिणमन् कन्दर्पाग्निर्विभक्त इवाभवत् ॥ १४,२३

'The fire of love was, as it were, apportioned while being transformed—its redness was in the lip, its warmth in the breast, its smoke in the braid which was covered by bees, its flame in the heart, and its soot (in the form of collyrium) in the eye.'

समजनि न तत्प्रेम त्यक्तं यदीषदपीर्षया
 स्मरसुखसखी नासावीर्ष्या विना कलहेन या ।
 न खलु कलहः सोऽन्योन्यं यः प्रसादनवर्जितः
 प्रसदगविधिर्नासौ यूनो न येन विलिख्ये ॥ १४,७

'There was no love engendered by young people which was untainted with jealousy howsoever small, and jealousy a friend of Kāma's mirth unaccompanied by bickerings was not genuine. These bickerings which lacked mutual conciliation did not serve their proper purpose, and that conciliation was useless which did not melt (the hearts of) young people.'

How close is the sequence of emotions in:

समाधित न या रागिद्वन्द्वं बभूव न सा सखी
 न मदनवशे यावस्थातां न तावपि रागिणौ ।
 मिथुनमिषुभिर्विव्याध क्रमेण न स स्मरो
 न्यविशत न यन्मांसग्रन्थीर्नविद्धमभूच्च तत् ॥ १४,४

‘She who did not bring about the meeting of loving couples was not a true friend, and they were not true lovers who were not swayed by Kāma. He was not Kāma who did not pierce the couples with arrows and that was no piercing which did not enter into the vitals.’

The use of the word ‘muhuh’ in the following stanza adds force and beauty to the expression:—

मुहुरविशदा विश्रम्भार्द्रा मुहुः स्मृतमन्यवो
 मुहुरसरलाः प्रेमप्रह्वा मुहुर्मुहुरीस्थरा
 वितथशपथोपालम्भाज्ञा मुहुर्मधुरा मुहुः ।
 पखिवृधरे निष्पर्यन्ता मिथो मधुरोक्तयः ॥ १४, १२

‘Now indistinct, now moistened with confidence, now reminding of past bickerings, now cunning, now full of affection, now unsteady, now full of false oaths, promises, taunts and commands and again sweet—thus did the mutual pleasant talk prolong endlessly.’

His play of fancy (‘atprekṣā’) is clear from the following:—

चषकाभिमुखं यदा ननाम
 प्रमदा भर्तरि भाषितान्यगोत्रे ।
 प्रतिबिम्बपदेन जातलज्जा
 मधुनीव प्रविवेश तेन नूनम् ॥ १३, ३६

‘When the young lady leaned on the goblet as her husband called out her rival’s name, she was ashamed and seemed to enter the wine, indeed, by means of her reflection.’

रुरुचे चषकार्पिताननाया
 युवतेरुत्पलषट्पदोऽप्रवर्ती ।
 समदादिव निर्गतस्तदानीं
 मनसो मानमयो महान्धकारः ॥ १३, ३४

‘The lotus-bee in front of the lady’s face which was reflected, was like the darkness of pride which had come out of her heart that was full of exhilaration.’

The sunset causes a dismay in the heart of **Cakravāka** birds and the lotus ponds that were so gay and charming look dreary and desolate. Mark the pathos in the following:—

श्लथजलवेणयः पतति वारिणि तिग्मकरे

नूपुरवनम्रपद्मवदनाः शतपत्रभुवः ।

वियुतरथाङ्गनामपृथुपक्षतिनिधूतिभिः

करतलपीडनाभिरिव जन्धुरश्च व्यथिताः ॥ ११, २९

‘The afflicted lotus ponds, with their listless watery braids and drooping lotus faces, smote their body with the palms of their hands as if with the flutterings of the separated ‘Cakravāka’ birds, when the Sun plunged into the water.’

स्फुरति तदेव मण्डनविधौ मधुपायिकुलं

विकसति सैव सान्द्रमकरन्दरसोज्ज्वलता ।

अथ च गतेऽस्तमंशुमति नैव बभौ नलिनी

ध्रुवमसुपात एव दयितच्युतिरेतादृशाम् ॥ ११, २४

‘The same swarm of bees hovers round to decorate it and the transparent flower juice glitters as before, but lotus never did bloom when the Sun had set. For such persons separation from their beloved means death.’

हसितेन जितेन तर्जितेन

क्षयितेवोन्माथितेन निर्धुतेन ।

मधुपानमदेन मानिनीनां

मनसः कापि जगाम मानवृत्तिः ॥ १३, १८

‘As if vanquished by jokes, weakened by taunts, shaken off by frolics, the pride of high-minded ladies disappeared somewhere from their heart,’

प्रतिमाहिमराश्मिरासवस्थः

परिपीतो हिमशीतलस्वभावः ।

कुरुते मम कम्पमेष शैत्या

दिवि मुग्धा मदघूर्णनं विवेद ॥ १३,८

‘The bashful lady thought that the shiver of intoxication was the result of the drinking in of the moon reflected in the wine, who, being naturally cool like snow, causes trembling on account of her coldness.’

Simple language combined with clearness of thought is seen in the use of *yad*:

यदनिष्ठितवस्तु यत्सहासं

यदकारडोद्धति यत्स्वभावमुग्धम् ।

यदसाधुपदं स्वलत्पदं यत्

तदुदेत क्षीवधियां नवं कथामु ॥ १३,१७

‘Whatever was of unsteady purpose, ridiculous, irrelevant, naturally absurd, and out of etiquette, was found afresh in the talks of drunken ones.’

अलसं वचनं दृशो विलोलाः

स्थिरविश्रम्भरसानि चोष्टितानि ।

कलहेऽपि रतिं व्यतन्वतासां

मैधुना सूषकृतं मनोभवस्य ॥ १३,२०

‘Lazy talk, tremulous eyes, and a behaviour full of confidence, were a source of pleasure even when they quarrelled. Wine rendered a great service to Kāma.’

The description of the rising of the moon is full of fine ideas put in graceful language (it will be found in the comparison with Ratnākara given elsewhere). At the same place will be found the description of the appearance of the masses of darkness which, when compared with the two verses from Māgha is more concise and effective.

चित्रैर्यस्य पतत्रिभिर्दशदिशोभ्रान्त्वा समेतैः सुखं

विश्रान्तं शयितं प्रभुक्तमुषितं स्कन्धे फलेः प्रश्रिते ।

तस्यैवोन्मथितस्य दुष्टकरिणा मार्गद्रुमस्याधुना

कारीषाय कषन्ति शेषपरुषां गोपालवालास्त्वचम् ॥ सुभा. ८१०

‘The dried hard bark of the wayside tree which has now been uprooted by a wretched elephant, (but formerly) on whose trunk laden with fruits various birds having roamed in ten quarters happily used to rest, sleep, eat and dwell together, is being peeled by the cowherd-maids to be used as fuel.’

गतो ऽस्तं घर्माशुर्व्रजसहचरानाडमधुना

मुखं भ्रातः सुप्याः सुजनचरितं वायस कृतम् ।

मयि स्नेहाद्वाष्पस्थगितनयनायामपवृणो

रुदत्यां यो यातस्त्वयि स विलपत्येभ्यति कथम् ॥ सुभा० ११४०

‘The Sun has set. Now go to the nest of your mate, brother, sleep well. Crow, enough of the conduct of that good fellow. How can that pitiless creature, who went away even when my eyes were obstructed by tears, which came out of affection, come at your bewailing?’

मधुलिहः प्रविलोक्य हिमाहतां

परिचितामपि पङ्कजिनीं जहुः ।

क सुचिरं क्रियते मलिनात्मभिः

ध्रुवतरा बत रागमयी मतिः ॥८,९२

‘The bees when they saw the lotus pond made desolate with snow forsook it even though (they were) so familiar (with it). Alas, where can the foul-minded people have a steady and enduring affectionate attitude?’ *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* VIII, 52

Alliteration, when it adds force to expression and avoids the intricacies of meaning is very carefully employed in the eighth canto, where the last part of every verse is a ‘yamaka:’

ससुदिते सुरभौ पथिकाः पथि

स्थिरधृतिक्षति चुत्तुभिरे क्षणात् ।

शशभृतीव समीयुषि सिन्धवो

वितिमिरे तिमिरेचितवीचयः ॥ ८,९

‘When the spring season set in, the travellers on their way losing their courage for a moment, were disturbed, just as at the rise of the bright moon the oceans become agitated with their waves disturbed by fish.’ *Kapphiṇābhyudaya* VIII, 9

Some of the verses attributed to śivāsvāmin in the Anthologies are written in the style of the *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, viz.

भोक्तं भङ्क्त्वा न भुङ्क्ते कुटिलविसलताकोटिमिन्दोर्वितर्कतु

ताराकारांस्तृषार्तो न पिबति पयसः स्थूलबिन्दून्दलस्थान् ।

छायां सध्वान्तसन्ध्यतलिकुलशबलां वेत्ति चाम्भोरुहारां

कान्ताविश्लेषभारुर्दिनमीप रजनीं मन्यते चक्रवाकः ॥ सुभा० १८२६

‘The ‘cakravāka’ bird having broken it to eat, does not eat the crooked bit of lotus-stalk, thinking it to be the moon. It does not drink, even though thirsty, the big drops of water looking like stars on the lotus leaves. It takes the lustre of the lotuses dappled by bees to be the twilight accompanied by darkness,

(Thus) overtaken by the cowardice of separation from its beloved it thinks even the day to be night.'

या त्रिभ्रौण्डरुचिर्न विद्रुममणिः स्वप्नेऽपि तां दृष्टवान्

हासश्रीः सुदृशस्तपोभिरपि किं मुक्ताफलैः प्राप्यते ।

तत्कान्तिः शतशोऽपि बह्विपतनैर्हेम्नः कुतः सेत्स्यति

त्यक्त्वा रत्नमयीं प्रयासि दयितां कस्मै धनायाध्वग ॥ सुभा० १०९१

'That gleam of lips was never even dreamt of by the 'vidruma' jewel. Can that lustre of laughter of the beautiful-eyed one be obtained by pearls even by penances? Whence can that loveliness be achieved by gold even by falling into fire a hundred times? Leaving your beloved who is so rich in jewels, for what riches, O traveller, are you journeying?'

His fondness for using terms from dramaturgy in *double entendre* is clear from several stanzas (See the list of allusions) in the poem and the verse in Kṣemendrar's *Kavikanṭhābharaṇam* which he attributes to Śivāsvāmin is a proof of the same tendency. For example, KKBH V, 1.

आतन्वन् सरसां स्वरूपरचनामानन्दिबिन्दूदयं

भावग्राहि शुभप्रवेशकगुणं गम्भीरगर्भस्थिति ।

उच्चैर्धृत्तिसपुष्करन्यातिकरं संसारविष्कम्भकं

भिन्द्यान्वो भरतस्य भाषितमिव ध्वान्तं पयोयामुनम् ॥

'May the waters of the Yamunā displaying a delightful appearance, being a collection of pleasant drops, captivating the feelings, possessing the virtue of auspiciousness for those who bathe in it, having a deep solemn flow and a strong current, having clusters of lotuses, and being a means of putting a stop to the cycle of rebirths, destroy the darkness of your ignorance, like the words of Bharata which manifest their form full of **Rasas** (sentiments), show the development of **Bindu** (germ),

are possessed of **Bhāva** (emotion), have the merit of a good **Praveśaka** (Interlude), contain a profound **garbhasandhi** (middle juncture), have a lofty **vr̥tti** (style), are pervaded by **Puṣkara** (the art of dancing), and abound in **Viṣkambhakas** (a variety of interludes)'.

Compare Kapphinābhy, XIII, 40:—

अग्रे विकीर्णनिभृतप्रणयाद्रिवाक्य-

पुष्पाञ्जलिः सरसविभ्रमसूत्रधारः ।

प्रस्तावनां दयितसन्धिरसैः शिवस्य

वृद्धिं व्यधत् रमणीरतिनाटकस्य ॥

'The stage manager in the guise of delightful amorous sport, scattering in the beginning, the handful of flowers in the form of quiet loveful conversation and with the Emotion caused by the union of the lovers, accomplished his prologue to the auspicious drama of erotic pleasures of the young ladies'.

It is sometimes suggested that *double entendre* and word play in Sanskrit poetry takes away much of the charm in kāvya-style. No doubt it is by no means easy to understand such pieces. But they bring out the richness of the language and the skill of the poet to mould the material in different metres. The citra kāvya was developed with the art of arraying the armies in different forms in the battlefield. Moreover, high class of sanskrit poetry, which is often called 'artificial' was written for the Society who could appreciate such niceties and had the time to indulge in such intellectual pleasures. Sanskrit poets gave the word puzzles a poetic garb which made them more interesting and charming.

Four examples of *double entendre* are given below:—

द्विपदी पदतालयोगभाजः

सहसारेगवराहरासभाजः ।

दधते रमसा विलासशोभां

सममेषोऽद्विरिमा नटस्त्रियश्च ॥ ६, १९

'This mountain and the actresses distinctly look graceful—this mountain rich in animals such as antilopes, boars, and asses and goats; and the actresses, who are smiling, are captivating, are skilled in providing amusement, and are adept in singing 'dvīpadīs' to the accompaniment of their dance.'

अचल एष चकास्ति सुरश्रिया

कुररकीसाकराततयानया

जगति कुञ्जभुवास्य विराजितं

कुररकीसाकिराततयानया

'This mountain shines with the glory of gods, it is rich in ospreys, apes and hogs, and its grove shines with its path covered with the 'kurara', 'kisa', and 'kirāta' plants'.

The stanza I, 23 (Kapphiṇābhy) can be taken to mean the epithets of Kapphiṇa, Śiva and a mountain, *viz.*

तस्यामहनि कटकस्फुटवीरभद्र-

सम्पृक्तशक्तिमहिमामितभूतिशोभी

भृष्टद्वभूव बहुदर्शनभोग्यमूर्तिः

श्रीकाष्मिणाप्रभुविन्दुकलवचूडः ॥

'In that city reigned king Kapphiṇa who had (an emblem like) the digit of the moon on his crest, who was of immeasurable glory on account of the unrivalled superiority of the united valour of the distinguished heroes of his famous metropolis, whose presence was worthy of enjoyment (even) in (spite of) repeated visits; who resembled a mountain of enjoyable form, which is crested with Indukalā plants, which is possessed of abundant lustre that springs from the luxuriant 'vīrabhadra' grass growing on its formidable ridges; and who was like Śiva who has the lord of serpents for his bracelet, who has the digit of the moon for his crest, who has an efficient array of 'gaṇas', and whose form is worthy of enjoyment' even in many visits, and who is possessed of unlimited glory on account of the valour of Vīrabhadra.'

प्रकृतिविकृतिभाजो भंगुरांगस्य भूयः
 छलगातिषु सहिष्णावैरिवर्गाकुलस्य
 स्ततामिति शरीरस्येव राज्यस्य राजन्
 फलमिह परलोकोद्धारशुद्धेः किमन्यत् । ४ । २४ ।

‘O king, what can be the perpetual reward of a kingdom, whose constituents are subject to change and alterations of the ‘prakṛtis’, which suffers from movements of conspiracies and which is disturbed by enemies, other than the glory which comes from the capture of an enemy’s country; just as in the case of the body whose limbs are perishable, which is subject to the alterations of elements, which is disturbed by passions and which endures all the trickeries of delusion, there can be no better reward than its purification and betterment for life in the next world.’

The poem abounds in *double entendre* and magnificent descriptions. A list of stanzas containing play on words will show its richness in that branch. The figure of corroboration is illustrated by the list of maxims and sayings.

Thus, Śiva-svāmin has tried to give expression to his feelings regarding the life at court of the time he lived in. Saturated with the traditional ideals of writing a ‘mahākāvya,’ he has described all that was required in such a poem. But the didactic character of his ‘mahākāvya’ is evident from the finish of his poem.

In his conception of kingly duties, and in his description of a kingdom’s prosperity, he conforms merely to the classic ideals laid down by the long line of Hindu law-givers. But singularly enough in the final message to the world, which he puts in the mouth of the Buddha, he reflects, as though in a mirror, the developing tendency of the period to attempt a compromise between Buddhism and orthodox Hinduism. To a Buddhist, the ideal existence is that of a monk who by following the eightfold path is qualifying for the final struggle to break the bonds of the birth-cycle. According to this conception of monastic life, therefore, nothing could have been more calculated to bring eternal glory and ‘nirvāṇa’ to king

Kapphiṇa than the change of kingly attire for the mean garb of a **Bhikṣu**. But the Poet's Buddha is the final link in the chain of **Avatars** and what could have been more appropriate for him than to end with the message of his predecessor **Śrī Kṛṣṇa**, and to exhort King **Kapphiṇa** to serve the Buddha, the **Dharma** and the **Saṅgha** best by discharging his own regal duties according to the law of **Dharma** ? We, therefore, find in this poem the treatment of a tendency which found its final expression in another fellow-**Kāshmirī Kṣemendra** in his **Daśāvatāracarita**.

His Language And Metre.

In the use of language **Śivasvāmin** is by no means less important than **Māgha** and **Ratnākara**. His fondness to coin new words such as 'āśāvalli' and 'digvalli' for 'kalpalatā', 'harigopikā' for 'indragopikā' ; his use of rare feminine words like 'svādanā' ; 'sambhāṣaṇā', 'iṣu', 'sarasi', 'ṣaṭpadi', 'kaḍyā', 'prasannā', 'paṭālī', 'kalaśī', 'kalasī', 'garjā', 'rujā', 'muraḍjā', his employment of rare words like 'akathamkatha', 'ahamahamikā', 'ārālīka', 'ukhā', 'rama', all these are evidence of the richness of his vocabulary and mark him out to be a literary artist of great eminence who experimented with new material and made use of the choicest and rarest forms of expression. He has made a profuse use of Aorists in the Ninth Canto, of Past Perfect forms in the Fourteenth, and of desideratives and denominatives like his fellow writers of **Mahākāvya**s. The shortening of the long vowel in 'prasūkā' to 'prasukā' (VII,10), and the lengthening of the initial in 'akasmāt' to 'ākasmāt' (XX,20) are departures from the strict rules of **Sanskrit Vyākaraṇa** and are introduced to comply with the adjustment of metre.

In his **Mahākāvya**, **Śivasvāmin** has throughout, made a very apt choice of the style (**rīti**) to confirm to the sentiment (**rasa**), and by that harmony imbues the reader with an appeal and charm of his own. In the first five cantos wherein he describes

the scenes in the court of a king attended by chieftains whose enthusiasm is at its height in anticipation of a war, he employs 'ojoguna' in the service of 'vīraśa'. In the descriptive portion of the poem (VI—XV) he takes us away from the main theme of the poem and uses the 'vaidarbhīṛīti', whose chief qualities, perspicuity, grace, and elevation are best noticeable in his description of the seasons, the rising of the moon, and the Dawn.

Again in the description of the battle scenes he employs long compounds, hyperbolic expressions, and words which lack sweetness, all these being the qualities of 'gauḍi rīti'.

In the closing canto of his poem he has 'mādhurya' (sweetness), 'kānti' (grace) and 'prasāda' (vivacity), which agree with the sublime and tranquillizing influence of the Buddha who is introduced there.

Taking the poem as a whole if we could ignore the 'citra-kāvya', which according to Mammaṭa does not constitute poetry of the highest order, Śivasvāmin's achievement as a Mahākavi does in no way fall short of the ideals of a true Sanskrit poet.

Śivasvāmin has used thirty-eight metres in his poem, but he surpasses Bhāravi and Māgha in employing thirty-four metres where they could only use sixteen and twenty-two in the corresponding cantos of their poems.

Metres ⁽¹⁾ used by Śivasvāmin.

1. Anuṣṭubh.	— 160
2. Upendravajrā	— 9
3. Indravajrā	— 6
4. Upajāti	— 46

(1) See on Metre the following books:—

1. H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol II, p. 62 ff.
2. A. Borooah, *Sanskrit Prosody* (especially for the use of metre in Sanskrit Epic Poems).

5.	Svāgatā	—	46
6.	Śālinī	—	40
7.	Rathoddhatā	—	1
8.	Vamśastha	—	55
9.	Indravamśā.	—	1
10.	Drutavilambita	—	61
11.	Pramitākṣara	—	2
12.	Canalākṣikā	—	1
13.	Sragviṇī	—	1
14.	Toṭaka	—	1
15.	Praharṣiṇī	—	43
16.	Mattamayūri	—	41
17.	Rueirā	—	40
18.	Mañjubhāṣiṇī	—	1
19.	Vasantatilakam	—	65
20.	Kurarīrutā	—	1
21.	Pathyā	—	2
22.	Mālinī	—	49
23.	Śaśikalā	—	1
24.	Tūṇaka	—	1
25.	Vāṇiṇī	—	1
26.	Nardatakam	—	37
27.	Hāriṇī	—	40
28.	Mandākrāntā	—	34
29.	Śikharīṇī	—	1
30.	Vamśapatrapatita	—	1
31.	Sārdūlavikrīḍita	—	8
32.	Sragdharā	—	11
33.	Aśvalalita	—	1
34.	Viyoginī	—	50
35.	Puṣpitāgrā	—	39
36.	Mālabhāriṇī	—	41
37.	Śikhā	—	2
38.	Āryā	—	42
39.	Doubtful	—	11
Total		—	993

Pratikas (1) of quotations from the Kapphinaḥbyudaya and of Stanzas Attributed to Śīvasvamin.

1. अत्यायतैर्नियमकारिभिरुद्धतानाम्
Kapphiṇābhy. I, 24; Kāvya IV, 38. S. R. B. p. 110.
2. आतन्वन् सरसां स्वरूपरचनाम्
KKbh. V, 1.
3. अद्यत्वावधि शिगिद शिगिद
KKbh. IV, 1.
4. आबिभ्रती बभ्रु बभौ नतम्रः
Kapphiṇābhy. XII, 29; Tīkā. II, 381.
5. उत्खातप्रखरां सुखसुखसखी
KKbh. IV, 1.
6. उल्लापयन्त्या दयितस्य दूतीम्
Kapphiṇābhy. XII, 27; Sbhv. 1416.
7. उल्लास्य कालकरवालनवाम्बुवाहं
Kapphiṇābhy. I, 24; Kāvya. X, 39. S. R. B. p. 139.
8. किमुपरिगता भर्त्रा तप्तद्विलोहवदकेता
Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 29; Sbhv. 2099.
9. गतोऽस्तं घर्माशुः
Sbhv. 1140.
10. गुणमयोऽपि सदोष इव कचिद्
Kapphiṇābhy. VII, 30; Sbhv. 1756.
11. चित्रैर्यस्य पतत्रिभिर्दशदिशो
Sbhv. 810.
12. जवनिकावनिकान्तकृता तदा
Kapphiṇābhy. VII, 26. Pada, ii, 6, 3, 32.
तेजोराशौ भुवनजलधेः
Sk. ii, 713.
14. दशा सपदि मीलितम्
Sbhv. 2097.
15. दर्शकाश्मकभूपालौ
Tīkā I, 19 where its source is given as the Kapphiṇābhy.
(Not yet identified).

16. दर्पान्धगन्धगजकुम्भकवाटकूट
Kapphiṇābhy. I, 37. Kāvya IV, 39. S. R. B. p. 129.
17. नवनमेरुफलावलिरावमौ
Kapphiṇābhy. VIII, 53; Ṭikā II, 257.
18. नवकदम्बकदम्बकसन्तत
Kapphiṇābhy. VIII, 36. Ṭikā, IV, 29.
19. निर्माष्टयसौ नीतिमयेन हेतिना
Kapphiṇābhy. II, 38. Ṭikā IV, 98.
20. नेषा वेगं मृदुतनुः
Sbhv. 2107.
21. पित्रापि त्रायते या न खलु
Kkbh. IV, 1.
22. प्रसममिवाङ्गदविहलामहेला
Kapphiṇābhy. X, 11; Pada ii, 6, 1, 2; footnote in Vyākhyāsudhā, under 'mahelā'.
23. प्रेयन्तेऽपि परमरयो हर्म्यवातायनानाम्
Kapphiṇābhy. XV, 13; Ṭikā, II, 39; Pada ii, 2, 17.
Footnote in Vyākhyāsudhā under 'arari'.
24. फलमलघु किं लीलावल्याः
Kapphiṇābhy. XIV, 37. Skm. ii, 628.
25. भद्रात्मनो दुरधिराहतनुर्विशाल
Kapphiṇā I, 38. Kāvya II, 29. S. R. B. p. 109.
26. भोक्तुं भङ्क्त्वा न भुङ्क्ते
Sbhv. 1826.
27. मानिनः कुलवधूरिव रगात्
Kapphiṇābhy. XVII, 26. Ṭikā I, 39; Subhūti.
28. मायातश्च्युतमायातः
Kapphiṇābhy. XVIII, 58; Ṭikā I, 51.
29. मुक्ताभानि पयांसि
Sbhv. 710.

(1) See also Kavīndravacanāsamuccaya pp. 111—113 for further details regarding other anthologies.

30. यत्रालसप्रक्रमसारसाला
Kapṣhinābhy. VI, 6; Tīkā IV, 176; where it is read prabhārasa.
31. रवानद्धा
Kapṣhinābhy. XIX, 14; Tīkā IV, 163; Pada, iii, 4, 12; footnote to Vyākhasudhā under addhā.
32. रुत्तं विरौति परिकुप्यति
Sbhv. 438.
33. वदननिहिते ताम्बूलांशे
Kapṣhinābhy. XIV, 14; Sbhv. 2098.
34. व्यसनमचलं यत्राचार्यो
Kapṣhinābhy. XIV, 15; Sbhv. 15.
35. वदनशशिनः स्पर्शे
Kapṣhinābhy. XIV, 33; Sbhv. 2101.
36. समजनि न तत्प्रेम
Kapṣhinābhy. XIV, 7; Sbhv. 2062.
37. स धूर्जटिजटाजूटो
Subhāṣita Harāvālī*. The authorship is disputed. See the Kavīndravacanāsamuccaya.
38. सेवावाशिशिवावोसे
Kapṣhinābhy. XVIII, 38; Tīkā I, 132; Manōramā of Rāmānathraī p. 176.

Among the above quotations those in Kāvya Prakāśh viz.

- (1) अत्यायते नियमकारिभरुद्वानां (7) ५ रत्नास्वकालकरवालनवाम्बुवाहं
(16) दपान्वगन्धगजकुम्भकवाटकूटं (25) भद्रात्मना दुरधिरोहतनुर्विशाल

have been first traced by me. In सदुक्तिकर्णामृत ii, 628, is found in Kapṣhinābhyndaya XIV, 37.

Buddhist Names And Terms Occurring in The Text.

1. Avadāna I. 2. A legend of glorious achievement,
2. Anātmavattā XX, 17. The theory that 'ātman' does not exist separately.

3. **Āryasatyam** VI, 65; XX, 27. The four truths.
4. **Āsrava** VI, 69. 'Subtle defiling matter'.
5. **Arhatva** VI, 65, The State of being an Arhat.
6. **Buddha** VI, 46; XVIII, 80; XX, 27. The Enlightened.
7. **Bodhi** I, 1; VI, 69; Wisdom, perfect knowledge.
8. **Bhartr**, XX, 20; The Buddha.
9. **Bhūmi** XX, 16; The ten stages of attaining 'nirvāṇa'.
10. **Bhikṣubhāva** XX, 23. The state of being a Buddhist Monk.
11. **Caitya** XVI, 10; A Buddhist Sanctuary.
12. **Daśabala** I, 1; The ten powers possessed by the Buddha. (See *Acta Orientalia* Vol. IX, p. 260.
13. **Dharma** XVI, 2; XX, 15, 27. Doctrine.
14. **Dṛṣṭi** XX, 18. Intuition.
15. **Duḥkha** XX, 14, 15. Suffering.
16. **Dhyāna** VI, 65. Concentrated Comtemplation.
17. **Dhātu** VI, 65. Elements.
18. **Hetumālā** XX, 15. The Chain of causal Laws also known 'pratītyasamutpāda'.
19. **Jina** VI, 23; XVIII, 76. The Buddha.
20. **Māra** XVI, 7. Temptation.
21. **Mukti** XX, 18. Salvation.
22. **Maitrī** XX, 29. Friendliness, one of the Pāramitās, 'Perfections'.
23. **Mokṣa** XVI, 4, 10. Emancipation.
24. **Nirvāṇa** XVIII, 76; XX, 13. Extinction of all suffering.

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|------------------------------|--|
| 25. Nirodha XX, 15. | Extinction; one of the four noble truths. |
| 26. Prātihārī, XVIII, 79; | One who performs miracles. |
| 27. Prātihārya XVIII, 80; | A miracle. |
| XX, 3. | |
| 28. Prāṭisāṃhārya XVIII, 77. | One who performs miracles. |
| 29. Ratnatraya XX, 26. | The three jewels—The Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha. |
| 30. Rāga XX, 18. | Attachment. |
| 31. Saṃskāra XX, 25. | One of the five 'skandhas'. |
| 32. Svāmī XX, 23½. | The Buddha. |
| 33. Śāstrī XX, 19; XX, 33. | The Buddha |
| 34. Sugata XVI, 10; XX, 3. | The Buddha. |
| 35. Saṃgha VI, 46; XX, 27. | The Order. |
| 36. Sparṣa XX, 14. | Sensation. |
| 37. Saṃvid VI, 65. | Knowledge. |
| 38. Śaḍabhiñña VI, 65. | The one possessed of six psychic powers. |
| 39. Upādāna XX, 14. | Substratum. |
| 40. Vedanā XX, 14. | One of the Skandhas. |
| 41. Vihāra XVI, 10. | A Monastery. |

Note.—Śivasvāmin has not used any special terms which could distinctly relate him to any school of Buddhism in Kaśmīra, but has shown his knowledge of the Bauddha philosophy. For full discussion on these terms see—

- i. The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna by Stecherbatsky 1927.
- ii. The Bodhisattva doctrine by Haradaya, 1932.
- iii. Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism by Suzuki, 1907.

Important Paurānic Epic, Tāntric, and other allusions in the poem.

1. Astronomical terms, VIII, 55; XII, 14; XIV, 2.
2. Agastya drinking the ocean, XVIII, 50.
3. Balarāma and Yamunā, I, 27.

4. The Churning of the ocean, IV, 19.
5. Dramaturgy, III, 5; IV, 42; VI, 10, 15, 20, 21, 29, 71; XIII, 1, 46; XVIII, 22.
6. Hiranyagarbha, XI, 2, 34.
7. Indra, VI, 57; XII, 6; XVI, 71; his elephant, XII, 5; XV, 15; his capital, XVI, 5.
8. Janmejaya's serpent sacrifice, III, 18.
9. Kālī or Durgā, I, 10, 37; III, 9; IV, 4; XVI, 7; XVII, 5; XVIII, 10.
10. Kālarātri II, 6; IV, 1; XI, 37.
11. Kāma, I, 21.
12. Kṛṣṇa, III, 4; VI, 18; XI, 33; his mission of peace to the Kauravas, III, 4.
13. Kṛtyā, III, 24, 28; XV, 33.
14. Khāṇḍavadāha, XVII, 12.
15. Lakṣmī, I, 18; X, 19.
16. Musical terms, II, 16.
27. Nala and Damayantī, XVIII, 4.
18. Nāgānanda, VI, 61.
19. Paraśurāma and the Kṣatriyas, IV, 38.
20. Pāṇini, XVIII, 23.
21. Rāhu, I, 13, 27.
22. Śiva, III, 13; his dance, V, 43; XI, 2; his laughter, I, 11, 23; his burning of Kāma, II, 13; VI, 73; his burning of Tripura, XVII, 46.
23. The Sun depositing its lustre in the fire at sunset, XV, 25; XVI, 19.
24. Tantric rites, I, 25, 29; V, 44; XV, 33.
25. Tripuṇḍraka, I, 30.
26. Viṣṇu, 39; XI, 8; as Vāmana, XI, 9; as the Boar in carnation, III, 37; XVII, 113.
27. Yama, III, 3,

SOME OF THE MAXIMS AND SAYINGS IN THE POEM.

1. प्रभुष्वियं सानुगृह्णतानुजीविनां भवन्ति यद्वस्तुषु तत्त्वेवेदिनः २,२
 'This is the return of servants' indebtedness to their masters that they ascertain the essence of things that concern them.'
2. भवन्ति ते भाजनमर्थसंपदां
 विदन्ति ये भृत्यजनानुरञ्जनम् ॥ २,२०
 'They become the recipients of wealth and fortune who know how to please their servants.'
3. रहोहि तद्यत्र न सन्त्यसंस्तुताः २,२४
 'That is a place for privacy where there are no strangers.'
4. विपत्तयो ह्युत्तरपाण्डितं नरं
 त्यजन्ति सिंह हरिणाङ्गना इव ॥ २,३४
 'Miseries leave alone a man who has foresight just as female deer keep away from the lion.'
5. असहनसहवृद्धोत्साहसैकान्तकान्ता
 व्रजति नहि नृपश्रीर्दीर्घतां दीर्घसूत्रे ॥ ४,२३
 'Glory of a king fostered in the company of intolerance and cherished solely by courage does not last long when he procrastinates.'
6. द्रष्टुमयमयोहि प्राज्यतेजोऽभिपङ्गात्
 विघटितकठिनत्वं याति कर्मण्यभावम् ॥ ४,२८
 'A piece of iron when its hardness has been overcome by the appliance of intense heat becomes serviceable.'
7. किमपि बलमलंघ्यं पश्य तेजस्थितायाः ॥ ४,३३
 'Behold what an unsurpassable power glory has.'
8. उपधित्रयशुद्धितो ऽस्य किं
 कनकस्येव परं परीक्षणम् ५,१६

‘What further testing of gold is required when it has been thrice purified.’

9. न हि जातु भवन्ति भङ्गुरा

मतिभूयस्त्वविवेकिताश्रियः ॥ ९,१९

‘The glory of prudence and wisdom never perishes.’

10. न हि नैति विपत्तिबन्धुतां

निपुणामात्य परिष्कृतो नृपः । ९,२०

‘A king who is surrounded by clever Ministers never courts disaster.’

11. स सखा सुखदुःखयोः समः । ९,२१

‘He is the friend who remains the same in grief and happiness.’

12. विजयस्य परं पदं नयः । ९,२४

‘Policy is an excellent means of victory.’

13. ब्रह्माय मनो महीयसां

युगपत् क्रोधतितिक्षयोः क्षमम् । ९,२७

‘Only the mind of the great is able to contain simultaneously both anger and forbearance.’

14. इयमुज्ज्वलतानुजीविनः

समये संस्मृतिमेति यत्प्रभोः । ९,४८

‘It is the glory of the servant to be remembered by his master at the proper time.’

15. प्रेम्णां फलं खलु परस्परस्यगोष्ठी । ९,५०

‘The fruit of affection, indeed, is mutual delightful talk.’

16. तत्सौन्दर्यं साधुगुणाकृष्टमतीनां

नृप्यत्युच्चैरेन रुचिः शंसिजनानाम् ७,१८

‘That is beauty which can satisfy the taste of worthy people whose minds are attracted by good qualities’.

17. सारः सतां सततमेष सुजन्मलाभो

यत्सत्क्रियां प्रकटयन्ति गृहागतानाम् ७,३८

‘The real object and the benefit of the birth of good people is that they always show hospitality to those who come to their houses’.

18. गुणमयोऽपि सदाप इव
नञित् । ८,३०

‘Even the meritorious become ignoble in certain cases’.

19. क सुचिरं क्रियते मलिनात्मभिः
ध्रुवतरा बत रागमयी मतिः ८,५२

‘Alas, where can foul-minded people have constant affection for a long time’.

20. सतां मनस्तु परसुखोपकारकृत्, ९,१२

‘The mind of the great always looks to the happiness and welfare of others’.

21. स्पृशन्ति के कृशाविभवं कमर्धिनः ९,३६

‘What supplicants approach a person whose glory is gone’.

22. भवति दृढा मधुपायिनां क वृत्तिः १०,१४

‘Those who drink wine have no strength of purpose’.

23. किमिदं हि दुष्करमस्ति रागवृत्तेः । १०,१८

‘What is there which is beyond the achievement of the passionate’.

24. द्विपदपिकुत्रचिदावेहत फलाग्र्यम् । १०,२१

‘Even calamity at certain times may bring about the best of results’.

25. तनुरपि विषमं तनोति तर्प
समुपचितप्रणयस्य खगडनाशः । १०,२२

‘Even the slightest breach of a long-standing affection causes accute affliction’.

26. जनयति हि किमप्यनल्पमोजः
दृढतरभावकृतः प्रियप्रसादः, १०,२४

‘A present from one’s lover offered with great affection produces intense enthusiasm’.

27. फलमभिवाञ्छितनुदभावि हि भव्यधियाम् ॥ ११,१
 'The good-intentioned have their aspiration closely followed by its achievement'.
28. बत दुरतिक्रमा कृतधियामपि कालगतिः ॥ ११,२
 'Oh, even for those who have mastered themselves it is difficult to transgress the course of time'.
29. न हि महतां क्षयेऽपि गुणगारैवमेति हतिम् ॥ ११ १८
 'The grandeur of merits does not decrease even when the great people suffer decline'.
30. ममागमः कस्य सतां न भूत्यै ॥ १२ ४
 'To whom does the company of the noble not bring prosperity'.
31. कृतोपकारे हि निवेशयन्ति,
 प्राणैरपि प्रत्युपकारमार्यः ॥ १२ १८
 'The noble return their obligations even at the expense of their lives'.
32. सद्भ्रान्तराया न हि रागवृत्तिः ॥ १२ ३७
 'Affection does not tolerate any impediment'.
33. तदेव हि प्रेम से एव रागो
 न स्थायितां यत्र विभर्ति कोपः ॥ १२,४१
 'That is true love, that is real affection, where anger does not last long'.
34. दधते के न गुणेषु पक्षपातम् ॥ १३,३०
 'Who do not side with virtue'.
35. फलति सुधियां पात्रन्यस्तः सहस्रः गुणं विधिः ॥ १४ २१
 'Instruction imparted by the wise to a deserving person produces thousandfold results'.
36. अन्तःशून्यादपि हि सुमुखे वेधसि स्यात् फलश्रीः ॥ १५ ७

‘When fortune is favourable one may get good results even from one who is hollow (meritless) within’.

37. दारिताद्रि स्तृणस्तम्बे दन्तं न्यस्यति न द्विषः॥ १३,२१

‘An elephant who has uprooted mountains will not lower his tusk for a blade of grass’.

38. न बलीयोऽभिभूतस्य त्राणयात्मभुञ्जोऽप्यलम् ॥ १६,३६

‘One vanquished by the stronger cannot be saved even by his own kinsmen’.

39. अहो विवृतसाङ्कर्या दुर्मैया शिचतवृत्तयः ॥ १६,४१

‘Oh, the tendencies of one’s mind, the complications of which are concealed, cannot be fathomed’.

40. अपि यत्नप्रमृष्टस्य मलमन्तरमनुज्झतः ।

ताम्रस्यैव खलोक्तस्य श्यामिका लक्षते पुरा । १६,४२

‘The vile speech of a wicked person shows its foulness without yielding its inherent impurity though polished with effort, just as copper even though brushed shows black stains’.

41. ईर्ष्यामलं खलेष्वास्ते विषमाशीविषेष्विव ॥ १६,४४

‘The wicked have foulness of envy just as serpents have venom’.

42. विडम्बनैव पुंसि श्रीः परप्रणतिपांसुले

कान्तिं कामपि कुर्वीत कूणेः कटककल्पना । १६,५०

‘The glory of a person who is soiled with dust by paying homage to others is a mockery. Bracelets do not adorn a person who is armless’.

43. किमोजः सत्यभाषित्वं कःस्वर्थो धर्मसंग्रहः

किं शक्य हतज्ञत्वं का श्रीर्दीनान्नातिर्नृणाम् ॥ १६,५१

‘What is magnanimity but telling the truth;

What is selfishness but amassing virtue;

What is wickedness but ingratitude;

And what is (true) renown but the uplift of the poor’.

44. पलायमान पुरुषं रक्तपङ्क्तुते पथि ।

अतिकोमलया गत्या कथं श्रिनुयास्याति ॥ १८, ३७

‘How can the goddess of glory follow a person who is running away (from the battlefield) as she walks with soft steps on the road covered with the mire of blood’.

45. स जीवति रुषा यस्य द्विषन्दग्धो न जीवति ।

पलायते यस्तन्नीतो लक्ष्मीस्तस्मात् पलायते ॥ १८, ३२

‘He alone lives whose enemy cannot survive when burnt with his anger and he who runs away in dread of him (the enemy) is forsaken by the Goddess of Glory’.

46. आयातोह प्राप्तकाला हि सिद्धिः ॥ २०, २४

‘Even Success comes as the proper time for it arrives’.

An alphabetical list of proper names¹ mentioned in the poem.

1. Aja, XVI, 80.
2. Aṇu, XVI, 85; XVIII, 5.
3. Ambarīṣa, III, 22; IV, 43.
4. Aśmaka, V, 33; XVI, 67.
5. Ākr̥ti, V, 4.
6. Āndhra, III, 17; IV, 22.
7. Babhru, III, 32; IV, 43; XVIII, 19.
8. Bala, III, 8; IV, 22; V, 2, 35; XVI, 76.
9. Bhaṭṭācārya, XX, 36; Father of Śivasvāmin.
10. Bhīma, III, 19; V, 12; XVIII, 25.
11. Bhīṣma, III, 15.

1. Most of the names of the Kings occurring in this poem can be traced in the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas.

See (i) Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by Pargiter.

(ii) Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata by Sörenson.

12. Bhīṣmaka, III, 14; V, 8; XVIII, 21.
13. Bhûridhāman, III, 10; V, 8; XVIII, 21.
14. Candramitra XX, 35, The Buddhist preceptor of Sivāsvāmin.
15. Danta-cakra-or-vaktra, III, 37.
16. Darśaka, III, 3; V, 46; XVI, 1, 40, 54, 64; XVII, 1.
17. Dākṣiṇātya, XVIII, 43; XX, 19. Kapphiṇa.
18. Druma, V, 35.
19. Dṛḍhadhanuṣ, III, 21; IV, 21. Cf. dṛḍharatha, daśaratha.
20. Duḥṣeṇa, III, 42, cf. Pṛthuṣeṇa.
21. Dhuhdhu, XVI, 83.
22. Gada, III, 33; IV, 22; V, 7.
23. Indu, III, 25; IV, 22; YVI, 74.
24. Jiṣṇu, III, 7, 30; IV, 43.
25. Kapphiṇa, I, 23; II, 18; XVI, 60; XVII, 1, 13; XVIII, 80.
26. Karandhama, III, 36; V, 9; XVIII, 23.
27. Kadambaka, XVI, 79.
28. Kandu, XVII, 7.
29. Kirmīra, III, 16; IV, 22.
30. Kukura, XVI, 68; XVIII, 10.
31. Kaṅka, IV, 22.
32. Kauravya, III, 40.
33. Kośala, XVIII, 39.
34. Kośaleśvara, XVIII, 39.
Kauśala, II, 31.
Kosalādhipa, XVIII, 71.
35. Kṛpa, IV, 22.
36. Mada, XVII, 9.

} Prasenajit.

37. Madraka, V, 35; XVI, 75; XVIII, 19.
38. Manu, XVI, 31.
39. Mucukunda, XVI, 70.
40. Nala, III, 26; IV, 202; V, 10.
41. Narmadā, I, 22.
42. Niṣāda, V, 34; XVI, 69.
43. Pavana or Yavana, IV, 22, 43; V, 5.
44. Pāṇḍya, III, 11; IV, 22, 43; XVIII, 16.
45. Pāṇḍu, XVIII, 16.
46. Prasāda, XVI, 72.
47. Pradyota, III, 31; IV, 43.
48. Protha, III, 34; IV, 22, 43; XVIII, 7.
49. Prasenajit, II, 32; V, 31; XVI, 1, 14, 40; XVIII, 35, 79.
50. Pṛthudhvaja, III, 29.
51. Raghu, XVI, 66; XVIII, 6.
52. Rukmin, III, 38; V, 11.
53. Ruru, XVI, 84; XVIII, 6.
54. Revā, I, 42.
55. Sahadeva, XVI, 71.
56. Samudra, III, 20.
57. Subandhu, III, 6.
58. Subāhu, III, 2; IV, 6, 41.
59. Suketu, III, 13.
60. Sura, XVI, 77.
61. Surandhra, V, 35; XVI, 73; XVIII, 4.
62. Surāṣṭr, III, 12; IV, 22.
63. Suśarman, III, 9; IV, 20; V, 3.
64. Sauvira, V, 35.
65. Sauvīramalla, XVI, 78.
66. Sauvalka, III, 39.
67. Satadhanuṣ, IV, 43.

68. Śatadhvaja, III, 24; V, 6.
 69. Śrāvastī, II, 32, 52.
 70. Śruta, V, 35; XVI, 82.
 71. Śiva, XVI, 76.
 72. Śivasvāmin, XX, 38.
 73. Śri Śivasvāmin, XX, 36.
 74. Śālva, III, 28.
 75. Śabara, XVI, 47. Kapphiṇa.
 76. Utkala, III, 18.
 77. Ugrasena, III, 25.
 78. Vindhya, I, 2.
 79. Vyādha, XVIII, 42, Kapphiṇa.
 80. Vasudeva, V, 35.
 81. Yugandhara, XVIII, 18.

The Śabdālaṅkāras¹ used in the Kapphiṇābhyudayaḍaṁ.

1. Yamakas.

(i) *Vyapeta and avyapeta.*

VI. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 20, 38,
 38, 42, 44, 50, 58, 64, 74, 78,
 84. =20

VIII. 1—59. =59

XVIII. 1, 5, 7, 10, 14, 15, 18, 21 24,
 29, 65, 72, 75, 77. =14

(ii) Samudga. VI. 16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32,
 34, 36, 40, 46, 48, 52, 54, 56,
 60, 62, 66, 68—73. =25

1. See Kāvyaḍarśa, Chapter III,

VIII.	60	-1
XVIII.	60, 74.	-2
(iii) Sandaṣṭa.	XVIII. 70.	-1
(iv) Mahāyamaka.	XVIII. 64.	-1
(v) Pratipādapratiloma,	XI. 80.	-1
	XVIII, 26,	-1
2. Sarvatobhadra	XVIII, 34.	-1
3. Ekākṣara	XVIII, 56.	-1
4. Dvyakṣara	XVIII 6, 12, 17, 22, 36, 38, 40, 44,	
	46, 48, 49, 52, 55.	-13
5. Tryakṣara	XVIII, 51.	-1
6. Caturakṣara	XVIII, 3.	-1
7. Niroṣṭhya	XVIII, 8.	-1
8. Atālavya	XVIII, 20.	-1
9. Gomtūrikābandha	XVIII, 25.	-1
10. Murajabandha	XVIII, 27.	-1
11. Kāñcībandha	XVIII, 63.	-1
12. Padmabandha	XVIII, 31.	-1
13. Kriyāguptīḥ	XVIII, 33.	-1

Total		149

CONCLUSION.

The reconstructed Text is based mainly on the readings of M_3 but where P_2 , p_2 , and P_3 have furnished better readings a full consideration is given to them. Very few occasions have arisen where emendations were felt a necessity, but every attempt has been made as far as possible to avoid them.

Having gathered together all this information about this Mahākāvya and pursued all this study into the salient points regarding its language, thought, theme, and style, it seems strange that such a poem should have remained comparatively obscure. Although it had the distinction of being quoted and referred to in anthologies and other works it has not, so far, been commented upon. The plausible reason for this seems to be that the Brahmanic Literary Society ignored its importance under the mistaken belief that it celebrated the triumph of a non-Brahmanic faith. It has already been shown that what appears to be a triumph on the surface is in reality an attempt to reflect the growing tendency of the time to absorb Buddhism in the fold of Vaiṣṇavism.

In conclusion, I welcome this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Professor F. W. Thomas, who initiated me during my studies at Oxford into this field of Research in Kāvya Literature. But for his kind and generous help it would have been impossible to bring to light this literary production of Sivasvāmin, which has remained in the dark for the last millenium. I should also like to express my obligations to the Librarian, India Office Library, who kindly undertook to supply me with transcripts of the poem from the Libraries at Puri and in Kashmir. To Sir Aurel Stein I am grateful for his permission to use one of the Mss. in his Kashmir Collection deposited in the Indian Institute Library, Oxford.

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GAURI SHANKAR.

A MARATHI IDIOM.

Sten Konow.

When I was preparing the Marathi Volume of the Linguistic Survey of India I became interested in an idiom which I thought had an exact parallel in my own language, while it did not seem to me to be in accord with the general structure of Marathi: a person or thing which is going to be spoken of is first, so to say, introduced through a noun in the nominative case, and then incorporated into the context by means of a pronoun.

The idiom has been mentioned *e.g.* in Rev. Ganpatrao R. Navalkar's *The Student's Marathi Grammar* (3rd edition, Bombay 1894, paras. 566 ff.):

"The demonstratives *hā* and *asā* are often used **appositionally**, and serve the following uses:—

1. *hā* is often used in apposition to the subject, when the nominal predicate defines or explains the latter: **Rāmā hā Gopālṛāwātsā mulgā hotā**, Rāmā was the son of Gopālṛāu; **Mumbai hē śahar āhe**, Bombay is a city.

3. The appositional *hā* is inflected instead of the nouns for which it stands: **hattī ghode āṇi bail hyās tsārā ghālā**, give grass to the elephants, horses and oxen; **Rāmā Hari āṇi Gopāl hyā-pekṣā Sakhī huṣār āhe**, Sakhī is cleverer than Rāmā, Hari, and Gopāl".

Every Marathi book contains examples of this idiom. The following are taken from the *Śukasaptati* (ed. Schmidt, Leipzig 1897):—

1. **Dewśarmā brāhmaṇ yāci awasthā kaśi ghaḍlī**, the brāhmaṇ Dewśarmā, his state how became (p. 1);

2. **Tyātsā mitr Trivikram yāṇē Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇi yā-nāmē śuk va Mālatī nāmē mainā yā-pramāṇē don pakṣi Madnās āṇūn dīle**, his friend Trivikram,—by him, Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇi,—by this name a parrot, and a mainā by name Mālatī,—so much,

two birds were brought and given to Madan *i.e.* his friend Trivikram gave Madan two birds, *viz.* the parrot Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇi and the mainā Mālatī (p. 1): 3. Guṇcandr nāmē rājā yāce putrā sahawartmān ramāvē yā-staw nānā prakārē śṅgār karūn tsālilī, she used to put on various decoration for this purpose: it should be sported together with the son of him, *viz.* the rājā Guṇcandr (p. 4); 4. tō dwārpāl yās dhūrt-Vimal yānē sāṃgītī hotē, then it had been said by him, *viz.* the false Vimal, to them, *viz.* the door-keepers (p. 13); 5. Bhīmak nāmē rājā hotā tyātsā putr Mohan to Haridatt nāmē sāwkār yāci stri Lakṣmī tij barobor sambhog karāvyaś icchit hotā, there was a rājā named Bhīmak, his son Mohan,—he was wishing to enjoy himself with her, *viz.* Lakṣmī, the wife of him, *viz.* the banker named Haridatt.

Such sentences do not only belong to the literary language, but are, as may be seen from Mr. Navalkar's remarks, used in daily speech.

In the Marathi volume of the Linguistic Survey we read on p. 255: Pātgowārītsā Cindhu Lodhī yācyā kaḍe tū tsākri hotās kā, Cindhu Lodhī of Pātgowārī,—were you in his service? Here it is quite clear that the purpose is to draw attention to Cindhu Lodhī, to introduce him as the chief person concerned with the matter in question, and such is evidently the case in most instances.

It will be seen that the proleptic noun is usually without any syntactical connexion with the ensuing sentence. In the opening of the fifth Śukasaptati example, however, we find a whole sentence used instead of a proleptic noun, the predicate hotā being, it is true, originally a participle, and often the resuming word is not an ordinary pronoun, but an adverb. Thus in the Linguistic Survey, p. 256: to nidzlā hotā tewhā tyācyā āṅgā warats hote, he sleeping was,—then, were they on his body? and, similarly in the Śukasaptati, p. 1: pūrvī Candrakalā nagrīce tḥāyī Vikramsen rājā rājya karit astā tethē koplek Haridatt nāmē

sāwkār rāhat hotā, formerly when King Vikramsen was reigning in Candrakala town,—there a banker named Haridatt was staying.

The same idiom is also known in Hindi. Thus S. H. Kellogg in his Grammar of the Hindi language (2nd edition, London 1893, para 675 c.) says that the nominative case “sometimes stands independently by anakolouthon; as **Mahārāj we baiṭhe haī**, the great king,—he is seated; **śāstraviḍyā au śāstravidyā ye doū uñc padvī dainewārī haī**, sacred science and military science, — these two confer high rank”.

Professor Turner has been good enough to give me the following, similar, sentences from Nepali: **Rāma bhane āyo**, Rāma, —he came; **Bujhasatva bhane le mahākaṣṭa pāyo**, as for Bujhasatva,—he fell into misfortune; **timī bhane caṛdo umer-ki rabi chen**, **swāmi bhane buṛā rahi chan**, as for you,—you are in the presence of life; your husband,—he is old.

Similar turns of expression will probably also be found in other Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and they are also to be met with, outside India, *e. g.* in Germanic languages. The following are taken from Falk og Torp, *Dansk-norskens syntax* [Kristiania 1900, p. 276]: **Eiríkr hinn sigrsæli konungr í Svíuþjóð**, hann hafði fengit, Eirik the Victorious, king of Sweden,—he had got; **inn gamli hrímmýrs**, hann kollum ver **Ymi**, the old ogre,—him we call Ymer; **men Þor han haver sin hammer mist**, but Thor,—he has lost his hammer; **ja, ein derber and trockener Spass**, nichts geht uns darueber, yes, a saucy and dry fun,—nothing surpasses that.

It is not necessary to look out for further non-Indian parallels. The idiom is evidently spread over a wide area, and we have every reason for thinking that it is fairly old.

In India it can be traced back to an early period. In his paper on the Manikiala inscription (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1909, p. 650). Professor Lueders mentions “those parenthetical sentences that are found in Pali prose texts,” and gives as an example *Jātaka* I, 278: **bodhisatto nāgabalo**

thāmasampanno nadiyā orimatirato uppatitvā dipakassa orato nadīmajjhe eko piṭṭhipasāṇo atthi tasmim nipatati, the Bodhiastva, having the vigour of an elephant and full of strength, having jumped from this side of the river,—on this side of the island, in the midst of the river, is a projecting rock,—on that he jumps down.

Another example of the same kind (l. c. IV, p. 290) may follow: **tadā te ubho samvāsam kappetvā tasmim yeva sare ekasmim dīpake kalambarukkho atthi samantā udakena parikhitto tasmim kulāvakaṃ katvā paṭivasimsu**, then those two, having set up a joint household, in that very lake, on an island, is a kalamba-tree,—there they built their nest and lived.

In both these instances we seem to be justified in speaking of parenthetical sentences. What we have before us is, first a nominative, accompanied by a gerund, and introducing us to the real subject; then a complete sentence indicating a locality, and, finally, a clause, giving the relationship between both.

The contents of the “parenthetical” sentence can, however, also be given as an independent nominative. I take the following examples from the *Dīghanikāya*, Vol. III; **so sattamadivasam alasakena kālam karissati, kālakato ca Kalakañjā nāma asurā sabbanihīno asurakāyo tatra uppajjissati** (p. 1), in seven days he will die, and having died—the Asuras called Kalakañja, the lowest Asura host,—there he will be born; **puratthimena Vesāliyam Udenam nāma cetiyam tam nātikkameyyam** (p. 7), to the east of Vaiśālī the caitya called Udayana,—that I may not go beyond.

We may call such sentences parenthetical, but we might also speak of proleptic nominatives, and at all events there is a striking similarity with the Marathi idiom, even more, perhaps, than seems to be the case at first sight.

From Pāli I turn to the north-western Prakrit of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

In the Patika copper-plate we read after the date: **etaye purvaye kṣaharatasa Cukhsasa'ca kṣatrapasa Liako Kusuluko nama tasa putro Patiko Takhaśilaye nagare utareṇa pracu deśo Kṣema nama atra** [*de]śe **Patiko apratiṭhāvita bhagavāta śakamuṇisa śariraṃ** [*pra]tithaveti, on this day,¹ of the kṣaharāta and kṣatrapa of Cukhsa, —Liaka Kusulaka by name, his son Patika, — in the town of Takṣaśilā, the north-eastern region, Kṣema by name —there Patika establishes a non-established relic of Bhagavat śākyamuni. Here we can be in doubt about the words **kṣaharatasa Cukhsasa ca kṣatrapasa**. They may be connected with the preceding **etaye purvaye**, or else the sentence starts with the case required by the context, but then runs on through unconnected, proleptic, nominatives.

The inscription on the Mathura Lion Capital begins: **mahakṣa- [tra]vasa Rajulasa agramahes(r)i Ayasia Kumuia dhit(r)a Kharaostasa yuvaraṇa mat(r)a Nadadiakasa [taye] . . . śarira prat(r)iṭhavit(r)o**, the mahākṣatrapa Rājula's queen, Ayasia Kumuia, daughter of the crown-prince Kharaosta, mother of Nadadiaka, by her a relic was established.

In the Wardak inscription we have, after the date: **imeṇa ga- d(r)ig(r)eṇa Kamagulyaputra Vagramareg(r)a s(r)a śi Khav- adam(r)i kadalayig(r)a Vagramarig(r)a viharam(r)i thu- [ba]m(r)i bhag(r)avada śākyamuṇe śarira pariṭhaveti**, at that instant the Kamagulya-scion Vagramarega, -- he being settled here in Khawat, in the Vagramaregavihāra, in a stūpa establishes Bhagavat śākyamuni's relic

1. I take **pūrvā** to mean **tithi**. Since there may be two **tithis** ending on the same civil day, in which case the first gives the number of the day, and since **pūrva** especially means "the first of two" (cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* III, para 203d), I think that **pūrvā** in such dates means "deciding tithi" and then **tithi** generally. If I am right, this detail is of importance for the question about the Indian calendar.

It will be seen that we have everywhere to do with proleptic nominatives, or with parenthetical sentences.

But we can go still further back. In *The Syntax of cases in the narrative and descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇas*, Vol. I. (Heidelberg 1926), p. 1ff., Professor Oertel says; "In a normal Indo-European sentence a given case-form is chiefly related to some other element of the sentence; in fact, the expression of such relation of one member of a clause to another is the main function,—and from the point of view of strict syntax the only function—, of the Indo-European declensional endings" "But there are instances in which the close knitting of a clause is loosened and a certain disintegration, the degree of which may vary, sets in. When such a loosening of the syntactical joints, in whatever degree, has taken place we may speak of the disjunct use of case-forms."

"A noun may retain the case-form which is required by the syntactical setting but be lifted out of its proper place and placed usually at the head of the clause, and be then resumed in its proper place by a demonstrative pronoun."

"Instead of the resumption of the proleptic case by a demonstrative pronoun the incipient disintegration may be outwardly marked by the intrusion of a particle separating the proleptic case from the main verb This kind of prolepsis is confined to the nominative. It contains the germ of an absolute case. The verb is always accompanied by an infinite verb-form, either a participle or a gerund."

"A noun may be lifted out of the sentence, but instead of showing the proper case-form required by the syntactical setting it is put in the nominative case and later resumed by a demonstrative pronoun in the proper oblique case. The nominative which thus anticipates an oblique case is, from the syntactical point of view, wholly severed from the rest of the clause and hangs, so to speak, in the air."

It would be difficult to give a better commentary on the various sentences discussed above. I shall add some of Professor Oertel's examples of this progressive "disintegration":—

Samvatsaro vaiv-aitān so'ntarātiṣṭhat, the year indeed,—that stood between them; **devāḥ pitaro manuṣyās te'anyata āsan**, the gods, fathers, men, they were on one side; **tat puruṣo 'mānavah sa enān brahma gamayati**, then a non-human man,—he makes them go to the Brahma; **'prāṇo 'pānas cakṣuḥ śrotram ity etāni vai puruṣam akaran**, out-breathing, in-breathing, sight, hearing,—these have made man; **prāṇam vyānam apānam tām eva yajamāne dadhāti**, out-breathing, through-breathing, in-breathing—these he places into the sacrificer; **yājñāya yajamānāya ātmane tebhya ev-āśiṣam āśāste**, for the sacrifice, for the sacrificer, for himself,—for them he makes a blessing; **paśavo vāg indriyaṃ prāṇāpānau tair vā Indro 'kāmayata sāyujaṃ gaccheyam iti**, cattle, vigour, out-and in-breathing,—with them Indra wished: may I be united; **devā ha vai yajñam tanvānās te 'surarakṣebhya āsaṅgad bibhayāṃ cakruḥ**, the gods being engaged in performing the sacrifice,—they were afraid of the Asuras and Rakṣasas lest they should cling to them; **Kaṇvo vai Nārṣado jyog apratiṣṭhitaś caran so 'kāmayata**, **Kaṇva Nārṣada**, wandering for a long time without support—he desired; **Indro vai vṛtram hatvā sa imāṃ lokān abhyajayat**, Indra having slain vṛtra—he won these worlds;

ātithyena vai devā iṣṭvā tānt samad avindat, the gods having sacrificed with the great-offering, them discord befell;

sa vai catur upahvayamāno 'tha nān-ev-opahvayate, verily he calling four times upon (her),—yet he calls upon (her) in different ways, as it were;

devāś cā va asurāś c-āditye vyāyacchantas taṃ devā abhyajayan, the gods and the Asuras contending about āditya,—him the gods won.

It will be seen that we have exactly the same turn of expression as in the modern idiom. I have arranged the sentences in accordance with Professor Oertel's view, and they apparently allow us to follow the development from the strictly syntactical sequence through prolepsis to something which we may call an absolute nominative.

"The psychological process", says Professor Oertel, "which gives rise to the Pendent Nominative appears to be as follows: The speaker begins to utter his statement before the syntactical mould into which his thought is to be cast is fully matured, *i. e.* before the syntactical integration of its parts has fully taken place. As he starts speaking, his attention is fixed upon a single item of the thought-complex irrespective of the relation which it will ultimately bear to the other elements of the clause. The remainder of the thought-complex takes its syntactical shape after the pendent nominative has been uttered and thus the proper syntactical relation of the nominative to the rest of the sentence must be afterwards indicated by a resumptive pronoun. The nominative is chosen as pendent case because it is the only case which not only expresses (as subject case) syntactical relation but also implies the absence of all syntactical relation (as in titles, headings lists). Conversely the attention of the hearer is more strongly directed to such an abnormal nominative, so that the emphatic attention of the speaker is communicated to the hearer."

The process described by Professor Oertel is psychologically quite intelligible, and, if his view is right, we should have to assume that it had taken place independently in several Indo-European languages. And in India it must have begun at a very early date. For a good example is *e. g.* found in the very first hymn of the *R̥gveda*, *v. 3. Agniḥ pūrvēbhir ṛṣibhir idyo nūtanair uta, sa devā eha vakṣati*, Agni, worthy of praise by old ṛṣis and by new ones,—he will bring the gods hither.

I have already mentioned some European parallels. And in Iranian we have quite similar idioms.

In the Behistun inscriptions of Darius we read: **pasāva** I **martiya** maguš āha **Gaumāta** nāma hauv udapatatā hacā **Paiši-yāuvādāyā** arakadriš nāma **kaufa** hacā **avadaša** (I, II), then there was a Magus, **Gaumāta** by name,—he started from **Paiši-yāuvādā**, the hill called **Arakadri**,—from that; **avam Gaumātam tyam** magum **avājanam** utā **tyai-šaiy** **fratamā** **martiyā anušiya** āhantā **Sikayauvatiš** nāmā didā **Nisāya** nāma **dahyauš Mādaiy** **avadašim** **avājanam**, that Magus **Gaumāta** I slew and the foremost men who followed him,—the fastness called **Sikayauvati**, the province called **Nisāya**, in Media,—there I slew him; **pasāva** **adam** **kāram** **frāišayam** **Vidarna** nāma **Pārsa** manā **bandaka** **avamšām** **mauištam** **akunavam**—**yavā** **Mādam** **parārasa** **Maruš** nāma **vardanam** **Mādaiy** **avadā** **hamaranam** **akunaus** (II 6), afterwards I sent an army,—the Persian named **Vidarna**, my subject,—him I made their chief; when he came to Media,—the town called **Maru**, there he made battle.

Here it does not seem to be the case that the speaker was not, to begin with, conscious of the syntactical connexion. It is evident that the use of the pendent nominative is due to his desire to be precise, to draw attention to the person or locality mentioned in the pendent nominative. And this consideration, and the wide distribution of the idiom, lead me to the conclusion that here we have the explanation of the phenomenon. It is not due to a loosening of the syntactical joints, but takes us back to a pre-syntactical stage of the language, which has left its traces, as **samskāras**, in various Indo-European languages.

Professor Oertel rightly remarks that the Indo-European nominative is not only the case form of the subject, but is also used when there is no syntactical relation, where the purpose is only to mention, to single out some person or thing to which attention is drawn. And this is probably the oldest function of the nominative, and we may be justified in raising the question whether the common **s-** suffix is not, in its origin, identical with the demonstrative pronoun **sa**, used to resume the word just as in our idiom. It might even, with some plausibility, be contended that the case in-

flexion generally has taken its origin from pronominal additions, and this view could be strengthened through parallels *e. g.* from Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages.

At all events, the non-syntactical use of the nominative dates back to the Indo-European period, and the wide-spread use of the pendent nominative in many Indo-European languages is an old inheritance, which has held its own in spite of the development of a connected syntax.

We are sometimes reminded of the well-known arrangement of some Gandhāra sculptures.

If we look at Fig. 254 in M. Foucher's standard work, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, we have, to the left, a monkey carrying an alms-bowl, in the centre the Buddha seated with the bowl in his hands, and, to the right, the monkey going away empty handed: **vānaraḥ kaścit pātram grhītvā—Buddho Bhagavān padmāsana āsīnas,—tasmai dattvā so 'pākrāmat**, would be an adequate description of the scene. The artist visualizes the various stages, one after the other, without melting them together into one picture.

The narrative style represented by our idiom proceeds in the same way. The speaker has the occurrence before his mind's eye, and visualizes detail after detail. We are reminded of the frequent, and no doubt very old, use of parataxis instead of hypotaxis, a state of things, which has never been quite discarded in Sanskrit, especially when some person's words are rendered.

We are fully justified in speaking of an ancient visualistic style, and it would not be difficult to point at its traces in several features of Sanskrit syntax. The clearest ones are perhaps found in the idiom dealt within the preceding pages.

